General

STRIKES AND FILIBUSTERS

To the Editor of The News:

Sometimes the problems of finance and politics become such a conglomerated mixup it's hard to tell whether we are coming or going. Note, for instance, the labor strikes and the congressional filibuster. In principle and effect, there appears to the average citizen to be but little difference.

Politics plays its hand in all labor strikes. The opposing parties seek to influence politics that they may have the help of political bosses to gain their own special interest. On the other hand, if there were no politics there would be no filibusters in Congress.

Organized labor has lost a considerable portion of its prestige which will take many years to build back, and the congressmen who were responsible for the filibuster retarded the progress of important bills which should have been considered and put in force so that our nation can begin to overcome the effects of war.

The writer has been a member of organized labor since 1903 and says now, without any apology, that organized labor has not been fair to its principles in staging strikes at this critical time. And congressmen who in the face of such critical need pulled a filibuster proved themselves unequal to the trust given them.

Politics can build or hinder as it comes in contact with our own special interests.

Springville, Ala. W. E. BRADEN.

Liberalism: A Faith To Fight For

(From the Philadelphia Record)

Let America's liberals take stock. This sick world is looking for leadership. Liberalism should be offering it. It is not.

Liberalism is no feeble philosophy of compromise between Marxism and conservatism, as the Fascists told us yesteryear and as the Communists tell us now. Liberalism is a positive, dynamic force. It is the faith of free man. It is a faith we must fight for at home, a faith to carry to oppressed peoples abroad.

Alas, many of the men who should be fighting for liberalism are now apologizing for it. Some even seem to have fallen for that false and mischievous notion that liberalism is just a stage along the road to "inevitable Marxism."

It is time to scotch that lie. Fascism was not yesterday's "wave of the future." Communism is not tomorrow's.

Some American liberals are so indifferent they are letting hitch-hikers take over the car—permitting Communists, who "came along for the ride," to climb into the driver's seat. If liberalism has faltered since its prewar peak of the New Deal, it is because too many liberals have lost sight of their goals and forgotten their primer of principles.

Principles of Liberalism

Check over some of those principles:

(1) Freedom of man, of the individual. A slave with a full belly is still a slave.

(2) Freedom of speech, of press, of worship. (We even hear some "liberals" suggest they be "modified.")

(3) Economic democracy; freedom of workers to organize, to strike; not to abolish capitalism, but to make it work better.

(4) Spreading the American standard of living among all Americans, not tearing down that standard, highest in the world and one which any worker anywhere else would trade for his own lot any time he could.

(5) Economic security; old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, health insurance, good medical care for all.

(6) Development of national resources, such as an MVA following the TVA.

(7) Reliance on collective security, through the UN, to keep peace and build an order in which every land will enjoy real social, economic and political freedom.

(8) Racial and religious tolerance.

Those tired liberals who have been nuzzling up to Communists will say: The Communists favor all these things. Yes, they do—until they get control. Communists like free speech in America. It allows them to propagandize. But they ban it in Russia, Yugoslavia, in all other countries in which they gain power.

They are for labor, help organize strikes, often foment them. But in Russia there are no strikes; a worker isn't even free to change his job. And few United States unions would stand for Soviet factory speed-up systems. They champion minority causes in America for their own divisive purposes. But they liquidate minorities in Russia.

Time to Reaffirm Faith

What should all this tell the liberal? It should tell him that the chief source of Communistic appeal is our failure; that Communists can sell totalitarianism only to people who have not been given the realities of freedom. That is why it is time for all liberals to reaffirm their faith, rediscover their goals.

We must carry our banner abroad as Communists do theirs. We have a faith to fight for, and it's time we fought for it. It is not enough to damn or oppose Communism. If there was no such thing as Communism, our problems would remain. Unsolved, they will breed new trouble.

Power does not operate in a vacuum. This world, whether we like it or not, is run by power. If we refuse to exercise power, others will. There must be leaders and leadership, and if we fail to provide them, this weary world will find others we may not like.

That is why liberals are fumbling the greatest chance of history's gravest hour. Some of them have become so accustomed to sneering at their own country that they no longer can see the White House for the Kremlin

It is America's hour, and liberalism's challenge. It is conceivable that our children may end up as slaves of a state if we dissipate the faith of our fathers. World leadership is thrust upon us. We have a faith to proclaim, a job to do.

We can escape that responsibility. We cannot escape the consequences.

Wants Amendments Enforced

The National Negro Independent Political League, Inc., of 262 West 135th Street, of which Samuel Richardson is president, said that a rigid enforcement of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution will be the object of a drive started by the league yesterday. Mr. Richardson, who has been for years a non-partisan appraiser of Harlem's political candidates, declared that he was more interested in teaching the community the value of the ballot than to support any particular candidate.

Minority Favors Political Careers

DENVER.—Colored Americans are the only group in which the majority would like their sons to chose politics as a career, according to a recent nation-wide poll taken by the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver.

While only 25% of the public see politics as a desirable career for their sons, 63% would like to have a lawyer in the family, which was held paradoxical since the legal profession is often a stepping-stone to politics.

Number Increased

Two years ago the same NORC question found 69% turning their thumbs down on a political career for their sons, while the number has increased to 25% with persons in the lower educational and economic level in favor of it.

It is significant that on both surveys political life and work seemed more attractive to non-voters than to either Democrats or Republicans and to 50% of the colored persons as compared with 22% of the whites.

Dustin' off the NEWS

By LUCIUS C. HARPER

HISTORIANS HAVE "OVERLOOKED" THIS POLITICAL ERA

SINCE the Negro has resecured his right to the ballot in the South and is registering in droves to participate in its coming primaries, it is apropos that we be keen observers as to how he will conduct himself with this regained freedom, and likewise how the whites will react and deport themselves under the new political arrangement. Politics, we all know, is not a Sunday School affair; it's more like a lumber-camp wrestling match: no holds are barred.

Lucius Harper

The rise and fall of the Negro in southern politics is a romance of unlimited interest. Historians have never really told the true story of the disfranchisement of the Negro and how it came about. They all have, more or less, muddled the picture of this phase of southern political history and drowned it completely by keeping afresh in our minds the alleged evils and corruption of the Reconstruction Period when the rebellious South was whipped in the Civil War and had to eat its dish of Crow. Through the duplicity or downright unfairness of these so-called historians we are led to believe that the confederation of white and black leadership just after the war ushered in one of the worst eras of political banditry the nation has ever experienced. Nothing is farther from the truth.

Certainly, Reconstruction legislation had its faults and many grave errors, but in comparison to the disfranchisement era, which began in 1890 and continued with unrelenting fervor until 1910, American politics went to its lowest level in ballot-box banditry, the vilest sort of corruption, the most reprehensible practices and designs, little short of actual murder, to deprive the Negro of his right to vote. Fraud, during these two decades, went unchecked and unfrowned upon, and was rampant throughout almost every southern state. The files of some honest southern newspaper editors tell the story of this tragic attack on Negro citizenship, but it has never been collected in historical form for the perusal of political students who would desire to make a comparative study with Reconstruction times. Clever have been southern historians to smother it or completely overlook it. * * *

DURING this 20 years' drive to get the Negro out of politics in the South, the Democratic party deliberately subverted the supreme law of the land by an abridgment of the political rights of the black man, and the Republican party, by inaction, countenanced this violation of the organic law. The solidarity of the South has been, and always will be—if permitted—a strong political power and a dangerous power under the control of designing politicians. Federal and state laws are mere scraps of paper with the southern ruling class when these laws conflict with their partisan interests. It was, therefore, important that what they had lost on the battlefield they must gain through law, and the only stumbling block to this attainment was the Negro vote. At any cost, it must be surmounted or entirely removed. So, through changes in the fundamental laws of the southern states, by adopting amendments to the state constitutions they effectually eliminated the Negro as an elector in these states.

These changes came in the following order: Mississippi, 1890; South Carolina, 1895; Louisiana, 1898; North Carolina, 1900; Alabama and Virginia, 1901; Georgia, 1908; Oklahoma, 1910. It was Oklahoma that invoked the famous "Grandfather Clause." Under this a voter who was not able to meet the educational or property requirements as an elector, if he was a voter in 1867, continued to be a qualified voter, in spite of the educational or property requirements. Another exception to the "Clause" provided that a soldier, or the lineal descendant of such soldier or voter, may continue to vote for life although he may not possess either educational or property qualifications. Other laws of similar character dotted every southern constitution. Even when some of these ridiculous laws were surmounted by Negro voters, open threats of violence were made against them if they appeared at the polls.

COMMENTING on this situation

O at the time was a southern editor, Maurice S. Evans of Alabama who said: "We must remember also that behind all these elaborate legal provisions is the gun. Before the South had begun to legalize the position, the Negro had practically relinquished the rights conferred on him by the Federal government. He had been made to see quite clearly that if he persisted in claiming and exercising the right, he would be killed, and at the present time if he cannot be kept out by legal enactments he will be kept out by force, which would not, if necessary, stop short of murder." Concerning outrageout election laws passed by southern states, the late Col. Henry Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal wrote:

"The people may well stand aghast before the revolutionary election bill which has, like some dread monster, suddenly emerged from the fastness of passion and error through which the legislatures have been spreading their tortuous ways. It is safe to say that annals of free government will be sought in vain for anything approaching its shameless effrontery and unconcealed deformity. The records of Reconstruction furnish nothing to compare with it. The Brownlow despotism in Tennessee was considered tolerably reckless and tolerably thorough in its day. But the Brownlow despotism at its worst ventured upon nothing so boldly, wholly bad as this." What these laws produced to do away with the Negro in politics, and what these editors were referring to, ran something like this:

* * *

IN A precinct in Hale County, Ala., there were 58 voters registered, but when the returns came in the Democratic candidates for Congress won by 504 votes in this precinct. In an adjacent county, Dallas, a white man of high standing who had distinguished himself in the Confederate Army, testified that he remained at the polling-place from the time the polls opened until they closed, and that 52 voters and no more entered, but the falsified official returns from that precinct showed a total of 368 votes, a majority of 360 for the Democratic candidate. The great southern senator, the late Oscar Underwood, was elected by such fraud and when it was exposed he was unseated in the 54th Congress. Concerning election frauds in Georgia, an editorial in the Atlanta Constitution of Nov. 8, 1894, two days after the Congressional election said: "The less said about the election in the Tenth District the better for the good name of the state. The methods which characterized that election reproach the civilization of the day and stigmatize the fair name of Georgia . . . we protest in the name of the honesty of our people and the civilization of our state . . . Richmond county polled 16,000 votes. The census gives this county a population of only 45,194; based on the vote of last Tuesday its population is shown to be nearly 80,000." And so the fraud continued to oust the Negro and his friends. 6-1-46

In a speech in the House of Representatives, George White of North Carolina, the last Negro to serve in Congress (1901) since the coming of DePriest in 1930, said this of fraud and corruption in his state: "Scotland Neck had a registered white vote of 395, most of whom, of course, were Democrats and a registered colored vote of 534, virtually if not all of whom were Republicans, and so voted. When the count was announced, there were 831 Democrats to 75 Republicans; but in the town of Halifax, same county, the result was much more pronounced. In that town the registered Republican vote was 345, and the total registered vote was 539, but when the count was announced it stood 990 Democrats to 41 Republicans; or 492 more Democratic votes counted than were registered votes in the township."

And so the fraud and corruption kept mounting until the Negro was finally driven out of politics by the white man's crookedness. But historians have cleverly skipped over this disgraceful era . . . forgotten it entirely . . . and dipped their pens in venomous ink to scandalize the Negro of Reconstruction times. But murder will out.

NEGRO RIGHTS ARE STRESSED

Speakers at Youth Congress Urge Negroes to Continue Their Struggle.

COLUMBIA, S. C., Oct. 19.—(AP)—Hearings on voting and civil rights featured conference sessions of the Southern Negro Youth Congress today with an international youth festival program on which Singer Paul Robeson was the principal figure scheduled for tonight.

George A. Blakey, assistant attorney general of Illinois, who was the principal speaker at the civil rights hearings, told the delegates that "to further secure for Negroes all of the rights and immunities due every American citizen" they must "continue the fight on constitutional grounds" while intensifying "our efforts to change public opinion to the side of fair play and justice."

Blakey said that although the U. S. Supreme Court "just recently declared the Negro's right to vote in the Democratic primary" the decision "does not entirely effectuate the right of franchise." Not "until the archaic poll tax system is abolished" would "this essential right of citizenship" be fulfilled, he said.

On the program with Blakey were George Marshall of New York, chairman of the board of the Civil Rights Congress, and Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Birmingham, Ala., World.

Full voting privileges in primaries and general elections were called for at the other hearing by James E. Jackson, Jr., of Birmingham, Ala., who said "We must have the ballot to vote into office men who will defend our lives and liberties against the murderous assault of the Ku Klux Klan; to abolish the Jim Crow laws that imprison our freedom; to outlaw job discrimination and satisfy our crying need for housing, health and educational facilities."

Jackson, Congress special projects director, denounced "the landlord-big business-Ku Klux Klan political combination, which he said sought to "strip the poor people of the South of all means of expressing their will for a better life."

At a veterans' committee panel, Malcolm G. Dobbs, representing the Alabama committee of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, said that the war's battles were won by "unity of Negro and white" and "here at home we must maintain and extend this comradeship of the battlefields if we are to wipe out the Klan, get decent jobs at decent wages, or homes to live in for all Americans.

"We fought together to free Europe. We fought together to free Asia. Now we must fight together to free America."

Action Against Lynching Called For At Conference

Charlotte, N. C., Obs. Sept. 24, 1946

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23.—(AP)—A national conference on lynching mapped a program today aimed at curbing mob violence and sent a delegation which told President Truman that if the government doesn't do something about the matter "the Negroes will."

Paul Robeson, Negro singer who was a sponsor of the conference, was in the group calling on the President and in telling reporters afterwards of the meeting said Mr. Truman had objected to parts of the proposed program.

Robeson said he read a message to Mr. Truman asking him to issue "a formal public statement expressing your views on lynching, and recommending a definite legislative and educational program to end the disgrace of mob violence."

The President, Robeson said, indicated political matters made it difficult to issue a statement of his views at this time.

Robeson said that as to possible Federal legislation to cu[rb l]ynching the President expressed the view that passage is a political matter in which timing is important.

The President took exception, Robeson said, to a suggestion by the delegation that it "seemed inept for the United States to take the lead in the Nurenberg trials and fall so far behind in respect to justice to Negroes in this country."

The Presidential view, Robeson said, was that Americans should not tie domestic matters to the international situation.

The organization also sent delegations to Attorney General Clark and to the Republican and Democratic national committees.

Harlem's Spirited August Primary Recalls Early Political Struggles

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK.—New York's colored voters have been interested in politics for many years, but always there has been a confused movement among them which has always prevented Harlem from demonstrating its full strength.

As far back as 1896, colored Republicans, dissatisfied with being cheated out of their share of the spoils as represented by appointments to "big jobs," withdrew from the GOP ranks and formed what became the United Colored Democracy.

Edward Lee, better known as "Chief" Lee, was the power behind the organization and through its actions Ferdinand Morton became the first non-white person to be appointed to any post of consequence.

The first colored man elected to office here in 1917 was Edward A. Johnson, lawyer and former professor in a North Carolina college, who was sent to the State Assembly.

State Representation

Since that time, there has been a succession of assemblymen, aldermen and now a Congressman, but never was there a colored State Senator. This year, there will be one as both parties have named candidates.

John Clifford Hawkins, now practicing law in Harlem, has been both an assemblyman and an alderman, the latter being in the city government and the office abolished when proportional representation came into being.

At one time, colored voters were sure of four representatives in the legislative bodies, two in the assembly and two on the board of aldermen. They came from the old 19th and 21st Districts, which were wiped out under the re-districting of Harlem.

Aldermen, Legislators

Others who have served in the Assembly included Henri Shields, the first colored man elected to a State Legislature on the Democratic ticket, and who also served as an alderman.

George W. Harris and Fred R. Moore also served in the aldermanic chamber. James Stephens, Pope Billups, Francis Rivers, Lamar Perkins, Robert R. Justice and William T. Andrews have all served terms in the assembly.

One of the losers was Eunice Hunton Carter, who sought the nomination on the Republican ticket. It was customary for the party to reward the loser with an appointment and since most of the candidates were lawyers, they wound up usually in the District Attorney's office.

End of GOP Rule

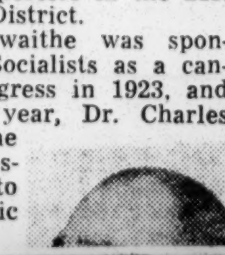
When Judge Watson and Judge Toney were elected, it was the beginning of the end of Republican domination in Harlem.

Swept into office, they carried the entire Democratic ticket with them—and one of those elected was an unknown who had worked in one of the big railroad stations as a red cap before his election.

Commenting on the results and asked about this particular man, the white Irish leader is reputed to have said, "We could have elected a dead Chinaman on that ticket!"

The first colored candidate for Congress was Reverdy Ransome, who was sponsored for Congress in 1918 by supporters in the 21st Congressional District.

Frank Crosswaithe was sponsored by the Socialists as a candidate for Congress in 1923, and the following year, Dr. Charles Roberts was the Republican designee, losing to the Democratic incumbent.



Mr. Crosswaithe

Again in 1928, the Republicans named a colored candidate for the Congressional nomination.

After peddling the nomination around, ignoring George W. Harris, who was the logical choice, [s]ettling on the forman, Edward A. Johnson, the party set out to defeat him.

Blind Aspirant Feared

Johnson was blind, but in spite of this handicap, he made a good showing, so much so they would not name him again when, in 1930, they selected Hubert Delaney.

Delaney, too, went down to defeat, but he was consoled with a $10,000 job as tax assessor for Manhattan.

Powell Makes History

There were many rumblings and thunderings, but nothing was done until the Rev. Adam Powell Jr., catching the public's fancy, won the election hands down.

So, again, Harlem begins to boil politically and there is a wild scramble on with candidates offer-
going to the Rev. Adam Powell
ing themselves to the public as the best possible person for the particular job, and the voters looking on with a wary eye.

George Harris, who was in office in 1919 when Congressman Powell was a mere urchin, is gunning for the Congressional election—with the incumbent seeking re-election.

1946 ELECTION PRELUDE

Chicago, Ill. Defender

Nation's Liberals Unite

Sat. 10-5-46

More than 300 representatives of the nation's progressive civic and political organizations met here on Saturday in the largest mobilization of liberals since the death of Franklin Roosevelt and formed a popular front coalition, dedicated to full support of the Roosevelt foreign and domestic policies.

The meeting marked the first move the NAACP has taken in positive political action, reflected the new tenor of liberal unity sweeping the country. Speakers in both the day and evening sessions reaffirmed the Roosevelt and Wallace lines, and called for support from all progressive forces to turn out for the November elections.

Maintain Separate Identity

The conference strategy called for the popular coalition on the upper levels with member organizations maintaining their separate identity, is to properly place votes in marginal areas, insuring election of progressive candidates to the 80th Congress. Following the fall elections, a committee of representatives from 50 organizations will meet, and lay plans for a mid-January conference in Washington. The January conference will plan strategy for effecting passage of liberal legislation.

On domestic issues, chief aims of the coalition are passage of FEPC, repeal of the poll tax, passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill.

Keynote of the session was the address of former Secretary of the Treasury Henry W. Morgenthau Jr., who attacked reactionary domestic policy, the Congress inspired inflation spiral, and the peacetime army budget of 13 billion dollars. He was supported by Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, who blasted Congressmen of the Taft ilk, in a major departure from his organization's usual policy. Other speakers, including Philip Murray, CIO head, and Harold Ickes, former Interior Secretary, sounded the same note.

Undiscussed, officially but still dominating the session was the third party issue. Although the conference agreed with the opinion of most experts that the time was not right for such a move, the topic was discussed in whispers throughout dozens of small caucuses and in between sessions recesses.

Only ironic note of the entire conference came in the closed session, when a youth from Minnesota, reminded the delegates that no word of support had been sent the man who carried the torch for the entire movement. He introduced a resolution urging Henry Wallace to carry on in his fight for domestic and foreign policy reform, which was passed by the body. The youth also scored the gathering for taking a defensive stand, and called for a greater mobilization of forces to support its program.

Arnall Mantle To Folsom As Reaction Sweeps South

Defender Chicago, Ill.

By JOHN L. Le FLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA — The election of James E. "Big Jim" Folsom as governor of Alabama was the only thing that saved progressive forces in the South from being wiped completely off the map by the rising tide of reaction in the recent election. Sat. 11-16-46

Two notable anti-Negro victories led the parade of the reactionary forces here. They were passage of the vicious Boswell Amendment, that, ironically, occurred in Alabama, and to which Folsom was bitterly opposed; and the defeat of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin by a Talmadge henchman in this city.

Proponents of the Boswell Amendment openly admitted that their intention in urging adoption of the measure was to strip the Negro of his recently won vote.

Folsom For Arnall

On the brighter side, with the election of Folsom, the mantle of progressive leadership that has been worn by retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia goes to a neighboring state.

But even Folsoms' popularity was unable to stem the tide of reaction as recorded in the vote for the Boswell Amendment.

Folsom stands for interracial goodwill, increased old age pensions, a minimum school teachers salary of $1,800 annually, and the night before elections, he went on the radio to condemn with fervor the Boswell Amendment.

On the other hand vicious anti-Negro attacks were made by radio by Boswell Amendment supporters such as Former Gov. Frank Dixon, ex-Ku Klux Klan Atty. Horace Wilkinson, and State Democratic Executive Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. Gov. Chauncey Sparks also supported the amendment.

Another court battle in prospect is that of Mrs. Mankin, who is expected to challenge the omission of her name from the ballot in the general election. By standards used in most states. she was nominated in the primaries, but the Talmadge gang ruled her out and in the Nov. 5 election only the name of James C. Davis appeared.

Progressives Gird For Little Man's Fight Against Reaction

Defender Sat. 11-16-46

Chicago, Ill.

(Defender Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON — Refusing to accept last week's Republican victory as a repudiation of the Roosevelt policies by the American people, leaders of the nation's liberal and progressive organizations met in Washington Friday to map plans for continuing the "little man's fight against reaction."

Included among the 30-odd national leaders who attended sessions of the "Conference of Progressives" held at the Carleton hotel, were two former Roosevelt cabinet members as well as officers and spokesmen for many of the nation's outstanding labor, minority, political and professional organizations.

Describing the Republican victory as "a temporary setback," the official conference statement said that the progressive forces of the nation and within Congress "remain strong" and declared that a slight change in Tuesday's balloting would have changed the results completely.

Contending that the returns do not represent the people's endorsement of "reaction's program for America," the conference charged that the vote had been negative, "expressing the dissatisfaction of the people with the failure of the Seventy-ninth Congress, dominated by a reactionary coalition, refusing to make any progress in the satisfaction of the vital needs of the people." 11-16-46

The conference expressed its determination to realign its forces and to continue its fight into the Eightieth Congress, declaring that through "mobilizing and uniting the people to fight on these issues we can and will expose reaction's real program for America, check its offensive against the people, and prepare them for the coming struggles of 1947 and 1948."

At the time of the formation of the "Conference of Progressives" early in October, leaders of the new organization were charged with setting up the framework of a new party. These charges, however, were denied at that time and again during Friday's session.

Phillip Murray, CIO president, declared that the conference represents the "most powerful liberal agency ever brought together in the history of the country." He added, however, that at this time there is no thought of its becoming the nucleus of a third party though he declined to speculate upon developments. Defender Chicago, Ill.

Participants in Friday's sessions included: Henry Morgenthau, former Secretary of the Treasurer; Harold L. Ickes, former Secretary of Interior, and Jo Davidson of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Walter White, executive secretary, NAACP; Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action committee; Frank Kingdon, C. B. Baldwin, and Elmer Benson of the National Citizens Political Action committee; Robert Kenny, National Lawyers Guild and Clark Foreman, Southern Conference for Human Welfare. Sat. 11-16-46

Washington plebiscite wherein D.C. residents voted yes or no on whether they wanted to elect their own officials and have right to vote for president, produced only 116,559 votes for home rule and 49,699 against. For national representation 139,272 for and 26,687 against. About a third of the voters were colored and most of them were for a D.C. vote, although we heard some of them say they voted "No" because a vote would up taxes. A lot of white folks voted against home rule and in the schools the white high school kids had more votes against home rule than for it. Reason for this is best summed up in words of some white vet students reported to us by the Jewish merchant in whose store they eat lunch and talk—"If we get home rule we may get a nigger governor." (D.C. population is almost one-third Negro.)

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-16-46

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Quite a Year In Georgia Politics

Sun. 12-29-46

One of the most hectic years in Georgia's political history is ending just as it begun, with the State wondering who will be its next Governor. A Governor was elected and died before taking office. Negroes voted in the Democratic "white" primary and became an issue in a bitter gubernatorial race. A Negro announced for coroner of Fulton county, but withdrew and entered an institution. A woman was elected to Congress on a popular vote and later defeated when the system of election was changed to county unit votes—and she is now contesting the election in Congress. The two most powerful city political machines were knocked from power. Three Congressmen were defeated. The State pushed its fight against freight rate conspiracy in the United States Supreme Court. It battled the Ku Klux Klan and Columbians, despite death threats to Gov. Arnall and Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke. Teachers received a twelfth-month salary and had their pay increased 50 percent. Farmers got a tax refund on gasoline used in tractors. The biggest road building program in history was launched. A million dollar building program for welfare and educational institutions was underway. The 2,500-bed Battey Hospital was obtained free from the Federal Government, and tubercular patients from the 500-bed Alto Sanatorium were moved in. An honor camp was established at Battey for juvenile prisoners. The State was debt free for the first time in more than a century. Veterans, home from war, entered politics; many are coming to the Legislature. And Gov. Arnall added to his national fame by publishing a book, "The Shore Dimly Seen."

The Governorship In a 15-day "holdover" session, the General Assembly failed to lift the ban on Gov. Arnall succeeding himself. DeLacey Allen and Hoke Willis were announced candidates for Governor, but later withdrew. Marvin Griffin announced for Governor, changed later to the Lieutenant-Governor's race and ran second. Feelers were sent up by many potential candidates. The Federal courts ruled the Negro could vote in primaries. Roy Harris made a futile effort to convene the Legislature in special session to get around this decision; Gov. Arnall successfully resisted this. Jimmie Carmichael, former Gov. Talmadge, former Gov. Rivers, and Hoke O'Kelly qualified as the four candidates for Governor—Talmadge emphasizing preservation of the white primary and all promising to continue the teachers' pay raise and expand State services. Harris backed Talmadge; DeLacey Allen supported Carmichael. Talmadge was elected on the county unit system, although he failed to poll as many popular votes as Carmichael. Promising to fire Welfare Director A. J. Hartley, whose poll predicted Carmichael would win, Talmadge defeated in the general election a proposal to create a constitutional welfare department. Meanwhile, Dr. Cullen Gosnell of Emory University made a futile challenge in the United States Supreme Court of the Georgia county unit system.

Gov.-Elect Talmadge suffered a stomach ailment, was unable to attend the State Democratic Convention, and died weeks later, on Dec. 21, in an Atlanta hospital. Thousands viewed his body as it lay in state at the capitol, and thousands attended the funeral at McRae. The death of this man (the second ever to win the Governorship four times) left the State debating who should take his seat in the Governor's chair: his son, Herman, who received "write-in" votes in the general election, or the Lt. Gov.-Elect M. E. Thompson.

Congressional Shifts Rep. Robert Ramspeck resigned. Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin beat 19 men, nosing out Tom Camp, to fill the unexpired term. In preparation for the new term, the Ramspeck-appointed committee changed the system of elections from popular vote to county unit. Objecting, Mrs. Mankin named her own committee which retained the popular vote basis. In the Democratic primary, Judge James Davis won on the county unit plan and Mrs. Mankin won on the popular vote plan. The outgoing State Democratic Committee put both names on the general election ballot as Democratic nominees. The incoming State Democratic Convention knocked Mrs. Mankin off. Attorney General Eugene Cook and Secretary of State Ben Fortson refused to eliminate her name (on the grounds it was too late to change the ballot), until the courts ruled it off. As a "write-in" candidate. Mrs. Mankin received thousands of votes, but Davis' votes outnumbered hers. At present, Mrs. Mankin is protesting the election in Congress.

Other congressional changes saw Henderson Lanham defeat Rep. Malcolm Tarver, Prince Preston nosed out Rep. Hugh Peterson, and Don Wheeler upset Rep. John Gibson.

Equally as confusing as the Mankin-Davis row was the case of the Savannah solicitorship. Nominated for a new term, Sol. Samuel Cann resigned. Andrew Ryan and Columbus Alexander became candidates. The State Democratic Convention ordered ordinaries to list Alexander as the Democratic nominee, but Cook and Fortson ruled it was too late to change the ballot. In a "write-in" battle, Ryan carried Chatham County and received the most votes "to fill the unexpired term of Cann," while Alexander had the most Statewide votes "for solicitor" with no term specified. Gov. Arnall commissioned Ryan, and a court fight is now in progress.

Machines Bite Dust Rulers of Richmond County for one-quarter century, the powerful Augusta Crackers were defeated by a new party, the Independents, in the political surprise of the year. Bill Morris ousted House Speaker Roy Harris as Representative. Following this trend, "The Party," powerful political machine which ruled Chatham County for many years, was beaten by a new group, the Citizens Progressive League. While not in machine counties, the incumbents in Fulton and Glynn Counties were swept from office as they sought re-election.

New faces appeared at the State Capitol. Dr. Raymond Paty, University of Alabama president, will become chancellor of the University System of Georgia next week, succeeding the late Chancellor S. V. Sanford. Secretary of State John B. Wilson and Comptroller General Homer Parker died. Ben Fortson replaced Wilson and was elected for the new term. Bill Mitchell filled Parker's unexpired term, and Zack Cravey was elected for the new one. All other Statehouse officers were re-elected.

There were two trials during the year. The Veterans Service Board exonerated Director Arthur Cheatham of charges of playing politics. The Merit Board upheld Labor Commissioner Ben Huiet's firing of Terry Busbee for inefficiency, but censored Huiet for raising the pay of a man he knew to be inefficient.

Thus the year 1946 passes into Georgia political history.

Productive Territory

The News and Courier
Charleston, S.C.

As long as democracy (little "d") shall prevail in Georgia, there will be plenty of room for disturbance in that land not only for Columbians, Inc., but for "Liberals", Communists, professional Uplifters, kluxers and other varieties of fly-by-nights.

12-19-46

Wed. 12-18-46

Jennings Perry
PM New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-10-46

The Chances Aren't

My friend, Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia, darkly looks for the Republican 80th Congress to stomp on Senate filibusters and ram through "force bills" most Southern representatives have consistently fought. Gov. Arnall is a conscientious progressive. I have great respect and affection for him. But I can neither share his quoted fears nor, unfortunately, put much faith in his prophecy.

Perry

The FEPC and anti-lynching bills he mentions specifically are not the bills the filibusters have fought most earnestly. Indeed, their wailing over these bills has largely been to rouse race prejudice to backstep their main barricade which they hold at all costs—against legislation to lift an iniquitous device which, in keeping millions of Southerners from voting, helps keep the filibusterers themselves in office. The FEPC and anti-lynching bills began in the North. But it is against the anti-poll-tax bill, Southern in origin and sponsorship, which Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida has promised promptly to renew at the next session, that reactionary Southern Democrats battle with real—if selfish—terror.

In this fight, the issue is simply the right to vote, elemental in a democracy. I don't think Gov. Arnall is being professionally Southern in viewing askance the prospect of Federal legislation upon it. He managed to restore the free vote in Georgia by what amounted to an Executive Order. Perhaps he was overimpressed with the ease of his achievement. There is little room to hope, however, that the people of the remaining poll-tax states will be able to regain their free suffrage without Congressional assistance. Gov.-elect Folsom of Alabama, pledged to poll-tax removal, has yet to reckon with a legislature sent up by an electorate comprising less than one in 10 of the state's adult population. In Tennessee, where a commission appointed by Gov. McCord has just recommended a constitutional convention to clear the right of the legislature to repeal (or not to repeal) the poll-tax requirement, the possibility of such a convention ever being held is painfully remote. Carefully appended to the commission's report is a footnote by Boss Crump's member of the group, Will Gerber, Shelby County Attorney-General, doubting that the proposed suffrage amendment "would be wise."

The voteless millions of the South have turned to their other Government—the Government of the Nation—for protection of their right to vote at least for their representatives in Congress and for President. Both major parties have promised this protection, and it matters no whit to the tax-disfranchised whether their need is met by a Democratic or a Republican Congress. It does matter enormously to our form of government whether or not the Congress acts to uphold free elections. The reason I am afraid Gov. Arnall is wrong about the Republicans brushing aside the filibuster is that they are under a considerable obligation to the Southern brethren who have helped sabotage the liberal program President Truman presented. Furthermore, they have no assurance that a free-voting Southern electorate would continue to furnish representatives who could be depended upon to vote Republican on the floor of Congress.

I am aware also that Republican Senators could have broken poll-tax filibusters at any time in the past five years by voting solidly for cloture, and nevertheless I would like to see them, next year, prove Gov. Arnall right. If the effect is to re-establish the free vote in the South, I should be delighted.

And would not that be, for those reactionary Southern Democrats who have worked so well to bring the Republicans back to power, a poetic justice beyond compare?

THE HIGHWAY:

How to Clip South's Wings in Congress

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 12-28-46

By CHARLES H. HOUSTON
Noted Washington Attorney

The Chicago Tribune proposes that the Fourteenth Amendment be invoked to reduce the number of Mississippi Congressmen in the House of Representatives as a penalty for the State's denial of the right to vote to colored citizens.

Section 2 of the Fourteenth Amendment provides that "when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State or the members of the State legislature, is denied to citizens of a State, the State's representation in Congress shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such citizens denied the vote bears to the total number of citizens in the State.

Dixie's Unfair Practices

Historically, the South has always used its colored population to obtain unfair political advantages for itself. When the Constitution was being framed, the South demanded that its slaves be counted in order to increase its representation in Congress.

A compromise was worked out which became Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution, whereby representation in Congress was determined by the number of free persons in the State plus three-fifths of all other persons (excluding Indians not taxed).

In short, although a slave had no political rights at all, he was still counted as three-fifths of a free persons, in order to swell the South's representation in Congress.

The Afro-American

Rise and Fall of Dixie

After the Civil War, the slave became a free person, a citizen of the United States and his local State.

Baltimore, Md.

The South then got the advantage of being able to count all of its citizens head for head, for the purpose of determining its representation in Congress, and Southern representation increased.

For a short while after the Civil War, colored citizens voted freely in the South under military and reconstruction governments, but by force and intimidation, and Northern indifference, the Southern former slave masters soon overthrew the reconstruction governments. Sat. 12-28-46

They perpetuated "white supremacy" by trick clauses in State constitutions and State statutes which disfranchised the colored man and paved the way for the rotten one-party white Democratic primary system in the South today.

Not a Sure Cure

I am grateful to The Tribune for reminding the South there is a Constitutional penalty for disfranchising any of its citizens. The difficulty, however, with a program limited to reducing Southern representation in Congress, is that it does not cure the basic evil.

It leaves the Negro still disfranchised and the white Democratic primary system untouched.

As long as the one-party white Democratic primary system prevails in the South, it will continue to produce irresponsible demagogues like Bilbo, Rankin and Talmadge.

Hope for Liberal South

I have faith that the progressive forces in the South, in spite of present temporary setbacks, shortly will be able to establish free, unrestricted suffrage and eliminate the "white primary" in the South.

At the outset they will need the strong arm of the Federal Government in the protection of individual citizens from intimidation and violence, and they will need the support of an aroused public opinion over the entire country.

Excellent as Warning

The Tribune's stand reflects a growing determination on the part of the rest of the country to make the South realize that it is still a part of the United States and governed by the Federal Constitution.

Because that stand warns the South that if there is no other way to bring it under control, the people will demand a reduction of its representation in Congress, the agitation for reducing Southern representation is helpful.

Yet, we can never afford to lose sight of the fact that the real pathway to political maturity in the South is not by reducing Southern representation in Congress, but by the extension of a free unrestricted ballot to all citizens.

That is the only way a republican form of government will ever be established south of the Potomac.

How to Go to Washington

The Afro-American

What America needs more than anything else is a good course in how the government operates.

Never was this more apparent than during the recent tide of righteous indignation which swept the country after the Georgia lynchings and swept a lot of delegations into the Capital, almost to no good purpose. Baltimore, Md.

It is a waste of both time and money for delegations to jump on the train and come to Washington on the spur of the moment without proper planning as to appointments.

Last week a group came all the way from Chicago and cooled their heels in the station while their leaders called frantically for Rep. William Dawson to arrange an appointment with the Attorney General because they were going back on the afternoon train. Sat. 8-31-46

Another group, representing the Council of Community Churches (100 strong) came over from Baltimore and wanted to see the President immediately.

Not only was Mr. Truman in Bermuda fishing, but even his secretary (in charge of race squawks) David Niles was out.

When they finally got organized after getting Congressman Powell's secretary to intercede, they reached the White House to find that even Secretary Niles's secretary was out to lunch.

They left a resolution which could have been sent with a three-cent stamp.

The story is this: Government officials, Senators, Congressmen and what have you are all busy people and don't sit around with their feet on the desk waiting for unexpected delegations to drop in.

When such groups arrive they are shunted off to some 12th assistant who hears them politely and promises to convey their protests to the big shot.

For all the good it does they might as well tell their troubles to the janitor.

Don't stop coming, but use common sense. Write for an appointment. Get it verified. Select an intelligent spokesman (just one and let him do the talking in English, split infinitives don't help).

Above all when you have an appointment be on time. Don't stand around looking at watches, waiting for Brother So and So who missed the bus.

And it doesn't do a whole lot of good to shake your fist under an official's nose and threaten reprisals at the polls. They are practical politicians and know what you can and what you can't do.

And don't tell him you are speaking for "15 million colored people." He knows otherwise.

Decide exactly for whom you are speaking and stick to it. If you're only speaking for one and have something sensible to say, he'll listen.

And don't go home and brag about what you told those "high officials" in Washington. Everybody with a white collar on is not a high official. He may only be the office boy, and when you come without an appointment he generally is.

The Negro—The Franchise

By Stewart Alsop

The News and Courier

This is the last of several articles by Stewart Alsop on the political situation in the South.

Charleston, S.C. WASHINGTON.

In Georgia, for the first time, the negroes voted in really important numbers this year—80,000 seems the best estimate of the negro vote. Elsewhere, they have voted in greater numbers than ever before. The result—and Southerners of every political stripe are agreed that one follows on the other—has been that in most states with an important negro minority the movement to disenfranchise the negro once and for all has been greatly strengthened. This movement exists not only in Talmadge's Georgia or Bilbo's Mississippi. It also exists in the liberal oasis, Alabama, where the racial issue was not raised in this year's political contest. That is the measure of the depth of feeling on the racial issue in the deep South.

Georgia and Mississippi, if the plans of the Bilbo and Talmadge political camps succeed, intend to imitate the example of South Carolina. The Supreme Court decision, which confirmed the right of negro citizens to vote in the Democratic primaries, was based on the state laws of Texas. South Carolina has in effect by-passed the decision merely by repealing all its state laws dealing with the primary. The primary thus becomes a private affair, extra-legal—much as if every person with red hair or the name of Smith banded together to nominate a candidate—and in South Carolina the primary has been exclusively white. A move is on foot to test the constitutionality of this device before the Supreme Court, but in the meantime the Talmadgites and the Bilborites are for it.

In Alabama another device has been proposed to accomplish the same end. It is called the Boswell Amendment, and the citizens of Alabama will either approve or reject it this November. There is no doubt in anyone's mind as to its purpose; is sponsors have stated frankly that it is designed to keep the negroes from voting. The vote would be restricted to those who can "understand and explain" the Constitution. As pointed out by Colonel Richard Rives, of Montgomery, one of the leaders of the liberal Hill-Sparkman camp in Alabama politics, Justice Felix Frankfurter would undoubtedly be obliged in all conscience to disenfranchise Justice

Hugo Black under the terms of the amendment, and vice versa. The uses which an unscrupulous machine politician, of the stripe of Huey Long, could make of this kind of regulation not only against negroes but against whites of the opposite political camp, are all too obvious.

The amendment has the unanimous approval of the powerful Democratic executive committee, and at the moment the betting is that it will be approved. Yet the opposition to the kind of "solution" of the racial issue offered by the Boswell amendment is often underestimated outside the South.

There is in fact a powerful party in almost every Southern state of those who beileve sincerely that qualified negroes should be given the vote. Sometimes this is a mere pious and public wish, but more often it is sincere. Yet all these men are gradualists. They would slowly work the negroes into the existing political system, in such a way that bloc negro vote, the nightmare of all white Southerners, should be avoided.

Moral judgment to one side, it is important to realize that this is about the position on the racial issue held by the great majority of those men who are leading the fight against Bilboism in the South. It is politically important to the rest of the country, both that strong opposition to Bilboism exists, and that the leaders of this opposition are all gradualists. For nothing can be more obvious than that, whether Northern idealists like it or not, Bilboism will be beaten, if it is beaten at all, by Southerners.

Such men believe, rightly or wrongly, that if the South is given time it will eventually reach a point where the negroes can achieve political and economic equality with the whites. But it is unrealistic to blink the fact that social segregation is still a firmly rooted part of the whole Southern cultural pattern. Even Southern C. I. O. leaders will tell you that it will be generations before Jim Crow is eliminated. It may surprise many Northerners to find that in the C. I. O. itself a mild form of Jim Crow is practiced. There is complete voting and economic equality between whites and negroes in a union, but at a meeting the whites will sit on one side of the hall, and the negroes on the other. If a union social function is scheduled, there is one for the whites and one for the negroes, and they take place under separate roofs.

The C. I. O. in fact practices what the Southern gradualists preach: political and economic equality, and social segregation. That such a compromise is unsatisfactory in a democracy goes without saying. But it is fatuous to imagine that more can be achieved in the measurable future. And any Southern, C. I. O. leaders included, will tell you that even this will not happen overnight. It will take a long, long time.

Deep South Speaks

The Call
Kansas City Fri. 12-20-46

ROBERT DURR
NNPA STAFF WRITER

VOICELESS MILLIONS TO SPEAK!

In the recent general elections, upwards of 36 or 38 colored were elected to state legislatures. Two were reelected to the Congress. These colored persons will participate in the making of laws under which their constitutents in the various states from which they come must live. The participation of Representatives William L. Dawson and Adam C. Powell will indirectly touch the lives of colored people everywhere because, in realtiy, they are the elected representatives of the people in the Congressional districts from which they come.

Robert Durr

The bulk of colored people in the United States still live in the deep South. For the most part, these millions do not have a voice in Washington, from among and of them, to speak in their behalf, and to serve as a moral watchdog in their interest, on a day-by-day basis. They have no one from and of the South to keep members of Congress advised of the wishes and needs of the millions of voiceless little people in the deep South. Their representatives' faces are not seen or their voice heard enough in high places.

In order that the voiceless millions of ordinary colored people of the deep South may be heard in interpreting their needs and concerning what is happening to them, to members of Congress and top federal government officials, it is proposed to set up what may be called the Deep South institute, with service headquarters in Washington, sponsoring offices in Birmingham, Ala., and advisory posts in each state of the deep South. An advisory committee consisting of a representative from each of the Congressional districts in the South and two additional from each state-at-large, representing a cross section of colored life in the deep South, is being formed.

Beginning early in 1947, the deep South institute will begin its moral watchdog services for the voiceless millions in the deep South. Every member of Congress and top government official in the nation's capital will be constantly informed on the actual thinking, conditions, needs and desires of the voiceless colored people in the South.

ANALYZE LAWS

The Deep South institute will analyze existing and proposed laws for the edification of the people it is set up to serve, and pass this information on to these people through members of its advisory committee, the press, radio and otherwise. It will be both a public relations and lobbying institution for the voiceless millions of colored people in the deep South. It will be the voice of, by, and for the new voiceless millions of black folk in the deep South.

The need for this service can not be disputed. Almost every other segment of American life has a similar service organization operating on the national level. Inasmuch as, for the most part, millions of colored people do not vote and, therefore have no voice in the making and administration of the laws under which they must live insofar as the South is concerned—their Representatives and Senators, unless far above the average, are only concerned about the welfare and needs of the white voters in the areas from which they come. They are often opposed to representation by colored people. It is the determination of the sponsor of the Deep South institute that the voiceless colored people of the South shall be heard in Washington from tomorrow henceforth.

TO SUPPLEMENT AGENCIES

Sponsors of the Deep South institute say that its service will supplement that of the other national service bureaus in Washington, such as that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the National Urban League, and the Fraternal Council of Churches. It will concern itself primarily with the needs and desires of the voiceless colored people of the deep South. It will cooperate heartily with other organizations rendering a similar service on a national level. Its advisory committee will convene in Washington at least once a year and will conduct a service and information workshop and work out a plan of operation for the year.

The members of the advisory committee will, in turn, hold regional and state meetings on problems affecting our people in particular areas. Out of such meetings and conferences, the position of colored people respecting proposed legislation and governmental action will crystalize and be made known to members of Congress.

PLAN RELOCATION

If the situation in the deep South grows more and more different and intolerable in sections, plans of the Deep South institute call for service to worthy folk who want to relocate elsewhere. It is agreed by many that several million colored people now in the deep South should move to other sections to relieve racial tensions in backward areas. If the situation does not reverse itself by rapid industrialization of the South and equitable integration of colored people along with other folk into employment, under fair employment practice, millions and millions will have to move out of the deep South. This moving should be facilitated by a service organization insofar as individuals are concerned, on the basis of an assistance plan which can be made to work.

The Deep South institute has established sponsoring headquarters at 327 Eighth Avenue North, Birmingham, Ala. I will be happy to give anyone desiring information on how he may help to facilitate the work of the Deep South institute. Address all correspondence to The Deep South Institute, 327 Eighth Avenue North, Birmingham, Ala.

12-20-46

Absurd and Silly

The News and Courier
Charleston, S. C.
Wed. 12-11-46

The absurdity, the silliness, of the "Columbians, Inc.", as of the latterday Kluxes, are that not from the negroes but from lowdown white men who cozzle the negroes is the only negro danger to the white South. So it was, so it is, and so it will be. The danger comes from the nasty breed of politicians who mislead and herd ignorant and corruptible white men in primary elections. Your white office-seeker who with money and other enticements rounds up a sufficient number of irresponsible white creatures on primary election day is none too good to employ the same tactics in elections to get negro votes if he thinks it will pay and that he can get by with it. In South Carolina, beautiful state that it is, is no complete dearth of scalawag material.

Rules in Alabama III. Triumvirate

The News and Courier
Charleston, S. C.
Sat. 8-24-46

By STEWART ALSOP.

WASHINGTON.

While Joseph Alsop has been writing his series on England, Stewart Alsop has been on an extended trip throughout most of the Southern states. This is the third of several articles by Stewart Alsop on the political situation in the South.

While Georgia has moved in one direction with the unappetizing fanatic, Eugene Talmadge, nearby Alabama has moved in exactly the opposite direction. There the people have confirmed as the reigning political triumvirate three genial, outsized politicians who are firmly opposed to everything Talmadge stands for.

Senator Lister Hill is the senior member of this triumvirate. He is a large, affable man who conceals beneath his surface geniality great shrewdness and real intelligence. "Raised to politics" by his prosperous family, he entered the senate in the middle 30s as a moderate conservative, but he has tended more and more to become the leader of the small liberal wing of the Southern congressmen. He has made a real impression in the senate, and he has been mentioned as a vice-presidential possibility for 1948. But it is unlikely that this will ever be more than talk. A national candidate from the deep South would probably cost the Democratic ticket most of the Northern negro vote.

* * *

Number 2 is John Sparkman, majority whip of the house, who was nominated to the senate by a clear majority over two opponents this month. A big, red-faced man, son of a tenant farmer, his 10-year

ous man, many ties and coats in the dining room. e that his huge it was necessary to insist that shoes s a habit of dis- be worn.

* * *

together and his jokes. h his success rnorship than but they fear that if he regards the r his support governorship as some bright new toy he may do the cause for which Jim's enthu- he stands real harm. However, last are keeping their week he came to Washington, and against the time Hill and Sparkman, with the help to the impressive of Alabaman Hugo Black, under- in Montgomery, took to impress him with the fact thing whatsoever that the eyes of the nation are now edious aspects of upon him. The course of indoc- overnment. It is trination reached its climax at a me of the men small dinner given by Postmaster ot entirely unsel- General Robert Hannegan, at which es. Moreover, Big Big Jim was seated next to the ays measure up president. He is reported now to rd of gubernato- be suitably impressed with the se- ama is still buzz- riousness of his new responsibili- the uninhibited ties.

n a Florida hotel, governorship. On Whatever their personal qualities, manager is re- most Alabamans are proud of the formed him that three men who have been given the s not stuffy about three most important political jobs

This Evening

Birmingham News
TWO SOUTHS

Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution, recently warned professional Southerners against becoming "monkeys in cages scratching the same old fat and contented fleas." He said such writers and speakers are given to empty slogans calculated to please oversensitive readers and audiences, while other men who feel called upon to fight the status quo are condemned as ingrates if they stay at home, or traitors if they go elsewhere. Clarence Nixon, who made a very candid speech in Philadelphia the other night as president of the Southern Political Association, is therefore twice-damned. He spoke out in meeting about political discriminations in the South, and he did so for the benefit of "furriners." But Dr. Nixon is an old hand at having his say in spite of hell and high water, and he is more deeply interested in using the truth to promote change than he is in currying favor with people who nurse their wrath to keep it warm. 4-1-46-Monday

He was intent, in this address which he called "Politics in the Hills," upon proving that there is a progressive South which is politically largely at the mercy of a reactionary South. He did so by pointing to the disadvantage under which communities like Birmingham, Atlanta and Chattanooga labor, because the cards are stacked against their making themselves duly felt by law and tradition. The hill and forward-looking country of the South is at present, despite population, wealth, and other signs of advancement, politically impotent to a large extent in the presence of a river-bottom autocracy. This has come about because of "imbalances" flowing out of suffrage restrictions and the lack of reapportionment. The upshot is that the tail is wagging the dog in Alabama, Georgia and Tennessee.

Quite naturally, Dr. Nixon is specially concerned about the situation in Alabama. He was born and raised in the briar patch. He knows his "Possum Trot"—all that it is and is not and all that it might be, with better luck. And it is out of this fullness of knowledge and devotion that he describes the way in which the Black Belt has managed to stay in power which the rest of the state has had to be satisfied with crumbs from the table. There are large reasons for this, and there are lesser ones, and among the latter is the way in which some politicians from outside the Black Belt have always been found ready to play the game of the Black Belters. When senators and representatives are chosen in Northern Alabama, they ought, as a minimum requirement, to be pledged to fight loyally for reapportionment.

Upholds Southern Senators

Courier Journal Louisville Ky

J. G. Hatcher of Henderson objects to Southern Senators voting with Republicans on some issues before the Congress. He says that when Southern Senators vote with Republicans they are Republicans. It has been my experience that when Southern Senators vote with Republicans they are voting American. This nonsense about the South and Southern representatives being Republican, conservatives and other things that various individuals don't like, is ridiculous.

The South and the Southerner have been upholding the Jefferson theory of government and the American philosophy of government over the years against those who have been trying to change our form of government to something alien to our traditions. I suggest that the carpetbaggers and the Communists who are constantly criticising the South brush up a bit of their history. Mon. 4-8-46

The South believes in States' rights; wants to decentralize our government; wants freedom from interference by the Government in the personal affairs of their people. I suggest that, if anyone finds living in the South objectionable to his way of life, he move to New York City, where everyone is free and happy, including those who live in the ghettos and the slums and along Mott and McDougal Streets—not forgetting that gay community of low-grade bars and honky-tonks, the city of Harlem.

Washington, D. C. LARRY DOOLEY.

Dr. H. Clarence Nixon Refutes South's Solid Right Wing Label

Birmingham News, Alabama
Fri 3-29-46

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., March 29—A study of the politics of the Southern hill section, of which Birmingham is a part, refutes the impression of some outsiders that the South is solidly or completely right wing, Dr. H. Clarence Nixon, Vanderbilt University faculty member and editor of the Vanderbilt University Press, said here last night.

On the contrary, Dr. Nixon said in delivering the president's address before the Southern Political Science Association, meeting jointly with the American Political Science Association, the hill country is very much like the rest of the United States, especially when the rest of the United States is democratic. "It has the rough equivalent of a two-party system in its two wings of the Democratic party—it has had ardently consistent Roosevelt men, and anti-Roosevelt men," he said.

* * *

THE ALABAMA-BORN educator, author and historian defined the "Southern hill country" roughly as a triangle formed by lines connecting Birmingham, Atlanta and Chattanooga.

Dr. Nixon said that political free enterprise in the hills is limited by "a tenacious dominance from the low-lands," where "river-bottom agrarians" arrived early and established priority in the exercise of power.

"My native state of Alabama," he said, "combines the 'rotten borough' strategy with an accumulative poll tax requirement for voting, a permanent registration, an educational or property test, and a residence requirement of two years in the state and one in the county. Cap that off with the Democratic 'white primary,' and the set-up seems well designed to safeguard government against serious invasion by Republicans, Negroes and hill-billies."

The speaker pointed out that there had been no reapportionment in Alabama since 1901, although the constitution contains a clear mandate for reapportionment every 10 years.

"The picture is not quite as lopsided as in Georgia," Dr. Nixon continued, "since there are not half so many little outmoded counties. But it is queer enough by any kind of Democratic test."

* * *

HE POINTED OUT THAT JEFFERSON COUNTY had nearly 500,000 population in 1940 and is far ahead of that figure today, but with one-sixth of the state's population, it has only one of 35 state senators and seven of the 106 representatives in the lower house. Lowndes County in the Black Belt has a population that had declined to 22,661 by 1940, three-fourths of them Negroes, but has one state senator and two representatives.

The southern half of the state, he continued, has much less than one-half of the population, much less than one-half of the wealth and tax burden, but a majority in both houses of the Legislature. It has representation on the basis of Negro population that has migrated to Detroit, Chicago and elsewhere, he said. Fri 3-29-46

Dr. Nixon charged that legislators from declining rural counties, including a few in North Alabama, oppose reapportionment "and thus continue black-belt predominance, with accompanying opposition to proposing constitutional changes for liberalizing suffrage.

"The drastic state laws for the regulation of labor are partly to be explained by unbalanced apportionments," he asserted. "Labor has much more cause than has capital for concern over urban under-representation."

Rights in a Democracy

Richmond Times-Dispatch
Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

In answer to H. L. Baptist's question, democracy is a government for the people, by the majority of the people, the principles of which are usually controlled by a constitution. The majority group is in control of the government, but does not occupy every office of that government. This group has no right to make laws pertaining to a minority group that are not in keeping with the Constitution. Mon 4-29-46

Undemocratic laws have been made in certain sections of our country that, although they appear to be aimed at a minority group, have affected the majority group in that section. In some poll tax States the majority of the people are deprived of the right to vote, because they are unable to pay their poll taxes. This includes whites as well as Negroes.

Mr. Baptist, in a democratic government all persons under that government should be given all the rights, and afforded all the protection, given to them by the provisions of their Constitution. Any legislation passed that violates the principles of this Constitution is only making the democracy of this government more impure. Any legislation brought up to correct a violation of this Constitution, and refused to be made a law, is only showing the weakness of that government as a democracy.

C. W. BARNES, JR.,

Richmond.

Southern Realities

Birmingham News

Dr. H. Clarence Nixon, Alabamian to the core and for a long time associated with Vanderbilt University, is one of those Southerners whose loyalty to his own people does not blind him to the social, economic and political handicaps which have victimized them. He can love Possum Trot and see very clearly the things which work against it. He is one of these disarming liberals, because he has a sense of humor. And he is a redoubtable critic because he has at his command a great arsenal of facts. So he goes his way, challenging supporters of the status quo in the South and their voluble mouthpieces and sometimes making them mighty uncomfortable. What he said in Philadelphia Thursday night as president of the Southern Political Science Association, meeting with the national organization in the same field, is a case in point.

In this address, he undertook to show why it is that the South seems so reactionary politically when actually its people are not that way. He contended: "The Southern states are honeycombed with political imbalances, with a consequent wide inequality in per capita voice or power between sections, between races, and between economic groups. One effect of this combination of inequalities is to distort the picture of the real South and support the impression, as recently stated by a writer in *The New Yorker*, that this region is 'almost solidly right wing.' A look at the politics of the hills will show that the South inherently is neither solid nor completely right wing. But it will also show that conservative or reactionary elements exercise an undue and unfair share of power through inflexible patterns made long ago." 3-31-46

He illustrated what he has in mind by dealing at length with the "political manifestations" of the triangular area marked by lines connecting the three cities of Atlanta, Birmingham and Chattanooga, which he called "the Southern Ruhr. You will find a certain measure of "political free enterprise" in this "dynamic hill country," Dr. Nixon believes. It "is politically very much like the rest of the United States, especially when the rest of the United States is Democratic." But it is subject to "a tenacious dominance from the lowlands, where river-bottom agrarians arrived early and established priority in the exercise of power. This is a re-enactment of the internal sectionalism that developed in Virginia from the Revolutionary times to the Civil War, with tidewater gentlemen holding sway for a long time and yielding slowly. The lowland advantage shows up most strikingly in state legislative apportionment and suffrage restrictions, but it is also reflected in party management and congressional gerrymandering, not to mention state elections, taxa-

Sunday 3-31-46

What Dr. Nixon is driving at is not confined to Alabama. He points his moral with examples from Tennessee and Georgia. But toward getting together by Black Belt Negroes, up-country whites and Republican politicians." And the upshot was that "white supremacy" became Black Belt supremacy and "the checks on black Republicans became checks on the republican form of government." 3-31-46

There has been no reapportionment since

1901, though the constitution requires it every 10 years. As a result, Jefferson County, with a sixth of the Alabama population, has only one of 35 state senators and seven of 106 representatives. "Lowndes County down in the Black Belt has a population that had declined to 22,661 by 1940, three-fourths of the number being non-voting Negroes. But Lowndes has one senator and two representatives. The Southern half of the state has much less than half of the population, much less than half the wealth, and much less than half the tax burden, but a majority of both houses of the Legislature. It has representatives on the basis of Negro population that has migrated to Detroit, Chicago and elsewhere. In spite of a strong belief in 'white supremacy,' it thus attaches a unique importance to Negroes who are far away." Sunday

* * *

All this may seem old stuff to informed Alabamians. Dr. Nixon's picture has, however, the value of putting the case freshly and tellingly. But what is the prospect for the more progressive portion of the state? Dr. Nixon is mildly hopeful. The effect of wartime wages and industrialism upon the trend of Southern politics is not to be discounted, he thinks. He discerns "a crop of social Democrats, with opportunities for new leaders to battle the old." The federal government's refusal to discriminate in its treatment of veterans may help "the South go national as it has never gone in a hundred years." Let us hope he is not seeing mirages. Sunday

Truman Ends Any Southern Hope Of Appeasement On Negro Issue

Courier-Journal

Favors F.E.P.C., Poll-Tax Removal

By ROBERT L. RIGGS
The Courier-Journal Washington Bureau.

Washington, April 11.—President Truman today exploded any hope which Southern Democrats may have held that he is in a mood to appease them on the Negro issue. He declared he still favored federal legislation to remove poll-tax requirements by which seven Southern States restrict voting. 4-12-46

He likewise declared he favored federal legislation setting up a Fair Employment Practices Act which would forbid discrimination against Negroes in employment.

Hopes to Settle Question.

"I am in favor of both federal and State action on antipoll-tax legislation, F.E.P.C. and all similar legislation," the President said in a brief statement which he read at his press conference. He added that he hoped that would settle the question.

The question which he hoped thus to settle arose from a press conference which he held in Chicago last Saturday. At that conference, conducted mainly by high-school journalists, the President, in answer to a question from a timid girl, said the poll-tax problem was something that would have to be worked out by the States. Louisville, Ky

When this reply was published, it caused an uproar among groups which have been advocating federal legislation both on poll taxes and the F.E.P.C. One group even suggested that Truman obviously did not intend to run for re-election in 1948, or he would not have reversed his previous record of support for those two proposals. Demands were published that he assert whether he had changed his mind.

The President, therefore, was ready for the question when it came today. He said he already had written his reply, which he read. It said: 4-12-46

"I have not changed my position on federal antipoll-tax legislation. I am still in favor of federal legislation. I voted for cloture on this issue in the Senate and I would do so again if I were a senator. Sunday

"However, I also favor State action. There is no contradiction between federal and State action on this matter. While the federal antipoll-tax legislation has been pending in Congress, several states have abandoned the poll tax. This is a great step forward and I hope that more States will see fit to change their poll-tax laws."

Departs From Text

The President departed from his text at this point to say that you must have the support of the people for any law, if it is to be enforced. The Prohibition Law proved that, he said.

"It may be," he continued, reading from his statement, "that the possibility of federal action has stimulated State action.

"This is often the case with State and local legislation. For example, while we have been pressing for federal action on fair employment practice legislation, several States and a number of Municipalities have adopted Fair Employment Practices Acts.

"Federal legislation and State legislation should supplement one another wherever possible. I am in favor of both federal and State action on antipoll-tax legislation, F.E.P.C. and all similar legislation." 4-12-46

Suspected Peace Offering.

One reason the outcry from liberal groups was so loud after the Chicago press conference was that their members know the relations between Truman and the Southern members of his party are the very worst.

These groups suspected that the President, in a desperate bid for party unity, was offering a sop to the Southerners on the Negro question in the hope that they in return would cease their warfare against other parts of his legislative program.

By joining with the Republicans, Southern Democrats have been able to kill off such legislative proposals as the attempt to increase the minimum wage. In the House the same coalition cut out the "heart" of the Truman-Wyatt housing program, but the Senate restored part of it.

Would Have Hurt Appeal.

4-12-46

Liberal groups also feared that Truman was reversing himself at a time when vigorous efforts are being made to defeat some of the most conservative Southerners in the primaries. The hope of eliminating such men has risen with the Supreme Court decision against "white" primaries and with a vigorous organizing campaign which the C.I.O. is putting on in Southern lumber and textile industries.

The C.I.O. is sending more than 200 organizers into the South with the dual purpose of increasing union membership and rallying votes against conservative Congressmen. Had Truman really decided to change his antipoll-tax and F.E.P.C. stand, his reversal would have weakened their appeal to Negro workers.

Trends Of Southern Politics

Stu Tyre

Almost all over the South the Negro is winning the right to vote in the Democratic primaries, which for all practical purposes is the election; this fact, together with the awakening of the intelligent white voters, foreshadows a revolution in Southern politics. The old regime is on its way out. A recent election in an important Georgia city saw the complete routing of the cracker element that advocated the out-moded doctrine of "white supremacy." But that is no guarantee that the issue is dead everywhere in the South. The governer of Arkansas has openly defied the United States Supreme Court and says that Negroes will not vote in the primaries, regardless of court decisions, and in Georgia, galloused, red-necked, red-tied, Gene Talmadge is campaigning for election as governor on a "white supremacy" platform. We can hardly believe that Georgia will elect Talmadge after the refreshing and decent administration of Ellis Arnall, who under the law cannot be re-elected But we can not tell what will happen. As long as Mississippi tolerates Bilbo and Rankin anything can happen there, while South Carolina and Louisiana are still represented by "rotten borough" politics. Even intelligent. intolerant people of the South like Sensig of Memphis agree that the South needs emancipation from the one-party system, but it means a long hard fight. The entrance of the Political Action Committee of the Congress for Industrial Organization and the American Federation of Labor into the Southern situation may bring good results, but certainly not without stiff opposition.

Charlotte, N.C.

Negroes of the South are fully determined to become an integral part of the election machinery and to become a force in Southern politics as they deserve and have a right to be. But the fight has only begun. It will be won ultimately, but not without a hard, long, bitter struggle

Arnall Says GOP Victory Means No Aid to South

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Nov. 11-8-46

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 7.—Georgia's liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall sees in the Republican congressional victory an end to federal efforts to build up the South economically.

The GOP, he said, "will drop like a hot potato without even thanks," the southern tory Democrats who helped it block so much of the Roosevelt program in Congress.

Virginius Dabney, liberal editor of the Richmond **Times-Dispatch,** agreed with Arnall.

"The conservative Democrats probably won't have anything to gain," he said. "They were doing fine in Washington last year, but the Republicans won't need them any more."

A coalition of Republican reactionaries and tory Democrats will still be necessary, however, to override vetoes and even to put through measures where there will be some GOP defections.

Gov. Ben Laney of Arkansas, who more nearly reflects the thinking of the tory Democrats of the South, was delighted with the GOP victory. He said he welcomed the change in the national picture because it showed a "healthy condition."

Arnall claimed FDR could have prevented what happened at the polls Tuesday if he were alive. He urged Truman to "buckle down" and go before the people with a "constructive and liberal program" that would provide services for the people.

in the state. One Alabama newspaper commented on a new dance which had been invented. "The Georgia Trot, one step forward and three steps back." It remarked that an "Alabama Polka, one step back and three steps forward," would be equally appropriate. While Mississippi has confirmed the Ku-Kluxer Bilbo and the screeching John Rankin, and while Georgia is faced with four years of Talmadge, why has Alabama taken its three steps forward? This reporter asked many Alabamans, of varying political complexion, that question.

The answers differed, but always, sooner or later, the name of Lister Hill cropped up. Hill is quite obviously no radical from the North; he opposed FEPC (it would be hard to find a Southerner in congress who did not). Yet his persistent counsels of reason and moderation have had a real effect on Alabama political thinking. On the more practical side, he has built himself an effective political organization, no machine in the Crump or Tammany sense, but a good working organization.

Finally, two years ago, Hill beat James Simpson when Simpson raised the white supremacy issue. Simpson plastered billboards up and down the state with "Vote for Jim Simpson and white supremacy," but Hill won by a comfortable majority. Simpson ran again this year against Sparkman, but this time the racial issue was never seriously raised. Sat. 8-24-46

"Perhaps it would have been," said one liberal editor to this reporter, "if the negroes had voted here as they did in Georgia. But they didn't. All the same, the racial issue is still the basic issue here. It colors and affects all politics, even when it is never raised." How deeply that is true, and why it is true, is something that non-Southerners must understand if they are to understand what is happening politically in the South.

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Ol' Gene, Young Herman in Georgia, II.

The News and Courier, Charleston, S. C. Fri. 8-23-46

While Joseph Alsop has been writing his series on England, Stewart Alsop has been on an extended trip through most of the Southern states. This is the second of several articles by Stewart Alsop on the political situation in the South.

WASHINGTON.

There are wistful hopes outside of Georgia that the fight on Eugene Talmadge is not over, that the supreme court or an independent opponent may still keep him out of the Georgia governor's mansion.

Even those Georgians who most bitterly detest Talmadge and everything he stands for do not share these hopes. To be sure, if Talmadge had run for governor in any other state, he would now be anticipating a well-deserved rest as a private citizen. But because of the county unit system of voting, peculiar to Georgia, Talmadge will be govenor for four long years, despite the fact that a movement is now under way in Georgia to test the constitutionality of the county unit system before the United States supreme court.

There is a general misconception outside of Georgia that if the supreme court declares the county unit system unconstitutional Talmadge will be automatically unseated, amid national sighs of relief shared by a great majority of Southerners.

Unfortunately this is not to be. If the supreme court did find the system unconstituonal (which is by no means certain), Talmadge would still retain the governorship unless a special election were ordered, a most unusual step. And even if such an election were ordered, knowledgeable observers in Georgia are certain that Talmadge would win a majority of the popular vote. They believe that the negroes would be prevented from voting, that most of the white vote that went to former Governor Talmadge, and that the result would be a smashing victory for "ol' Gene'."

* * *

Unuappetizing as the prospect of the next four years is to many Georgians, even more disagreeable is the considerable possibility that Georgia may be in for an interminable Talmadge dynasty. It is sadly expected that the next candidate of the Talmadge forces, in 1950, will be Gene's son, Herman.

Neither Talmadge should be underestimated. Eugene is a highly intelligent man. He is well educated (he holds a Phi Beta Kappa key), despite the hayseed act he puts on, and he is an exceedingly shrewd lawyer and politician.

Son Herman is reputed to be at least equally smart, and maybe a bit more so. He is well liked by Talmadge followers, and there was even a movement in the Talmadge camp this year to run young Herman instead of the old man. Herman is a vigorous youth and he has a respectable war record. On the radio his voice is wholly undisguishable from his pappy's famous screech. All this added together will make Herman a formidable champion of the Talmadge tradition.

Yet if the melancholy fears of some acute observers of Georgia politics are fulfilled, there will be no need for Herman to rely exclusively on his war record, the Talmadge voice or the Talmadge name. These observers fear that Gene Talmadge has both the means and the intention of establishing a state-wide political machine as well-oiled and as closely controlled as Huey Long's ever was.

Talmadge's rural organization is strong, but Governor Ellis Arnold beat it four years ago. Some Georgians are convinced that Talmadge will take no chances of this happening again. During the campaign Talmadge made much of the necessity of preventing crime and keeping law and order, another way of saying that the negroes should be kept in their place.

* * *

To achieve this end, Talmadge intends that one representative of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, with an assistant, be sent to each one of Georgia's 149 counties, to assist the local sheriffs in their arduous duties. These men would be under control of Talmadge, and it is expected that during lulls between crime waves they would not be idle. It is certainly possible that they may form the basic network of a state-wide political machine, with overtones of political espionage.

A Georgia governor cannot succeed himself, so Gene will not be a candidate four years from now. But young Herman may well find his father's crime-prevention officers useful. The prospect of the two Talmadges playing a game of political leapfrog with each other, alternating in successive terms, is hardly a pleasant one.

All this has been intensely discouraging to those in Georgia who have for years fought everything Talmadge stands for. Such men describe the profound sense of depression and frustration which has weighed on their movement since the Talmadge victory. They say that progressive and ambitious young men are leaving Georgia in droves rather than face an indefinite future of Talmadgism.

Yet it is a serious error, often made by non-Southerners, to underestimate the strength of the opposition to Talmadge and Talmadgism in Georgia and throughout the South. When Talmadge becomes governor, Northerners will be increasingly inclined to think of Georgia and Talmadge as synonymous, forgetting that in Ellis Arnold the citizens of Georgia elected one of the best and most progressive governors in the country, and that all qualified observers are certain that if Arnall could have run to succeed himself he would easily have defeated Talmadge.

That the South's Talmadges need not always win is most clearly demonstrated in Alabama. The political situation in that state deserves more detailed examination. First it shows that the picture, widely held elsewhere in the country, of the South as a morass of Bilbos, Rankins and Talmadges, is inaccurate. Second, it is interesting and significant in itself.

DEMOCRATS

1946 Political Scene Surveyed

By CARTER WESLEY

HOUSTON — As Negroes essay to find themselves in the political world in Texas what they need is alert leadership, willing to learn as they go. The old pattern, used 80-odd years ago when Negroes voted, will hardly serve the best interests of the masses and is not likely to work today in the new circumstances.

But there are a great number of would-be leaders who think that political campaigns are god-sent opportunities for them to gouge some gullible white out of money on the pretext that they can deliver the Negro vote. There are others who, during the years when Negroes did not vote or have power, served as intermediaries between whites downtown and the blacks, who of course conceive of themselves as the vane and directors of Negroes. There are a few others, who have attained leadership in the Negro communities over the years, but who don't know anything about politics and are not trying to learn anything, they want to lead in politics because they have had some leadership in the business field, in churches, or in schools. The truth of the matter is that we are almost as badly off from the standpoint of political experience and knowledge as our parents were when they were freed. The sensible thing for us to do is to pool our meager knowledge and to meet on common ground, to arrive at decisions to accept certain fundamentals as our guide and direction toward the most effective use of our vote.

Stubborn Individualists

Some months ago the writer wrote to the leaders in Texas, suggesting a common meeting to discuss the question of organizing the Negro vote to the end of reaching them in their blocks and giving them information about the process of casting votes, and for the purpose of discussing fundamental issues and to determine general policies which might be used in our various communities. Since the leading exponent of political leadership and organization in the last election were the State Progressive Voters League and the Texas Club of Democratic Voters the invitation was sent to the leadership of these respective organizations equally.

The State Progressive Voters League leadership to a man ridiculed and scorned what the writer thought a simple and innocent attempt to weigh the present situation and to arrive at certain fundamentals which are common to all Negroes. Some of them said that they wanted no "truck" with any other organization than their own. They acted and sounded as though they thought the State Progressive Voters League had a mortgage on both the composite thinking and the total vote of the Negroes in Texas. This meant people would be left to choose between either of two existing organizations, or any others that might prefer themselves in the coming campaign.

Change Indicated

In 1944, when we did not know who were orthodox Democrats and who were regular Democrats, and whether the Texas Regulars would run the state or whether the Roosevelt Democrats would run it, it seemed eminently sound to be cautious. The safest course then seemed to stay out of either party and to organize some such group as the State Progressive Voters League. For until September "the Democrats" in Texas were the Texas Regulars, who worked against and hated Negroes.

But in '46 when there is just one Democratic party; when we have had considerable time to weigh and to judge; when it is obvious that so far as Texas is concerned there is no effective vote except in the Democratic party; when it is equally obvious that the Republicans neither have the strength nor the inclination to set up a second party, it is again time to make our decision in the light of what is the best course and which promises more. In my opinion the leadership of the State Progressive Voters League made its mistake in assuming that what was true in '44, to make the Progressive Voters League the best way to proceed, was necessarily true in '46.

I still question whether they did not violate the fundamental principle of unselfishness in leadership, when they refused to take part in summoning a statewide meeting of all the sections of the state to discuss questions of policy and procedure for decisions. For it is certain that in such a statewide meeting somebody could have forced discussion of the realities of '46, as against the artificial circumstances which controlled matters in Texas in '44, one of the most unusual situations that even this wild-eyed state has ever had. In the State Progressive Voters League there are too many stubborn individualists, who have learned all they need to know and will ever know, and refuse to learn anything else.

Trial And Error

I hasten to say that I am not criticizing those who established the State Progressive Voters League for having used it in '44. For as a matter of fact I argued for it as strongly as anyone did and supported it as solidly as I knew how. I am criticizing their refusal to subject that technique to re-appraisal, along with all of our techniques, in '44 with a view to picking the best in '46. I am now prepared to discuss the State Progressive Voters League as a technique in '46 in the light of my present belief that it is not the best technique for Texas Negroes generally in '46.

In the first place, even in the Wright Cuney and the "Gooseneck Bill" McDonald days Texas Negroes did not use isolated associations, but they joined either the Republican or the Democratic party. They were parts of the party, they took their places in the party, and they were given consideration in the party. Their approach was that they were citizens and entitled to share in the major parties as other citizens. So it cannot be argued that the State Progressive Voters League is based upon the experience of our forefathers.

In the next place, Negroes who are taking part in political activities successfully in the border states and the northern states are doing it by being members of the Democratic party or hte Republican party as other citizens. They are being given consideration as members of those parties in proportion to their contributions.

In the third place, so far as I am able to have seen there are no areas where Negroes are potent in politics, in which they are doing it by forming segregated, separate units within political parties, such as our State Progressive Voters League.

In the fourth place, I can't for the life of me see how a member of the State Progressive Voters League, which it is admitted by all, will support the Democratic candidates, can be in any better position for consideration or appointment to any of the political advantages that come to victors, by being isolated instead of being in the Democratic or the Republican party.

In the fifth place, it seems to me that it is the ultimate aim of Negroes to be treated as citizens, along with other citizens in their communities. I have thought that we wanted to take part in all of our community activities and our state activities along beside other citizens. It has been my impression up to date that we have complained because of isolation and segregation in economic and political spheres, which relegated us to minority positions. Now we witness ourselves setting up a pattern of voluntary separation.

In the sixth place, I as a citizen of Texas will combine with whites, Latin-Americans and any other citizens to work for a common cause which means the benefit of our group. I prefer to work with them without partitions or bias, shoulder-to-shoulder, so far as may be in the same organization, and with the same responsibility for effort.

Last, I have observed in Houston a Negro Advisory Committee, which has stood between the Negroes and the people elected and prevented the elected officials from knowing what the Negroes want, and preventing the Negroes want, and prechance to tell the elected officials what they want. I am resolved never to be a part of an advisory anything in politics. Either I must be a part of the party and work in it as an ordinary member, or I don't want any relationship. This conviction comes from experience, which result in my rejecting and separate or special Negro party which intends to really work with one of the major parties. I concede that there may be occasions in isolated instances where peculiar circumstances make temporary mediums necessary But we don't have any such instance now.

Next week. The cover taken off to examine the actual workings of Texas Politics.

Veterans In Politics

The Charlotte, N.C. Observer

The Athens, Tennessee, GIs, who backed their Ballots with Bullets, was but the overt act, which focused attention on the tremendous power and influence which veterans the nation over are now exerting in politics. For the returning service people in many widely separated communities are finding themselves in sharp, if not violent, disagreement with political alignments and have set about to correct what to them seem abuses of democracy and free elections.

As much as we may disagree with the methods employed by the Athens veterans, we find ourselves in almost complete agreement with their apparent philosophy that machine politics should be on the way out. Thurs. 8-8-46

In many states, in fact throughout the nation, veterans are organizing, both white and Negro, and countless former GIs have won offices in recent elections, which facts indicate that the men and women who fought for freedom and preservation of the American Way of Life are not only dissatisfied with the status quo, but are going to have an active hand in changing conditions with respect to their government.

This concerted action, while nationwide, promises to have its greatest affect and tnagible results in the South, which in all probability will result, as it certainly should, in destruction of the blind one-party rule that has prevailed for so long a time to the political ruin of the Southern states.

The incredible fact of Gene Talmadge winning the gubernatorial election in Georgia, even though his leading opponent received a plurality of the votes cast, is an outstanding instance of unbelievable frustration of the will of the majority. Talmadge's right to be governor by the misuse of the county unit rule has been challenged, and will be fought out in the courts. We sincerely hope that it will result in his being declared ineligible to hold office to which he claims to have been elected. It is to be hoped that veterans will also succeed in having Bilbo ousted from the United States Senate, where he is not only a national disgrace, but whose so-called election was a fraud upon democracy.

GIs New Dixie Political Force

Birmingham Age-Herald

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, Aug. 13—(AP)—The GI influence in Dixie politics—which surged so spectacularly in the Athens, Tenn., battle of ballots and bullets—is spreading.

The Tennessee flare-up was a violent manifestation of a movement which had already gained a foothold in the South of the one-party political system and deep-seated tradition.

A mass meeting of veterans is scheduled for Alamo, Tenn., Monday night, avowedly for the purpose of forming a national veterans political organization to "wipe out machine politics."

Oddly, the only states which have lowered the voting age to 18 are in the South—Georgia and South Carolina. Georgia did it a few years ago, South Carolina only recently.

In Georgia every fifth member of the elected Legislature is a veteran of World War II. In Georgia, too, a committee of ex-GIs is collecting funds to fight the county unit system in the courts.

The county unit system, under which Gene Talmadge was elected governor without a plurality of the popular courts, is being attacked in the federal courts on grounds it abridges equal rights.

In North Carolina a group of World War II veterans has organized the "North Carolina GI Democrats" and announced plans for active participation in future elections.

While nominally Democratic, both Tennessee and North Carolina are two-party states. Negro voting is not an issue in these states as it is in the rest of the South. Negroes have voted in these states for years.

Arkansas, which held its primary recently, is another state where the GIs are raising a clamor. A veterans group at Batesville is charging election irregularities and asking removal of certain officials.

Tues 8-13-46

Alabama, which has the most drastic poll tax of all the seven states retaining the levy, does not require war veterans, either white or black, to pay the tax.

Thompson-Davis Vet Committee Organized

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Sat. 10-26-46

Twenty combat veterans of World War II yesterday formed a Veterans Committee for the Election of Robert Thompson and Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidates for Comptroller and Attorney-General, respectively.

The formation of the committee, made up of fighters on all the battlefronts of the war, was announced by Irving Goff, former captain in the Office of Strategic Services and chairman of the committee. Goff was awarded the Legion of Merit.

Goff said the committee will be enlarged and will spearhead a drive explaining to the voters why they should vote first for Thompson and Davis on Row E and then for the American Labor Party ticket on Row C.

Members of the Veterans Committee for the Election of Thompson and Davis include the following combat veterans: Silver Star winners Carl Reinstein, Lou Diskin, and Joseph Clark; Distinguished Flying Cross winner Morris Dimowitz; Bronze Star winner, Herbert Wheeldin and George Charney; Legion of Merit winner Irving Goff; and Purple Heart holders Carl Vedro, Norman Schrank, and Bernard Burton.

Other battle star winners on the committee include Leon Nelson, Lester Rodney, Robert Klonsky, Gerald Cook, Robert Campbell, Ben Davis, S. W. Gerson, and John Gates.

Thompson was also a battalion commander of the Lincoln Brigade in the war against Franco. Goff, Cook and Gates also held leading posts in the American section of the Loyalist Army in the Spanish war.

Goff declared the committee will stand solidly behind the demands of the veterans housing demonstration in Albany.

Veterans Move To Free Dixie Of Talmadgism

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 8-31-46

ATLANTA—A new kind of "rebel" is developing in the South today. But this time it's against the old South with its Klan-and-vice-ridden political machines as indicated in the recent announcement that a Georgia "veterans progressive party backed by both CIO and AFL" will attempt to defeat Georgia's Gene Talmadge this fall.

Negro veterans all over the seething southland were looking to the new challenge to entrenched bourbonism as their major hope for a decent future in Dixie. Leaders among the black ex-GIs were urging the rank and file to throw the full strength of their numbers in support of the rapidly mushrooming movement.

Frank Gleason, popular North Georgia attorney, said last week the vets would hold a convention and name a worthy man for Governor and attempt to liberate the people of Georgia from "political slavery." The former lieutenant colonel stated further:

Appeal To Decency

". . . With an educated veteran, who believes in decency and the rights of people, making the race, we could sweep Talmadge out in November.

"Talmadge was nominated by only a minority of Georgians. The will of the majority meant nothing . . . because the county unit system, which has no place in democracy, was used.

"In the November general election old Gene will have to carry a majority of the votes to win and that's something he will never do

name an like the atomic explosion, it has
candidates set off a chain of similar reac-
party nom- tions that—when combined with
l elections, the organized drive of progressive
group of labor—offers the greatest hope for
recently a real democracy in the South.
Carolina Southern machine dictators may
dependent weigh well the words of Tenn-
n future essee's John Paul Butler, 26-year-
old defeated legislative candidate,
who said at the Almo meeting:

"Our first interest will be in Athens, Tenn., undergoes repairs, both pro- Tennessee and Arkansas, then over politicians the whole South."

South's Greatest Hope

While the county jail in Ath
Tenn., undergoes repairs, both p
gressives and old-line politici
veterans of World War II held a now realize that this first GI re-
mammoth meeting in Little Rock volt was no isolated incident. And

Independent Action In Ark.

In Arkansas political-minded

a veterans progressive party, of the nation's worst examples of machine domination, Tennessee vets met at Almo, Tenn., recently for the express purpose of forming a national veterans political organization to "wipe out machine politics."

The indignant GIs heard Marine Col. Evans F. Carlson of "Carlson Raiders" fame warn against the threat of fascism at home and abroad.

uts a man in the field."

cottsboro Vets Rally

In Scottsboro, Ala.—site of the otorious "trial" by the same name an angry group of heavily armed -GIs pressed for the impeach- ent of two county "machine" icials. After capturing road ma- inery and operating it, the re- ting GIs promised armed re- ce" the machines.

Planning another sally on one

to plan a convention to nam
independent slate of GI candi
to oppose Democratic party
inees in the Fall general elec
In North Carolina a grou
World War II veterans rec
organized the "North Caro
Democrats" and plan independ
political participation in fu
warn elections.

Roanoke, Va., Times
Aug. 14, 1946

Better Status Is Aim Of New Colored Group

Dr. H. T. Penn was elected commissioner of the United Political Organization at a meeting Monday night at which time the organization was formed and officers elected, it was announced last night by Willmer F. Dillard, publicity chairman.

Purposes of the organization, it was stated, will be to create political consciousness on the part of colored citizens for active participation in things civic; to conduct a campaign to educate the colored citizens in the use of the ballot and to work independently and collectively with other organizations to improve the status of the colored people, their health, housing and recreation.

Other officers elected by the non-partisan organization include: A. R. Hunter, vice-commissioner; George Lawrence, executive secretary; Mrs. Drucilla Franklin, assistant secretary, and Mrs. LeRoy Neeley, treasurer.

Deputy commissioners elected were: Robert C. Burrell, Jr., Robert Golden and Y. Hutsona.

The next meeting of the organization will be around September 16, it was stated.

45 1946

Young Citizens Political Action Committee

Young Progressives Back School Bias Ban

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 10-12-46

NEW YORK, N. Y. -- The demand by the Chicago Conference of Progressives that all funds under the GI Bill or Rights be withheld from any educational institution that practices discrimination was backed by the Young Citizens Political Action Committee this week.

Typical of the work being carried on by this nation-wide organization is the activity of the Harlem unit headed by Robert Royal. This group is beginning intensive activity for the forthcoming Congressional elections. Speeches at public meetings, distribution of leaflets and doorbell ringing are the techniques these young people are using in the political fight against discrimination.

Leonard H. Nelson, YCPAC national campus director, commenting on the Chicago proposal declared, "The Young Citizens' PAC believes that by mobilizing public opinion on every important college campus it can do much to implement this demand. Discrimination in a college is hard to prove. We are going to concentrate on the removal of such methods for discrimination as the request for practices, it works for the attain- of religion and father's birthplace on application forms."

The Young Citizens Political Action Committee is a non-partisan organization formed to make effective the participation of young citizens in progressive political action. In addition to its goal of a nation free from discriminatory practicse, it works for the attainment of Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic bill of rights and the maintenance of lasting peace.

Hallmarks

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

Montgomery Adv. Editorial

BOUGHT and paid for Dry agents in this state are deliberately trying to create and inflame a race issue in a repugnant effort to undermine the ABC law and elect Joe Poole Governor.

This is not to say that Poole is encouraging the pious W. Earl Hotaling, agent for the Alabama Temperance Alliance, and other Dry workers to do this. But this group is openly, actively and formally espousing Poole's candidacy. And Poole has done nothing to disassociate himself from their reckless, systematic campaign to generate ill-will between whites and Negroes.

Specifically, the effort comes in the wake of the Colbert County election in which the county voted to return to the wet column. Colbert is normally wet, as its voting history clearly shows. It fell temporarily into the dry column through an election which was held when so many of its men were in the services. With its soldiers returned, the county voted to resume wet status. The paid dry workers are seeking to make it appear that this was accomplished by means of vote-buying among Negro war veterans.

To that end the kept Dry agents are circulating pamphlets in Alabama, headlined, "Negro Balance-of-Power Vote Wins Wet Majority in Colbert County Liquor Election."

Sun. 4-14-46

Subheads under that headline in Memphis bold type read:

"For The First Time Since Reconstruction Days, Carpetbaggers and Scalawag Politics Have Been Revived and White Men Have Raised An Army of Negro Voters to Decide an Issue at the Ballot Box. Black GI Says 'We Will Be Boss From Now On!'"

* * * *

BY WHOM SHEPHERDED

The pamphlet sets forth:

"All day long . . . Wet campaign workers hauled Negro war veterans into Tuscumbia, herded them into the courthouse and registered them for the next day's voting. As discharged soldiers they were exempt from payment of poll tax, of course. Drys watched in amazement as hundreds of these Negroes, shepherded by bootleggers, would-be-honkeytonk owners and wet politicians, were herded like cattle for registration purposes."

The "herd" referred to numbered about 20. Further, the discerning reader will wonder why in all sense bootleggers would encourage state whisky sales and thus put themselves out of business! Dry agents know perfectly well that bootleggers are their most militant and reliable confederates.

Savor the obviously contrived crudeness in this paragraph:

"Preachers of six different denominations stationed themselves at the polls and watched the voting all day long. They, and other Dry campaign workers, talked to a few of the Negro GI voters. Some of the expressions made to them by Negro voters were very disturbing. One burly buck Negro muttered: 'We got de balance o' power now; from now on we'll be de boss' . . . One, when asked for whom he will vote for Governor: 'Ah don' know exactly; de man ovah yondah will tell me de right candidate', and the 'man ovah yondah' to whom he pointed was one of Handy Ellis' most energetic leaders and vote-getters in Colbert County."

THE KEY

In the following paragraph it becomes plain in whose behalf this stuff is being put out:

"The known Joe Poole supporters of Colbert County were dry workers and voters in the campaign; some of them are very much up in front as dry leaders. Three or four supporters of Candidate S. E. Boozer were active in the Dry's campaign also. No information was adduced concerning the stand taken by any supporters of Gordon Persons. A dozen or so of Jim Folsom's supporters were seen working for the liquor crowd, but every Handy Ellis leader and worker in sight was campaigning and voting for a wet county . . . Perhaps God has allowed this thing to happen in Colbert County to wake up the white people all over Alabama! . . ."

Sun. 4-14-46

The key to this, of course, lies in the platforms of Handy Ellis and Joe Poole. Ellis is the wet candidate in that he has declared that he would not foster a statewide referendum, but would sign such a bill if accompanied by a bill providing for replacement of the $10,000,000 in revenue.

Poole is running as a Dry. He has said that he would continue the sale of liquor in State stores, but that on taking office; he would, by "executive order," end whisky sales in hotels, restaurants, etc. At the risk of being both discursive and repetitious, we will interject here that the abolition of retail sales is ridiculous; for the fact is that any municipal governing body can, tomorrow, dry up every retail outlet. It's purely a matter of local option. The law is painstakingly and devotedly written to make it a matter of local option. It is doubtful that Poole would have the legal means to end retail sales by "executive order." But even if he did, it would violate the principles of local self-government. For example, this county has voted for retail sales. An order by Poole drying up retail outlets would therefore violate the will of the people of Montgomery.

In any event, Ellis is the wet and Poole the dry. The irresponsible, vicious propaganda being put out in the wake of the Colbert election is calculated to make the unwary take fright at the thought of a Negro vote and win votes for the dry Poole. We repeat that we do not believe Poole would actively lend himself to so contemptible an enterprise as inflaming race consciousness, a force which could militate so strongly against the progressive strides Alabama is poised to make and for which Poole says he wishes to battle. Surely Poole is too enlightened and responsible a man for that. But the fact is that those who are spewing this venom are in the front rank of his battlelines. They are at least circumstantial confederates until disowned.

Hugh DuBose Exposes Tie-up Between Battle, Patrick And CIO-PAC

Bk. Birmingham News

Big Steel Industry Here Cited As Helpless Captives Of Radical FEPC Elements

5-2-46

The vigorous, forthright manner in which Hugh Du Bose has stated his position on all major issues confronting the people in these times of national and international crises is probably the outstanding reason why it appears that he will be elected to Congress next Tuesday by the largest majority ever given a candidate from Jefferson County.

DU BOSE

For instance, Hugh Du Bose was the first candidate in any race to declare he was on the side of the American Federation of Labor and the Railway Brotherhoods in their recently declared total war against the communistic controlled CIO unions and their anti-American PAC.

Thursday

Hugh Du Bose's program, "Let's Make It the Magic Valley Again," has engaged the enthusiastic support of everybody except certain absentee landlords who want to maintain their economic and political control over the district, and certain left-wing CIO unions who hold the plants of these landlords in economic and political captivity.

As to FEPC, Hugh Du Bose denounced it bitterly from the start, stating that it was a communistic agitation point to create race trouble in the South. Hugh said: "Come what may, we'll keep the Negroes segregated in the South, and we must prevent them from voting—else they will succeed in getting enough influence at our city halls and courthouses to tear down our segregation laws completely.

Hugh's opponent, Luther Patrick, is the only Southern congressman that supported FEPC. Although his other opponent, Major Laurie Calvin Battle, has the CIO-PAC endorsement, the major has refused to state his position on FEPC, or on any other vital issue, for that matter. However, it is hard to understand how he could have gotten the CIO-PAC endorsement unless he, at least, had a secret understanding with the PACers; because the Negro voting element of the PAC is forcing FEPC support as the most important plank in the PAC platform.

Hugh, who has the GI viewpoint, took the major to task in a recent address, when he said: "The Mighty Major, now beating his chest and bragging about his war record service, finds himself AFRAID to take a stand, either FOR or AGAINST preserving the South's racial traditions. Yes, maybe we do need new blood in Congress, as The Birmingham Post said; but, it MUST be RED blood."

Nearly two thousand returned veterans have made pledges to support Hugh Du Bose, and they are enlisting the support of their buddies, because Hugh is the only candidate to present a plan for cutting red tape from the so-called GI Bill of Rights by amending the bill so that the only security the veteran will need is his honorable discharge papers to get the first $2,000 loan. Hugh also pledges support to the VFW soldier bonus bill; and he proposes a ten-point "spot" to veterans on civil service examinations.

Hugh declared against the draft, and presented a plan to make the draft unnecessary by offering a free college education to all high school graduates who will volunteer in the armed service. He declared that since education is absolutely essential to national defense, "I propose to GET federal aid for schools by pushing this precept."

In his radio speech Hugh has stated he will select future postmasters from the ranks of postal workers as a promotion for clerks, carriers, etc., conforming to the seniority and competency principles of civil service.

5-2-46

Among other positions taken by Hugh is raising the income tax exemption to $2,000 for single people and $3,600 for married couples; a declaration against any further raise of taxes on commerce and industry; full support of the A. F. of L. style of expanding economy, by dividing the work and sharing the leisure so that everybody will actually HAVE equal opportunity in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness.

Hugh says: "We can't afford to look backward upon our iniquitous Sodoms and Gomorrahs. We MUST look forward through democratic eyes; and our footsteps MUST keep rhythm with heart-beats of Christian fellowship. Fear of God is truly the beginning of wisdom. Therefore, we can afford NO 'Lost Week-End' fling with this pagan idol of socialism or communism—this devil octopus that holds prisoner, one of my opponents and has its slimy tentacle well around the other."

(Paid Pol. Adv. by Du Bose Veterans Committee, Leon Jacobs, chairman; members, R. B. Foster, T. N. Gilbert, J. H. Hoskins, R. G. Chilson, Jr., R. D. Crowner, W. W. Weger, Jr., A. F. McNeill, J. I. Dockins, Bobby Whitehouse, C. J. Wade, Leon Campbell, G. M. Card, James C. Adams, William A. Colligngon, Charles A. Casmus, Jr.)

Folsom Widens Margin In Race For Governor

Montgomery Advertiser

Thurs. 6-6-46

Inzer, Owen Lead Other Statewide Contests, Late Returns Indicate

BIRMINGHAM, June 5.—(AP)—James E. Folsom, the tall, 37-year-old Cullman insurance man who won Democratic nomination for the Alabama governorship by an impressive vote, declared today the issue "was clear-cut between the big shots and the working people."

The CIO-PAC backed candidate, who obtained handsome majorities in the predominantly white northern counties, pledged that his program of increased old-age pensions and teacher pay, along with a grand scale farm-to-market road system, would be translated into reality through careful administration of State funds.

Margin Mounts

An advocate of poll tax repeal, Folsom continued to pull away from his opponent, Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis, a veteran legislator, as the count from yesterday's second primary piled up. The vote in 2,277 of 2,344 boxes:

6-6-46

Folsom, 197,306; Ellis, 140,541.

At his Columbiana home, Ellis sent Folsom the following telegram:

Adventurer

"The people of Alabama have spoken. I congratulate you on your victory and am wishing you a successful administration."

Folsom tabbed himself the "little man's big friend," and stumped the State from one end to the other, often making as many as eight speeches in one day. He used a mop as a campaign prop—saying it would be useful in pushing out the "professional politicians"—and carried along a hill-billy band for pre-speech concerts.

Ellis, a lawyer from Columbiana, assailed the CIO-PAC and charged that Folsom's election would result in domination of the State by Sidney Hillman, national PAC chairman.

Folsom, runner-up for the governorship in the 1942 campaign, claimed the CIO-PAC was not an issue and asserted he did not seek the labor organization's endrosement.

Alabama n

Patrick Loses

In another election in which the CIO was a factor, PAC-endorsed Representative Luther Patrick was soundly defeated by ex-Army Maj. Laurie Battle in the race for the ninth district (Birmingham) congressional seat.

Battle polled 31,189 votes in 249 of 254 boxes; Patrick had 17,897.

Democratic nomination in Alabama is equivalent to election.

Clarence Inzer, Gadsden, was ahead in a tight race for the lieu-

Record Vote

On basis of incomplete and unofficial returns more Alabamians cast ballots in the Democratic runoff Tuesday than any second primary in Alabama's history.

The unofficial total was reported as 331,470. Records in the secretary of state's office showed a previous high of 292,449 for the Bibb Graves-Frank Dixon runoff in 1934.

According to the records, this year's May 7 primary drew the heaviest vote in the state's annals with 365,513 official votes counted. The previous record was 305,168 for the 1944 first primary.

tenant governorship. The count in 2,135 boxes gave him 147,726 votes against 135,775 for Reuben L. Newton, Jasper. 6-2-46

C. C. Owen, a combat flyer in World War II, triumphed over Incumbent Clint Harrison, Gallion, in the contest for Public Service Commissioner. Returns from 2,080 boxes gave Owen 165,287 to 91,169 for Harrison.

In a radio broadcast today Folsom urged the laying aside of "all bickering and friction of every kind." Montgomery, Ala,

"I realize the great responsibility that lies ahead, and I say here and now, that I shall devote the best efforts of my life to promote the interests of the people of this State," Folsom said.

"We have some great problems confronting us, and I invite the prayers and the help of all the citizens of Alabama. Let us forget all the unkind things that have been said, and lay aside all bickerings and friction of every kind, and face the task united, with our hearts and minds fixed on one thing, to make Alabama one of the greatest States in this Union."

Ellis Declares CIO Is Spending Huge Sum To Elect Opponent

Birmingham News, Ala

BY IRVING BEIMAN
News Staff Writer

MONTGOMERY, Ala., May 28—Hammering hard at his opponent's "lack of experience and non performance," Lt. Gov. Handy Ellis Tuesday asked an audience of Alabama cattle raisers if they wanted to entrust the future of their rapidly growing industry to the CIO-PAC endorsed candidate, James E. Folsom.

Ellis told the cattlemen they have been denied an increase in the price of farm products because "Sidney Hillman, head of the Communist left wing CIO, is demanding a ceiling price on farm products so the cost of living would not be increased on his men that belong to CIO unions who are making up to $15 a day."

Ellis' address to the cattlemen was made in the Montgomery stockyards and will be followed tonight by another talk in Montgomery City Auditorium as the lieutenant governor continues his final sweep for votes before the June 4 runoff. Birmingham, Ala

* * *

LAST NIGHT A PACKED audience, composed primarily of adults, listened attentatively in the Clanton Courthouse as Ellis reviewed his stewardship, 25 years' service with the Alabama Legislature, before the Chilton County voters w[illegible]m he represented as district senator during the 1926 administration. Jue. 5-28-46

Ellis made a biting denunciation of the aims of the CIO-PAC, which he charged is spending huge sums of money to elect Folsom.

The slender gray-haired candidate for the post of state's chief executive raked the CIO-PAC over the coals for its "alien doctrines . . . its efforts to abolish racial barriers and segregation laws, which God placed there and which will stand forever." He charged the CIO-PAC is supporting effo[illegible] to revive the Fair Employmen[illegible]ce Commission . . . "the [illegible]mous FEPC which would result in the regimentation of employment by bureaucrats from Washington."

"The FEPC would break down segregation laws . . . that's what they're trying to do."

Sharp applause greeted his declaration that "We have fine racial relationship with the Negroes now and will continue to have such relationship if we can keep the carpetbaggers of the North from coming here and causing trouble."

* * *

HE CHARGED THAT FOLSOM "betrayed the trust that the people of Alabama put in him" when he was a delegate to the 1944 Democratic National Convention in Chicago and he voted for "Henry Wallace for vice president . . . because Sidney Hillman wanted it.

"Ellis reminded his audience that Folsom voted for Wallace although Sen. John Bankhead, now lying ill in a hospital bed, was a candidate for the vice presidency."

Referring to Folsom's promise to rewrite the State constitution, Ellis declared Folsom plans to call a constitutional convention for that purpose, then added:

"A constitutional convention has to be called by the Legislature, not the governor, and the Legislature won't do it."

Ellis said Folsom has stated he would "beg, borrow or steal" to have the constitutional convention called. Jue-5-28-46

"I don't think he can get enough money from Communists in New York to do it," Ellis continued.

The candidate was introduced by J. C. Pattillo, Chilton County Circuit clerk, who after Ellis' address led the formation of an active organization to work in behalf of Ellis' candidacy in Chilton County.

Patrick Concedes Jefferson Seat To Battle

Suther Wins

Advertiser

Ellis Holds Lead In Montgomery And Mobile

Montgomery, Ala.,

By GROVER C. HALL, JR.

James E. Folsom becomes Alabama's 46th governor-elect.

Folsom is leading Lieut. Gov Handy Ellis by 51,948 votes.

Returns from 2,117 boxes out of 2,344 gave: 6-5-46

Folsom	185,160
Ellis	133,112

These figures include some returns from every county in Alabama.

In the race for lieutenant governor, it appeared that J. Clarence Inzer, of Gadsden, had defeated former State Senator Reuben Newton, of Jasper.

W. Clint Harrison, of Marengo County, was unseated as an associate commissioner of the Public Service Commission by C. C. (Jack) Owen, of Tuscaloosa, a former Marine dive bomber pilot.

Returns from 1,916 boxes gave:

Inzer	132,194
Newton	123,641
Owen	142,384
Harrison	78,671

Representative Luther Patrick, another CIO-PAC backed candidate, conceded defeat by Laurie C. Battle, ex-Army major, in the Ninth district (Birmingham) congressional race.

With 170 of the 254 boxes tabulated, Battle had 19,440 votes to 11,097 for Patrick.

Folsom will be 37 in October, will be one of Alabama's youngest governors. Being six feet eight inches tall, Folsom will tower over the governors of the 47 other states.

Born In Elba

Folsom was born in Elba, Ala., but subsequently moved to Cullman to conduct an insurance agency. He is a widower and the father of two small daughters, Rachel and Melissa. He attended Howard College and the University of Alabama. He served briefly in the army and has been to sea.

Folsom had run for Congress twice and governor once, having been runner-up to Gov. Sparks in 1942. Throughout the race Folsom said from the stump, "Don't get me mixed up with that other race—they're running to get ready to run—I'm running for governor."

He campaigned with a hillbilly band, the Strawberry Pickers, and boasted that he had neither managers nor campaign headquarters ("my managers are you and you and you"). Folsom carried with him a corn shuck scouring mop and a suds bucket.

Uses Mop

Folsom would ask that everyone in the audience who knew what the mop was hold up their hand. Towards the latter part of the campaign almost every hand in his audiences went up. He said that he was going to scour out the Capitol from basement to the top of the flagpole and back down again. To do this, requires suds. Whereupon the bucket was passed and the audience dropped currency in it ("this means I take office with obligations to no one except you and you and you").

Folsom overcame some of the most powerful groups and alliances in Alabama to win over Ellis. Ellis had the support of the daily and weekly press almost without exception; he had the education machine, the mayors and a majority of county officials. 6-5-46

Folsom, who had himself run for office five times, mocked the politicians and said his battle was against them. He named no campaign managers and was always informally introduced by the guitar player among the Strawberry Pickers.

PAC Okeh

Folsom had the indorsement of the Political Action Committee of the CIO. Ellis and those who spoke in his behalf sought to make this the prime issue, asserting that this indorsement meant that "the foreign born Sidney Hillman of New York" and his crowd would impose a latter-day carpetbag invasion of Alabama. Folsom supporters counter-charged that Ellis had himself sought the CIO blessing and Folsom himself said he owed the CIO nothing as its support of him was unsolicited.

Among the things Folsom promised in his campaign were:

Abolition of the poll tax.

Paving of all roads in the state, including school and mail routes.

A constitutional convention.

A monthly pension of $50 monthly for all persons 65 years old, without respect to need.

A college education for all.

Free text books through high school (books are now free through the sixth grade).

Use of income tax surpluses for property tax reductions.

Purging of many "big shot" officials at the Capitol.

Raising of salaries paid minor state employes from 100 per cent to 25 per cent.

Abolition of sales tax tokens.

Retention of present liquor system, but with administrative reform.

Purging of a top-ranking 15 school leaders.

Minimum school teacher salaries of $1,800.

Ellis and his partisans sought to convince the State that these promises were "wild and fantastic," and that their fulfillment would require more than a billion dollars in new taxes.

Folsom countered that these charges were unwarranted, that he would find sufficient money to carry out his promises by conservation and that no new taxes would be needed.

Doubt Exists

Until after the State Democratic executive committee met here in January, there was considerable doubt about Folsom running for governor. He was last to qualify, after some speculation that he might run for Congress in the Seventh District.

Folsom, his mop, his suds bucket and his Strawberry Pickers opened the campaign in Oneonta in Blount County against four opponents. Observers at first had him running last, then fourth, third. In the last week there were some keen students to say that Folsom would make the run-off with Ellis, but not many. 6-5-46

But neither Agriculture Commissioner Joe Poole nor Ellis thought so. Ellis and Poole slugged toe-to-toe and shot not one blow at Folsom. The big boy later laughed at this, "They were tearing each other apart and all the time I was out there just gathering 'em in."

There was no one to predict, however, that Folsom would lead Ellis by nearly 16,000. This was a stunning surprise to all of Alabama. It gave Folsom an impetus that could not be arrested. Ellis partisans were gun-shy and inclined to faint-heartedness after that. Wednesday

Looks For Wife

Gov.-Elect Folsom remarked often in the campaign that he was actively looking for a second wife and boasted that in the campaign he kissed some 50,000 women. He wore G. I. shoes and no socks during the campaign and said he didn't read the papers.

Negroes voted in small numbers and without incident today, just as they did May 7, under the Democratic Executive Committee's ruling that decisions of the Supreme Court made it illegal to bar them.

Negroes had been denied the vote in party primaries in some counties in previous elections, but had voted in most of the State's 67 such units for many years. 6-5-46

The three defeated candidates for governor took part in the Ellis-Folsom race, with Judge Elbert Boozer, Anniston, and Joe Poole, Butler Springs, supporting Folsom and Gordon Persons, Montgomery supporting Ellis.

Boozer campaigned actively for Folsom in the East Alabama counties in which he polled heavy votes on May 7. Poole and Persons made announcements, but were less active.

Answers Charge

Folsom, answering charges that if he were elected his administration would be dominated by the PAC, said his strength came "from all the people," and asserted that he was not under any obligation to any particular group.

A development of the campaign was the assertion by Poole that he, Folsom and Boozer had a "tentative agreement" prior to May 7 for mutual support in the runoff. Poole said he was backing Folsom "as the lesser of two evils."

This disclosure came first in an interview with Horace Hall, publisher of The Dothan Eagle and it immediately became an issue in the race.

Folsom, billed himself as "the little man's big friend," was the first Alabama political figure to use the hill-billy band as a part of his campaign, although similar methods had been widely employed in other southern states.

McCorvey Follows Vote

MOBILE, ALA., June 4.—(AP)—Gessner T. McCorvey, chairman of the Alabama Democratic Executive Committee, watched another Democratic primary election from his hospital bed today, but his office said he would be able to handle the official tabulating this weekend.

The 1946 primaries were the first the 63-year-old party head has missed since he began voting. He is recuperating from an appendectomy.

Party vice-chairman Walter Price of Huntsville will preside at a sub-committee meeting in Montgomery June 13 at which the vote will be canvassed.

Alabama:

Candidate Raises Race Issue Despite Pledge

PHENIX CITY, Ala.—(ANP)—The "Negro vote question" was dragged into the gubernatorial race by Lieut.-Gov. Handy Ellis last week in seeking the bid for Governor of Alabama. Ellis, one of three candidates to pledge to steer clear of the "race issue" at the request of the editor, Robert Durr, of the Birmingham Weekly Review, violated that pledge. He told his hearers that Georgia's Gov. Ellis Arnall's achievement in ridding Georgia of the poll tax would "put Negro mayors, judges and sheriffs in office" in Georgia.

SCORES ARNALL

Prior to formally announcing for the governor's race, Ellis, of Columbia, circulated anti-Negro campaign literature.

Arnall and the State of Georgia were the target for Ellis' blasts in a campaign speech.

"A few weeks ago up in Atlanta they let Negroes elect a congresswoman," he declared. He referred to the election of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin.

"The only reason they didn't elect a Negro lawyer was because the lawyer didn't run," Ellis said. "But he will next time, and they will put him in."

URGES TAX RETURN

"I don't understand how a man as smart as Ellis Arnall, coming from a predominantly Negro population, could stand up and advocate the abolishment of the poll tax," Ellis said.

"Georgia's only hope of regaining her dignity is to restore the poll tax immediately," he warned. "Under any other conditions get ready to turn your State over to the Negroes."

Alabama Press

A FOLSOM PROMISE

One of the planks in the platform upon which Mr. Folsom campaigned and won nomination for governor was one calling for abolishing poll tax in Alabama. We don't recall that he ever went into detail on this proposition and explained to the voters how this would be accomplished. His followers might have thought that poll tax would be done away with if Big Jim were elected, merely because he said so. As a matter of fact, poll tax can be wiped out in Alabama in just one way: By amending the state constitution to that effect, and that can be done only when the Legislature submits such an amendment to the voters of the state for their approval or rejection. Now that a majority of Alabama voters have indorsed Folsom and his platform so emphatically there is no longer any excuse whatever for legislative refusal to let the people pass upon this issue. We presume that one of the first things Big Jim will do when he becomes governor will be to recommend that the Legislature submit an amendment for abolishing poll tax. With the people's indorsement behind him, such a recommendation should be heeded and the people allowed to decide this issue as they see fit. That's one Folsom promise that can be lived up to.—Dekalb Times (Fort Payne).

Folsom Says As Governor He's Going Further Than Ellis Arnall

DAYTONA BEACH, Fla., June 26—(AP)—"Big Jim" Folsom, Democratic nominee for governor of Alabama, said here yesterday that he proposes to "get rid" of the poll tax and "streamline" the educational system in his state.

"I'm going a lot further than Gov. Ellis Arnall did in Georgia," in digging out the roots of conservatism with a wide and sharp liberal rake, he told The Daytona Beach Evening News.

Folsom added that he plans to "call a constitutional convention and have a new constitution written" in an all-out effort to do the job for Alabama which he has set for himself beginning next January when he takes office.

"ELLIS ARNALL HAS INVITED me over to Georgia to stay with him a while before I take office," he said, "and I'm going. Want to study his program before I start to work."

"I had a mighty hard tussle getting this job," he mused, 'but more people every day are swinging to my side, and we have always had some progressive men in Alabama, so I don't look for too much trouble getting things done."

"You know," he continued, "the trouble with the South is too many of us Southerners put importance on the wrong things."

Folsom, stopping here briefly on a leisurely vacation trip, said he was continuing on south and he did not know where he would stop next.

Accompanying him were his two daughters, Rachel, 7, and Melissa, 4; his sister, Mrs. Charles Ellis, and her two children, Charles, 8, and Cornelia, 7, and a friend, Bill Lyerly.

Simpson Second, Boykin Third In Primary

Vote Is Partial

Maxwell, Allen Lag Behind Leaders In Count

By G. C. LONG

Young, curly-haired John Sparkman, the Huntsville congressman, last night held a commanding lead over four opponents in his bid for the U. S. Senate seat held by the late John H. Bankhead.

The young representative may poll a clear majority in the first primary, and incomplete returns indicated he would roll up an imposing plurality at least.

The count, with returns from 1,532 boxes out 2,360, stood:

Sparkman, 67,588; State Senator James A. Simpson, 38,326; Representative Frank W. Boykin, 28,435; Ted Allen 764; and Thomas H. Maxwell, 418.

The 46-year-old veteran congressman polled a commanding lead in north Alabama's rural counties. In Jefferson County, he easily ran ahead of his opponents and held a majority of 2,000 votes last night.

Although the vote was lighter than had been expected in some quarters, there was steady voting throughout the State.

Reasons for the light vote yesterday in the election to name a Democratic Senatorial candidate are being sought today by Alabama's political leaders.

Throughout the City, the County and the State early indications were that the vote would be light and all during the day it did not recover from the early lethargy, as rain was erported falling all the way from Huntsville to the Gulf.

Balloting was described yesterday as proceeding at about half the pace when a record vote was cast on May 7 when James E. Folsom, Cullman, and Handy Ellis, Columbiana, went into a runoff for the governorship nomination.

Heavy Rain

In Montgomery heavy rain fell during the morning and a light mist throughout the rest of the day.

No trouble was reported at the polls and balloting generally was quiet as State Democrats voted to choose one candidate from a field of five to represent the party in the Nov. 5 special election to name a man to fill the vacancy in Washington created by the death of the late Senator John H. Bankhead.

The two high men in the race will enter a runoff to be held Aug. 27 if no candidate gets a majority.

Some Negroes were reported voting as usual and without incident. For many years registered Negroes have voted in party primaries in most of the 67 counties, but in other party contests were open only to white voters until the State Democratic Executive Committee, in line with a U. S. Supreme Court ruling, decided in January they could not be barred.

B. Robin Swift, former State Highway Department Director, is now holding the Senate seat, having been appointed by Gov. Chauncey Sparks. Swift is not a candidate for the unexpired term and will relinquish the job to the man elected on Nov. 5. The term will expire in 1948.

Of the five candidates in the race only three were much chance of winning by the majority of political observers. And among the "Big Three" candidates one of the features of the short, intense race has been the absence of mud-slinging by the participants.

Another feature of the campaign has been the similarity of the programs advocated by the three leading candidates, Representative John Sparkman, 46, Huntsville; Representative Frank W. Boykin, 61, Mobile, and State Senator James A. Simpson, 56, Birmingham.

The other two candidates, who were less active in their campaigning, were Ted Allen, 35, Union Springs cotton mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell, 71, Tuscaloosa. A sixth candidate, Thomas Holley, Mobile, withdrew from the race shortly after he qualified.

Both Sparkman and Boykin have been renominated to Congress from their respective districts last May 7 without opposition. Both have served over 10 years in Congress and Sparkman is at present the Democratic Whip in the House.

During the short, whirlwind campaign the "Big Three" stumped the State, making as many as 10 to 12 speeches a day.

Sparkman had the endorsement of the CIO Political Action Committee and other organized labor groups. Governor-nominate Folsom also announced he was voting for the Huntsville man, as did Alabama's senior Senator, Lister Hill. Late in the campaign Boykin charged the CIO-PAC with trying to "purge" him.

In the May 7 primary the record for Alabama voting was set, with 365,000 ballots being cast. In the runoff 349,000 votes were counted, with many counties polling more votes on June 4 than they did on May 7.

Sparkman Majority

Representative John Sparkman held a clear majority of 294 votes over four opponents in yesterday's race for the U. S. Senate, incomplete returns from Montgomery County showed last night.

With returns from 47 out of 48 boxes in the county in, the returns were: Sparkman 3,390; State Senator James Simpson 2,062; Representative Frank Boykin 945; Ted Allen 71; Thomas Maxwell 18.

Boykin Concedes

MOBILE, ALA., July 30.—(AP)—**With more than two-thirds of the vote in, Rep. Frank W. Boykin of Mobile tonight issued a statement conceding that he had been eliminated in the special Democratic Senatorial primary and expressing thanks to voters of his district for their support.**

"It looks to me like I'm the third man, but it has been wonderful the way our home folks have voted for me and they have given me a wonderful majority," he said.

FREAKING FANCY FLIPPANCY

To the Editor of The News-Age-Herald:

We notice by the papers that Big Jim Folsom had a platform, and that it included elimination of the poll tax, also democratic representation in the Legislature, and many other things. We also get by the papers that Big Jim won with more than 60,000 votes. We get also that Ted Allen, from Bullock, where they have more than two times as much representation as does Covington, that he supported Big Jim but now changes his mind to oppose the program which was the main swing for Big Jim, and to cap it all he now comes out for national senator, under a Democratic banner.

Then we read by the papers that many years ago some wijdy gentleman, to-wit, Bilbo, of Mississippi, was out for office and threatened to send all the Negroes to Liberia, and claiming that at that time more than 2,000,000 had signed petitions to be removed; he won, and he is now trying again to reach the U. S. Senate for his third term, and it seems that his stock in trade is getting some Northern magazine to go down and write him up, bemean him, and then use that to make more progress in his campaign, as noted in The Saturday Evening Post of June 29.

We further read in the papers that Thomas C. Maxwell, of Tuscaloosa, member of the Democratic Executive Committee for Alabama, former candidate for Congress, late defeated candidate for state treasurer, expects to deport all Negroes to Liberia, and is also now a candidate for the U. S. Senate to fill the place of a real he-man and outstanding senator, John H. Bankhead, and using some of that Bilbo political synthetic hot air, for consumption by the voters of Alabama. Mirror 7-1-46

We further read that Horace Wilkinson made a speech before the Lions Club in Bessemer this week, in which he advocated now a $5 poll tax, with a third going to schools, a third to the aged, and the remaining to the political party which might be the choice of the voter who pays. The writer also reads from one of the Alabama daily papers that the Wilkinson flash vetoes Big Jim's platform as to poll taxes, and places perhaps Big Jim or Judge Horace, one or the other, in the baby carriage, figuratively speaking. We wonder who the Democrats of Alabama voted for recently: Big Jim or Judge Horace? We wonder if Judge Horace is greater than the democracy of Alabama? We wonder if democracy in Alabama will fall for the Bilbo gush? Mirror

We voted for Ellis, but with that majority of Democrats of Alabama, we favor carrying out those of the Folsom ideas that are necessary, which includes elimination of poll taxes and reapportionment under the present constitution. Birmingham,

It is now up to the real democracy of Alabama, the people of a sovereign state, to determine, to-wit: Who shall rule the roost of democracy, equal rights, and govern this fine state, represent it in the United States Senate, and to speak and act for this great American state in this great America? Shirttail democracy and double-crossing the people of Alabama has no place in this great state, in our humble opinion.

Andalusia, Ala. Advance A. WHALEY.

Alabama Awakes--the Senate Race

By Harold Bolton The Worker Sun 7-21-46 New York, N.Y.

On July 30 the people of Alabama will go to the polls in a special election to choose a Senator to replace the late John Bankhead, reactionary farm bloc leader. In this election the progressive forces in Alabama have an opportunity to win an important victory through the election of Congressman John J. Sparkman, who has the endorsement of organized labor and Negro and liberal groups.

Sparkman, as the Democratic whip in Congress, has a fairly progressive record on labor legislation and international affairs. He did not join the filibuster against the FEPC bill or against the bill to abolish the polltax, even though he voted for neither of these bills.

★

OPPOSING SPARKMAN for the Democratic Party nomination are five candidates, two of whom are conceded to have a good chance of winning if the rank-and-file of the voters fail to go to the polls on July 30. Jim Simpson, corporation lawyer and "white supremacy" leader, who ran against Lister Hill in 1944 on a race-hate and anti-labor platform, is a candidate of the absentee owners of Alabama's industrial corporations and the Black Belt plantation owners.

Frank Boykin, millionaire from Mobile, who has served in the Congress as an aggressive opponent of all progressive labor legislation, FEPC, polltax abolition, and effective price control is the other reactionary who may receive enough votes July 30 to get into the runoff.

Following the election six weeks ago of Big Jim Folsom, 37-year-old insurance broker and ex-merchant seaman, who broke all records in Alabama history in the popular vote he received for governor, all of the [senatorial] candidates are attempting to picture themselves as progressive candidates. Not since the days of the Populist Revolt in the 1890's has anything comparable to this upheaval taken place.

★

FOLSOM united the small farmers and urban workers behind a program which promised polltax abolition, repeal of the State anti-labor laws, higher salaries and pensions to school teachers and the aged. He received the bulk of the small Negro vote (only about 5,000 are registered), with the Negro vets playing a leading role to break down the unconstitutional interference with the Negroes' right to register. Sun 7-21-46

Opposed by every newspaper in the State which ignored him in the first primary and then singled him out for attack in the runoff, Folsom conducted a grass-roots campaign by speaking to voters in every remote section of the State. Using a hill-billy band for ballyhoo and talking the people's language, Folsom struck a responsive chord in the voters by his pledge to clean the State capitol of professonal politicians and to give the State an honest and progressive administration.

The bourbon journalist John Temple Graves of the Birmingham Scripps-Howard paper painted a grim picture of "Moscow rule," and "warned" of the end of "white supremacy" if Folsom won the Democratic Party nomination. But Folsom held to his program of democratic reforms and on election day he won the Democratic Party nomination by the largest vote ever cast in an Alabama election.

★

THE FOLSOM LANDSLIDE is not merely an accidental deviation from the arch-reaction which has characterized the politics of the state since the 1901 Constiution disfranchised the masses of Negro and white citizens. It is a deep-rooted political trend beginning in the early thirties of the Roosevelt New Deal. It is a conscious rejection of the corruption and plantation-inspired political practices which have in the past kept Alabama close to the cellar among the states in per capita income, health, school and welfare services, and consistently ranged her misrepresentatives (Hobbs, Manasco, Boykin, et al) on the side of reactionary monopoly capital in national and international policy.

It is in a real sense a political revolt of the disinherited—the exploited industrial workers and their allies, the small farmers and tenants, and the Negro people.

★

FIRMEST BASIS of the trend is the 10 year growth of the CIO in the state, whose Negro membership is about 50 percent. A total of 23,000 steelworkers, 10,000 ore miners, and thousands more unionists in rubber, shipbuilding, textile and maritime industries constitute the main bulk of this growing CIO membership. Add to these the 22,000 workers in the United Mine Workers Union, and the recent, though partial, steps toward united labor political action around the Sparkman candidacy, and we see the beginnings of an unbeatable vanguard political force in the state in which the recently strengthened Communist Party is playing a more active part. Sun 7-21-46

At the same time it is necessary to note that in the present Senate race, the unprecedented united labor support of Sparkman is in no way reflected in a militant, fighting campaign around the issues of Federal anti-poll tax legislation, FEPC, 65-cent-an-hour minimum wage bill or civilian control of atomic energy.

The candidate is given labor's unqualified endorsement and left free to campaign in light of his own understanding of the issues. That this did not create real problems in the Folsom race is a tribute to the political good sense of the candidate. In other instances it may be disastrous.

★

CONNECTED with this weakness of labor's political action in the state is its timidity in conducting a principled struggle for the rights of the Negro people. Such a fight requires labor's leadership in demanding and working for the right of the Negro people to become registered voters and to vote in the Democratic Party primaries.

Every election held in the South since the Supreme Court decision outlawing the white primary has made clear that the Negro people are labor's firmest ally. The enemies of organized labor understand this lesson and are intensifying their efforts to keep the great masses of Negroes disfranchised. Sun 7-21-46

In the present Senatorial race, labor must immediately overcome its lethergy if the progressive candidate, John Sparkman, is to win on July 30. Labor must [illegible] that all candidates disc[illegible]

Two Legislators See Lowering Voting Barriers Among State's Chief Needs

The News Birmingham, Ala. Wed. 10-23-46

This is another of a series introducing to Birmingham News readers the men who will make Alabama's laws during 1947-51.

* * *

BY HUGH W. SPARROW
News Staff Writer

Lowering of voting barriers in Alabama is regarded as an urgent legislative need by at least two men who will serve in the 1947-51 House of Representatives.

E. E. Nelson, of Lineville, who will represent Clay County, favors a minimum voting age of 20 instead of 21 and a reduction in the cumulative feature of the pall tax.

Rep. Paul Coburn, of Colbert, who said he voted for the cumulative poll tax in 1945, declares he now would abolish the cumulative feature "at any time."

Responding to the question, "What bills do you plan to introduce" in a Birmingham News questionnaire to 1947 legislators, Nelson declared:

E. E. NELSON

"A bill to lower the voting age to 20 years. By the time this bill can be passed practically every one who served in World II would be 20 or older. I would like also to reduce the cumulative feature of the poll tax so that the total amount would not exceed $10."

Nelson added that "I am greatly interested in school and farm legislation and I am in sympathy with the school and farm program as outlined by Gov.-Nom. Folsom."

Nelson, himself a school teacher, declared also that he favors salaries for teachers in keeping with salaries in other professions requiring a like amount of training. Education, he declared, should be ranked as an essential function of government and appropriations for education should not depend on surpluses from other sources.

"I favor further development of the farm-to-market road building plan," he said. "I am in sympathy with Folsom's plan for old-age pensions, but I think pensions should be given only to those who can establish a need for assistance. I do not believe in burdening the taxpayers to pay pensions to persons who do not need it."

* * *

NELSON WAS BORN in Millerville, in Clay County, 38 years ago, and was educated in the elementary and high schools of Clay County and at Auburn, where he received an M. A. degree in 1933. Since graduation he has been a teacher of vocational agriculture. In addition, he owns and operates a 300-acre farm in Clay County. Nelson has a wife and two sons. Until he became a candidate for the Legislature last Spring, Nelson had never held nor sought public office.

Although he was commissioned a lieutenant in the R. O. T. C. at Auburn he was classified as 4-F in World War II.

* * *

IN ADDITION TO HIS announcement that he is ready to repeal the cumulative poll tax, Rep. Coburn said he favors legislative reapportionment strictly on a population basis and according to the State Constitution.

Coburn said he favors adequate salaries for teachers, old-age pensions and a constitutional convention.

The Colbert County representative announced he would introduce legislation calling for reorganization of the Department of Conservation, strengthening the laws against forest fires and regulating state printing.

PAUL COBURN

"I am for—and was for—exemption of tractor gasoline from state gasoline taxes," he said, "and I favor paying off all state debts if the money is available."

* * *

COBURN, WHO RESIDES near Tuscumbia, was born at Spring Valley, Colbert County, 50 years ago. He was graduated from the Colbert County High School in 1917. He has several occupations. He is a farmer, a lumberman, an editor, writer and printer.

When Coburn takes his oath of office in January it will be the second time within four years he has qualified to represent Colbert County in the House of Representatives. He was elected from the House floor in 1945 as a member of the newly created Legislative Research Council.

Coburn served as member of the Colbert County Grand Jury in 1931-1932, and as a county commissioner from 1932 to 1940. He is president of the Tennessee Valley Historical Association and the Natchez Trace Association. He is married and has a family of eight.

Soon after America entered World War I, Coburn enlisted in the Army. He was discharged a month later because of physical reasons. Later he was drafted and again was given a medical discharge.

Ben Laney Wins In Arkansas Primary

2 To 1 Margin

Voting Is Light In Majority Of Counties

LITTLE ROCK, July 30.—(AP)—Gov. Ben Laney won his bid for a second term in today's Arkansas Democratic preferential primary, swamping two challengers with an almost two-to-one margin.

Also nominated without the necessity of a runoff was Nathan Gordon, 30 Morrilton, candidate for lieutenant governor and holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor, and J. Oscar Humphrey, veteran State auditor.

Gordon outstriped two opponents including one of the State's best known political figures, Roy Milum of Harrison, dean of the State Senate, to win the nomination to succeed Lt. Gov. J. L. (Bex) Shaver of Wynne, who did not seek re-election.

Democratic nomination in Arkansas in tantamount to election.

Laney had 99,357 votes in 1655 of the State's 2093 precincts. J. M. (Jim) Malone, former Lonoke county judge and Laney's principal opponent, had 50,119 and Virgil Greene, Blytheville attorney, 4,147.

Malone conceded defeat in a formal statement at 11:30 p.m. (CST).

"The voice of Arkansas has been heard," he said. "I hold no hard feelings. . ."

In 1,647 precincts, Gordon had 96,349, Milum 48,976 and K. T Sutton of Helena 8,311.

In 1,502 precincts Humphrey had 99,967 votes, R. C. (Bob) Surridge of Walnut Ridge 19,093 and R. W. Tyer, Little Rock, 12,855.

Most of the larger population centers were included in the reported precincts and the remaining precincts did not contain enough votes to change the trend in any of the races.

Indications were that the total vote would fall short of the anticipated 160,000.

Except in a few counties which had heated local races today's voting was light. Negroes voted in every county from which early reports were received but mostly in small numbers.

Attracting almost as much attention as the State races were those in Garland County, where the long-dominant organization of Hot Springs Mayor Leo P. McLaughlin was challenged for the first time in more than a decade. The opposition to the administration came from a bloc of war veterans led by Sidney McMath, former Marine colonel seeking the nomination for prosecuting attorney.

For Congress:

Western Baptists, Ministerial Alliance Endorse Fred Roberts

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-31-46

LOS ANGELES—Frederick M. Roberts, able Congressional candidate from the Fourteenth District, last week announced receipt of unanimous endorsement of the Western District Baptist Convention, totalling fifty-seven churches, and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance of Los Angeles.

Roberts, long known in the fourteenth congressional district and Southern California for his unceasing and energetic work in civic affairs and State Government, was honored by the convention and alliance "in recognition of his sixteen years of uninterrupted legislative experience and his many valuable contributions to the public's welfare."

WORKED HARD

When told of the joint endorsements, Roberts, said, "The Western Baptist Convention and the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance have joined forces with industrial and business organizations in this area in an expression of their confidence in my ability and experience. I have worked hard to try to merit such respect and confidence; I will continue to work hard in the important years that lie ahead."

Roberts was a member of a State legislative delegation charged with the task of establishing the University of California at Los Angeles and he has continued to take an active part in the work toward its betterment.

"During the sixteen years I served as a member of the State Legislature," Roberts said, "I carried out the wishes and ideals of the people of my district. This incentive will not be dimmed by congressional duties."

Betty Hill charges AKA boule showed political favoritism

The Tribune Las angeles, Calif. Sat. 9-21-46

Alpha Kappa Alpha has been accused of showing political favoritism at its recent boule here by Mrs. Betty Hill, executiv e secretary of the Woman's Political Study club.

Mrs. Hill's accusation is based on the fact that Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (D., Calif.), up for reelection in the 14th district, and ex-asemblyman Frederick Roberts, her Republican opponent, were both guests of honor at a boule program, and that while Mrs. Douglas was invited to speak, Roberts was only asked to take a bow.

Mrs. Hill, showing some political favoritism herself, urges support for Roberts as "the only Negro ever to be nominated by any party."

Negroes file for offices in Miami

MIAMI—Five Negroes plan to run for office on the Republican ticket in the Dade County elections. They are: the Rev. A. D. Coleman, a candidate for committeeman from Perrine; Grover Jackson, also a candidate for committeeman from same township; Harlem C. Rubert, candidate for member of the Dade County board; Arthesia Griffin, candidate for the Dade County School Board; and Elliott J. Pierce, committeeman.

Negroes Must Lift 'Little Man',

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Declares Att'y Charles Anderson

Sat. 10-12-46

Warns Against Negro Candidates At This Time

RUTH L. CORNELIUS

As guest speaker for the Young Men's Republican Club of Fulton County at its mass meeting Friday night at Wheat Street Baptist Church, Assistant Commonwealth's Attorney the Hon. Charles W. Anderson of the 30th Judicial District of Kentucky declared:

"Negro leadership in political organization must be concerned about the problems of the masses and not so concerned about their own selfish leadership."

"The program of an effective political organization must include the 'little Negro' if it is to be successful," continued the attorney.

Citing the status of the Negro on the political scene in Georgia and other states where he has recently voted for the first time in many years, Mr. Anderson advised:

"It is unwise for Negroes to be candidates for public office at this time; it tends to aggravate and antagonize and gives to play into the hands of the reactionaries who are so anxious to deny the vote to the Negro."

Anything that affects one part of the national framework affects all in a democracy, said Mr. Anderson. He said, denial of the right to vote a portion of the population lessens the security for all who live in the Democratic framework.

NEEDED LEGISLATION

He criticized the "get tough with Russia" policy of Secretary Jimmy Byrnes at the Peace Conference when at the same time the American government is not getting tough about the violations of the constitution.

The following were cited by Mr. Anderson as needed legislation for all to equalize security in all parts of the American democracy:

1. Elimination of the poll tax. (2) Enfranchisement of all American citizens. (3) Laws to eliminate discrimination in interstate travel throughout the nation. (4) Equalization of distribution of educational funds without regard of race creed or color.

Paying tribute to Georgia Negro pioneers in governmental affairs Mr. Anderson recalled Jefferson on the status of the Negro in America today declared:

"If Negroes pay taxes, and can learn to fight a war for democracy, they can learn to vote for those who are to rule."

At the Friday night meeting the Club raised $351.50. Rev. W. H. Borders, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, pronounced the benediction.

Long, the first Negro Congressman; internal revenue, Judson Lyons, Col. C. C. Wimbush, whose son is now Senator C. C. Wimbush of Chicago; Ben Davis and Henry Lincoln Johnson.

"Criticizing the administration of Democrats the Commonwealth's Attorney, said the nation today needs the philosophy of Lincoln which would mean the rebirth of equality for all the people and would enable America to present a united front to the world in its effort to win the peace.

Daily World

REPUBLICAN PARTY

"The Republican Party offers the best opportunity for the rebirth of equality and gives the Negro the best opportunity to exert himself and make of the Party an active, militant and an aggressive organization that will be concerned about tre problems of all the people," asserted Mr. Anderson.

Atlanta, Ga.

Attacking the Democratic Party, the Republican leader declared that progress has not been made under the undemocratic principles of the National legislation has been impeded because important committes in Congress are headed by men from Georgia, Mississippi, Texas or Alabama.

Sat. 10-12-46

He admonished the Republicans to form a powerful organization that can make for the 11,000,000 Negroes in the South "a new day" Milton J. White, president of the Young Men's Republican Club presided, John H. Calhoun Jr., presented the speaker.

John Wesley Dobbs, commenting

Congressional Victors Spent Less Than Losers

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

Sat. 11-30-46

Financial Tycoons, Park Avenue Socialites Aided Reynolds; 'a Friend' Gave Powell $50

WASHINGTON — (NNPA) — Three Democratic incumbents who retained their seats in Congress as a result of the November elections, spent less than their unsuccessful Republican rivals, according to campaign reports on contributions and expenditures filed with the clerk of the House of Representatives.

Grant Reynolds, Republican, defeated by Rep. Adam C. Powell, Jr., Democrat, in a close race in the 22nd New York Congressional district, reported contributions of $6,293.05 and expenditures of $6,221.45. Mr. Powell listed a sole contribution of $50 from "a friend."

Contributors to the Reynolds' campaign included finacial tycoons and Parn Ave. socialites: J. H. (Jock) Whitney, $1,000; Vincent Astor, $250; Rep. Clare Boothe Luce, $250; Walter Hoving, $100, and seven Park Ave. residents, including Countess Blanche Casagraude, gave a total of $440.

Other Reports

The Republican National Committee gave Reynolds $1500, and the city GOP committee $100. He defeated Mr. Powell for the Republican nomination by spending $3,230.81.

Rep. Helen Gahagan Douglas (Dem., Calif.), reported contributions of $310, but listed no expenditures; while her opponent, Frederick M. Romerts, Republican, reported a contribution of $1000 from the Republican National Committee, and expenditures of $826.17.

Rep. William L. Dawson (Dem., Ill.), reported contributions of $2,040 ($2,000 from the Democratic National Committee), and expenditures (first report) of $718. His opponent, William E. King, Republican, reported contributions of $500, and expenditures of $200. Final campaign reports are due on Dec. 5.

Making Votes Count in Dixie

Just how fast the South, the nation's stronghold of conservatism, swings toward liberalism, depends upon a number of factors.

The fact that Big Jim Folsom was victorious in Alabama's gubernatorial runoff primary last week is seen by some political observers as one sign pointing in that direction and they also see in it some portent of what may be expected in the Georgia gubernatorial primary slated for July 17.

James V. Carmichael, a liberal with the full backing of Governor Ellis Arnall, is expected to defeat gallus-snapping Gene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers, his two ultra-conservative opponents.

Folsom is known to have been greatly influenced by the Arnall pattern; in fact, Arnall several times crossed over into Alabama to speak in his behalf. His victory, therefore, is one in the cause of liberalism. Should Carmichael win, the South will then have two of Arnall's disciples in places of power.

Florida recently was treated to the spectacle of seeing a number of NAACP-backed candidates returned victorious in elections held in Marion County, among them the candidates for U.S. Senator, State Senator and Justice of the Supreme Court.

The fact that colored citizens, by mass voting, held the balance of power, so incensed one of the defeated candidates that he took a full page advertisement in the Ocala Star-Banner to voice his indignation and disappointment.

Smarting under his defeat, this candidate stated that "I have not asked for and I do not want the first colored vote. I believe in white supremacy and a white primary. . ." He'll learn if he lives long enough.

The trend toward greater and more intelligent use of the ballot in the South is sounding the death knell for candidates of this stripe. The pendulum is swinging the other way. Therein lies the hope for a new emancipation.

TOM STOKES

Analysis Of Primaries

WASHINGTON—Congressional primaries thus far offer some interesting symptoms about the state of the nation and the electorate.

They may be catalogued as follows:

Though Congress is torn by a number of major issues, some still unsettled, the anxiety of the Administration over the swing in Congress toward "normalcy" seems neither to have affected nor excited the public. This inference is drawn from the fact that only four incumbents have been defeated in Congressional primaries in 13 States. Any considerable excitement in the electorate usually reflects itself in primary turnovers.

The CIO's Political Action Committee thus far has made little dent despite a widely advertised campaign.

Veterans apparently have failed to arouse the public interest as candidates that some old-timers had feared and some political prognosticators had expected.

THE 13 primaries analyzed were in Alabama, California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania and South Dakota. In the 173 districts in these 13 States, 159 incumbents were renominated. A dozen other incumbents withdrew, and newcomers were nominated. Two contests in North Carolina are still to be decided.

Of the four incumbents defeated, three were Democrats in Southern States, Reps. Patrick, Alabama; Cannon, Florida, and Weaver, North Carolina. The other incumbent defeated was a Republican, Rep. Rogers, Pennsylvania. Reps. Patrick and Cannon were eliminated by World War II veterans.

No incumbent senator involved in primaries up to today's has been defeated. Five were renominated. One withdrew, Sen. Andrews, Democrat, Florida, and ex-Gov. Spessard Holland was nominated for his place. The Indiana Republican Senatorial candidate is to be selected at a convention Thursday. Sen. Willis, Republican, is the incumbent.

Generally a conservative trend in the country might be deduced from the small percentage of turnovers thus far, and from the significant failure of the CIO-PAC to produce according to its expectations. In Alabama the CIO supported Big Jim Folsom who won in a run-off, but he made nothing of this support in his campaign. His victory came from the rural sections—where undoubtedly his hillbilly band had its attractions—rather than from urban areas where CIO strength is concentrated.

THE CIO failed to make any showing in California. It supported the Democratic candidate for Governor, Atty. Gen. Bob Kenny, who lost out in his own Democratic primary to Gov. Warren. By capturing both primaries and thus assuring election in November, Gov. Warren put himself among eligibles for the 1948 Republican presidential nomination. In other California contests the CIO fared badly.

While no hard-and-fast conclusions can be drawn without investigation locally, it would appear that the branding of candidates as blue-ribbon CIO is not too helpful. Where this is done too zealously, and with the CIO too predominant in campaign management, it apparently carries the implication of a labor party, and this country is not ready for that yet. Americans, too, never have reacted well to too high-pressure politics from whatever direction.

It may be, too, that the postwar wave of strikes has reacted against the CIO in politics.

The primary results thus far, with incumbents faring so handsomely, may indicate that the public is ready to go along with Congress toward "normalcy." Or it may mean that the public still is war-weary and apathetic, and does not want to bother much about what is going on here, or can not grasp its significance because of technicalities of legislation.

Perhaps the issues have not really crystallized yet.

Ellis Arnall Invites Jim Folsom To Visit In Georgia Mansion

ATLANTA, Ga., June 10—Gov. Ellis Arnall has invited James E. Folsom, Alabama's governor-designate, to be his guest at the executive mansion.

Old friends, Arnall and Folsom were both delegates to the last Democratic national convention and both voted for Henry Wallace in his unsuccessful campaign for the vice presidential nomination.

Arnall said he understood Folsom was considering leading a fight to abolish the poll tax in Alabama just as it has been eliminated in Georgia.

Arkansas Primaries

(By The Associated Press)

The C. I. O.-PAC and the right of negroes to vote were issues again yesterday as voters chose Democratic nominees for senator in Alabama and governor in Arkansas.

A light vote had been forecast in both states. The campaigns excited little interest.

Alabama held a special primary, which means election there, to name a successor to the late Senator John H. Bankhead, whose term expires in 1949. It was the 23rd senatorial nomination this year, with 13 more to go.

Five candidates were in the field, including two congressmen, John Sparkman, house majority whip, and Representative Frank Boykin. Sparkman had the backing of the C. I. O. Political Action committee, the A. F. L. United Mine Workers and the A. F. L. state executive committee. Boykin attacked the PAC, saying it was out to "purge" him.

They competed with State Senator James A. Simpson, four-term state senator; Red Allen, textile mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell, member of the state Democratic executive committee.

If no candidate receives a majority, a runoff will be held August 27.

Arkansas' Democratic primary, which also is equivalent to election, was the first test of the new state law separating primaries for congress and state office in an effort to bar negroes from voting for state office candidates. Negroes voted in the primary for federal offices July 16, but in small numbers. Election officials had planned to challenge any negroes attempting to vote in the three-man race for governor. Negro organizations had urged members of their race to appeal at the polls.

Arkansas is the first state to adopt this policy following the U. S. supreme court's decision upholding the right of negroes to vote in primaries for federal office.

South Carolina, which holds a primary August 13, has eliminated all primary laws from its statute books since the court decision. The Democratic party, which will regulate its own primary, limits participants to white Democrats over 18.

Governor Ben Laney sought a second term nomination in Arkansas yesterday. His opponents were J. M. Malone, former Lonoke county judge, and Virgil Greene of Blytheville.

A Congressional Medal of Honor winner, Nathan Gordon, was among three candidates for nomination as lieutenant governor.

Arkansas also provides for a runoff primary to be held August 13, in races when no candidate wins a majority.

PAC and Negro Vote Figure in Alabama,

Primaries Voting Swings To South

Elections Slated In Four States

By The Associated Press

Primary election interest swings to the South this week with Alabama and Arkansas voting today, Tennessee deciding a hotly contested senatorial nomination Thursday and Kentucky selecting party candidates Saturday.

Alabama's balloting today centers on a contest for the Democratic nomination for Senator.

Five men, including Representative John Sparkman, Democratic whip in the House, and Representative Boykin, are in the race. Sparkman has the backing of the CIO-PAC, United Mine Workers and AFL. Others in the race are State Senator James A. Simpson, of Birmingham; Ted Allen, textile mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell. Senator Swift (D), who was appointed to succeed the late Senator John H. Bankhead, is not a candidate for the remaining two years of the term.

In Arkansas, Democrats will nominate a candidate for Governor in a primary separated from the recent congressional primary under a State law designed to bar Negroes from voting for State offices. Governor Ben Laney is opposed for renomination by former Judge James Malone, of Lonoke, and Virgil Green, of Blytheville.

Tennessee's senatorial primary Thursday provides the week's voting high spot.

Seeks Sixth Term

There the voters decide between Senator Kenneth D. McKellar, 77, seeking his sixth term, and the CIO-PAC-backed Edward Ward Carmack.

McKellar, as presiding officer of the Senate, has been held in Washington because of the continuing congressional session, but he has waged an active, long-distance campaign. He has declared the CIO-PAC, headed by Jack Kroll, has "pro-Russian policies."

In backing Carmack, defeated for a senatorial nomination two years ago by Senator Tow Stewart, the CIO-PAC says it has 30,000 members in Memphis, half of them Negroes.

Tennessee also will name nominees for Governor and 10 congressional seats. Governor Jim Nance McCord, seeking renomination, has three opponents, one of them Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon Browning, former Governor now in Germany. In the First District six Republicans are in the race for the seat vacated by B. Carroll Reece, when he became Republican national chairman.

Kentucky names nominees for nine House seats and the senatorial post of Republican William A. Stanfill, who is not seeking election after being appointed successor to A. B. Chandler.

Democratic aspirants to the two-year unexpired senatorial term include Philip P. Ardery, of Frankfort, AAF lieutenant-colonel during the war; John Young Brown, former Congressman; Blakey Helm, Louisville, and six others. Candidates for the Republican nomination are John Sherman Cooper, Somerset circuit judge, and Roscoe Conklin Douglas, of Williamsburg.

All nine Kentucky Congressmen—eight Democrats and one Republican—seek renomination. Four Democrats have no opposition. Among them is Representative Andrew J. May, chairman of the House Military Committee, who is currently under fire of the Senate War Investigating Committee. Five Republicans seek to oppose him in November, including Elmer E. Gabbard, Witherspoon College president, who almost beat May two years ago.

CIO-PAC, Negro Vote Again Are Issues In Alabama and Arkansas Primaries

By The Associated Press

The CIO-PAC and the right of Negroes to vote were issues again yesterday as voters chose Democratic nominees for Senator in Alabama and Governor in Arkansas.

A light vote had been forecast in both States. The campaigns

excited little interest.

Alabama held a special primary, which means election there, to name a successor to the late Senator John H. Bankhead, whose term expires in 1949. It was the twenty-third senatorial nomination this year, with 13 more to go.

Five candidates were in the field, including two Congressmen, John Sparkman, House majority whip, and Representative Frank Boykin. Sparkman had the backing of the CIO-PAC, the AFL United Mine Workers and the AFL State Executive Committee. Boykin attacked the PAC, saying it was out to "purge" him.

Runoff Slated August 27

They competed with State Senator James A. Simpson, four-term State Senator; Red Allen, textile mill worker, and Thomas H. Maxwell, member of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

If no candidate receives a majority, a runoff will be held Auguest 27.

Arkansas' Democratic primary, which also is equivalent to election, was the first test of the new State law, separating primaries for Congress and State office, in an effort to bar Negroes from voting for State office candidates. Negroes voted in the primary for Federal offices July 16, but in small numbers.

Election officials had planned to challenge any Negroes attempting to vote in the three-man race for Governor. Negro organizations had urged members of their race to appear at the polls.

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Bilbo, McKellar Campaigns Will Be Probed By Solons

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.
Sat 9-7-46

WASHINGTON, Sept. 6.—(AP)—The Senate campaign investigating committee decided today to inquire into charges filed against Senators Bilbo (D), Mississippi, and McKellar (D), Tennessee, as a result of their successful primary campaigns.

The charges, filed with the committee in sworn complaints involved Bilbo's exhortations against voting by Negroes and allegations of excessive expenditures in behalf of McKellar, the president pro tem of the Senate.

Chairman Ellender (D), Louisiana, of the investigating committee, told reporters the inquiries will be started as soon as a committee counsel and investigators are selected. Several applicants are being considered. The charges against Bilbo were filed by Edgar G. Brown of Washington, director of the National Negro Council, and Dr. James L. P. Rumble of New York, chairman of the Citizens National League, Inc.

Carmack Complains

The complaints against McKellar came from Edwin W. Carmack and John Randolph Neal. Both were unsuccessful contenders for the Democratic senatorial nomination in Tennessee.

Brown demanded that the Senate deny a seat to Bilbo because of reports that he urged "red-blooded Anglo-Saxons in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep all Negroes from voting in the primary election."

Rumble declared Bilbo is "entirely unfit" to represent any group of citizens.

Neal charged that "several candidates" in the Tennessee senatorial primary spent more than $50,000, while the State law permits the spending of only $10,000.

Carmack was more specific, charging that Ed Crump, Memphis political leader, and his supporters spent more than $100,000 for newspaper advertising in favor of McKellar.

Carmack also complained that he and his supporters were unable to obtain speaking and rally locations in Shelby County (Memphis) which were open to McKellar's supporters.

Found McMinn Dangerous

He further declared that while speaking in McMinn County he found tension at "a dangerous condition" between returned veterans and McKellar's supporters, with both sides carrying arms. McMinn County later was the scene of an armed clash at Athens which McKellar said in a Senate speech involved purely local issues rather than the senatorial race.

Carmack's communication was addressed to Chairman Green (D), Rhode Island, of the Senate privileges and elections committee but that he is not passing on that now. The decision will be made after investigators look into the complaint.

Ellender said his committee has received reports from both Bilbo and McKellar on their campaign expenditures. He declined to make them public, saying they are committee secrets and he does not want to try the cases in the newspapers.

The Advertiser

Several other complaints were received but were not supported by sworn affidavits. One was from Ross Collins, one of Bilbo's unsuccessful opponents. Another involved allegations of "a slush fund" and "political corruption" in West Virginia.

Montgomery Ala.

Ellender said the committee is holding in abeyance an investigation it began earlier of the Democratic primary in Montana which unseated Senator Wheeler. He explained that the committee counsel, when chosen, will examine the record and determine whether there is any necessity to continue the inquiry.

9-7-46

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING

Buzzards Are Nasty

The Informer Houston Texas

Over in Mississippi and Georgia, the rednecks have been playing buzzard through noisy political campaigns. They have never behaved worse. If you know anything about buzzards, you know that if they are disturbed or excited they vomit the carrion and corruption on which they live. Old Bilbo and Rankin and 'Gene Talmadge have been plenty upset in this campaign, and their heavings have been spattered all over Mississippi and Georgia.

Sat. 9-13-46

Race-hatred, labor-hatred, and other assorted hatreds that reached a climax in Hitler's Germany are dead and rotting things. There have been those who lived and thrived on them, but in our time there is no place for carrion or for the birds that relish it. So the buzzards have carried on a vomiting campaign to scare away the grave diggers who seek to bury their beloved corruption.

Texas has been spared much of the sort of thing that Mississippi and Georgia have put up with. The worst actor in the governor's race in Texas has been Grover Sellers. Until a couple of weeks ago, nobody knew that he enjoyed pecking at old carcasses. Then all of a sudden he began a little puking.

Then, Beauford Jester, who had waged a clean campaign, came to the American Legion park at Terrell and there he paused to heave a little. The FEPC is not an issue in the Texas governor's race, but Mr. Jester goes out of his way to gobble a little newly dead FEPC and spew it all over the folks at Terrell.

Political candidates try to take on the complexion of the group they are talking to in order to get a few votes. One man, prominent in public life tells of acts of his to get votes that he declares were against his sentiments. In one of his campaigns he says he impressed a small town audience by telling the colored people, "You niggers stand back so these white folks can get up to the platform."

But, brother, that was ten years ago when Negroes weren't voting. Buzzards and make-believe buzzards realize that today those dark-skinned folks up by the platform have poll tax receipts, too. They are on the committee to bury carrion and make living impossible for buzzards.

Sat. 9-13-46

Candidates File Election Costs

Defender

Cost Powell Nothing To Top GOP Choice

Chicago, Ill

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA)—An interesting angle of the Harlem Congressional race came to light last week when it was disclosed that Grant Reynolds, defeated candidate for the House seat spent more than $6,000 donated by such names at Whitney. Astor and Luce, while his successful opponent, Rev. A. Clayton Powell spent no part of a lone $50 gift.

Apparently less hopeful were Chicago and Los Angeles Republicans who contributed $500 to the unsuccessful fight to defeat Congressman William L. Dawson, and $1,000 in a futile effort to defeat Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas, wife of movie actor Melvin Douglas. Congressman Dawson listed three contributions totalling $2,040, with expenditures of $718. His opponent, William E. King, received $500 and spent $200 Congresswoman Douglas received $310 and spent nothing, while her Negro opponent, Frederick M. Roberts received $1,000 and spent $826.

Reynolds report to the House Campaign expenditures committee, dated Oct. 25, lists a total of $6,293.05 in contributions. His list of benefactors include former Republican Representative Clare Booth Luce, wife of the publisher of Fortune; J. H. Whitney, and Vincent Astor.

Sat. 9-46

Congressman Powell filed his report Oct. 15, listing one single $50 contribution and no expenditures. Under the law, all congressional candidates must file reports by Dec. 5 of the election year.

Spends Half on Nomination

Reynolds spent more than $3,000 campaigning for nomination and the balance for the losing election battle. His contribution list included $1,000 from the GOP National committee, and several smaller ones from whites with swank Park ave., and Wall st., addresses. He also received donations from local Negroes and others as far away as Santa Barbara, Calif.

Congressman Powell listed his lone contribution of $50 as coming from "a friend." After his election, Rep. Powell stated that Harlem Negroes' rejection of the expensive GOP campaign was proof of their political maturity.

RALPH T. JONES

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Now Is the Time For All Good Men--

Sun. 7-14-46

Let's change one word in that old phrase of the practicing typist:

Now is the time for all good men to come to the aid of the State.

And let us interpolate two more words. After "men," let us insert "and women."

Then we have it right. For this week, next Wednesday, Georgia will vote in the Democratic primary to decide which of four candidates will be Governor of this State for the coming four years, who of various candidates will represent certain contested Georgia Congressional seats and who will fill certain State House offices. To say nothing of the election of Representatives to the State Legislature.

Important, too, to voters of Fulton County outside of the city limits, is the vote for approval of bonds to increase school facilities to match the fast-growing school-age population.

It is not my place to try to tell any one of you for whom to vote. It is proper, though, to tell for whom my own vote will be cast, to give the reasons therefor and to hope and pray that the cause of good government will be advanced because of the voters' choice this week.

Let All Vote

Irrespective of how you vote, however, it is important to the cause of democracy that everyone qualified who possibly can get to the polls cast a ballot. There are, I understand, more than a million registered voters in Georgia for this primary. A greater number than ever before in the history of the State. We may. therefore, expect the total vote to be higher, in proportion to population, than ever before. Which means the result will more nearly express the will of all the people. Which is the essence of free elections in a free democracy.

Better qualified observers than I anticipate a vote of about 600,000. That will be good. But it would be far better if all the registered, the entire million, voted. Let us hope the total votes will be more than the most optimistic expect.

Focus of Interest

The focal point of ballot interest is, of course, the Governor's race. There are four candidates, of whom only two have a chance for victory. James V. Carmichael and Eugene Talmadge.

I hope it is not necessary for me to say here for whom my vote will be cast, as between those two. Carmichael, of course.

I do not know Mr. Carmichael personally. From all reports, however, of those who do know him he is a fine example of the highest type of young Georgian. A man whose word is his bond, who makes no promises he cannot fulfill and a man who, in the Governor's chair, will add to the good repute of Georgia as well as leading her farther along the highway of progress.

Too, his record at the Marietta Bomber plant during the war is ample evidence he possesses executive ability in high degree.

On the Record

There are two broad, inclusive reasons why I do not want to see Talmadge again Governor of Georgia. First is the record of his previous terms in that office. This, to my mind, is enough to condemn him, politically, for all time. Second is the manner in which he has sought to make campaign material of the foulest prejudices of misled people, with reckless disregard for the peace, safety and progress of the State.

He has based his campaign on a racial issue which, to my mind, just does not exist. I, for one, am absolutely unable to see how Negroes, even though they vote in the primary, because of recent Supreme Court rulings, can summon sufficient voting strength to have any effect on the outcome in Georgia. They are in such a minority, especially when you count only those who can qualify to vote. Sun. 7-14-46

And as for social equality, I can't for the life of me see where any court decision can bring that about. That is impossible because of the good sense of the people of both races, which is not an issue of politics or a problem before the courts.

No, all that Talmadge has done, to my mind, by his campaign based on racial sensitiveness, is to create a danger which would not have existed had he not sought to stir the baser passions.

The Schools

As for the past record, the story of Talmadge's drumhead courtmartial of university and college teachers in Georgia is too recent not to be well known to everyone and it would take too long to recapitulate the sorry story here.

How can any Georgian expect justice to control the Governor's office if they elect to that office a man who stage managed that travesty on justice, the "hearings" before the packed Board of Regents at the State Capitol.

I pray there will never be danger of anything so shameful as that occurring in Georgia again.

THE BARTOW HERALD

What a Talmadge Vote Means

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Fri 7-12-46

If the voters of Georgia and of Bartow County choose Eugene Talmadge for Governor, it is perfectly obvious they are indorsing the following things:

1. Talmadge called the National Guard out 17 times since June, 1933, to forcibly enforce his will on the people. On several occasions it was to throw out elected officials, chosen by the people.

2. Without legislative authority, Talmadge threw out the custodian of the State's funds, and established a financial dictatorship in which he spent the State's money to suit himself and his henchmen.

Fought FDR

3. He fought the administration of President Roosevelt, saying April 23, 1935, that the renomination of Mr. Roosevelt "would be a calamity."

4. On Jan. 24, 1936, coalition of the forces of the late Huey P. Long with those of Gov. Talmadge to fight renomination of President Roosevelt was announced by the Rev. Gerald L. K. Smith, leader of the Fascist groups in America. This same rabble-rousing Smith has announced his support of Gene in this campaign.

5. He boasted on Oct. 29, 1935, of his record for pardoning prisoners, condemned long sentences for first offenders, and advocated a return to the whipping post and continuance of the chain gang.

Concentration Camps

6. When running for Governor in 1932 and 1934, Talmdage paraded himself as the friend of the worker and the farmer. In 1935 he called out the State Militia to break the textile strike.

7. On Aug. 10, 1941, Talmadge confirmed that each of the 8,000 employes of the State was to be called upon for six subscriptions each to his paper, The Statesman. That would net nearly $50,000 for the "Talmadge War Chest."

8. On Jan. 6, 1943, in an injunction suit appealed from the Tattnall Superior Court to the Georgia Supreme Court, a State prison truck driver was quoted as testifying that he made monthly deliveries of six hams, 50 chickens, two cases of eggs and various vegetables to the Governor's home in Telfair County or to the Executive Mansion in Atlanta. Talmadge admitted that he did not pay a penny for it.

9. Talmadge announced his opposition to Federal aid for education on April 10, 1942.

Pardon Racket

10. During the last two years of his administration, in 1937, Talmadge granted clemency in 3,083 cases of persons convicted of crimes and misdemeanors in Georgia, a report filed with the Senate showed on Jan. 15, 1937.

11. Talmadge once called the CCC boys a bunch of bums and loafers.

12. Talmadge made a mockery of our school system in attacking the University System of Georgia, had the University schools all removed from the accredited list because of his interference of their affairs in order to trump up an issue on which to run for the Senate.

Laughingstock

13. He made the State of Georgia the laughingstock of the nation with his insane rantings and ravings and his military dictatorship.

14. He has discouraged every new industry's coming into Georgia and has fought to keep the people in ignorance and poverty. He has advocated one-room schools, has declared that a man in overalls is not worth more than $1 a day.

15. He has tried every trick known in the South to stir up trouble between the Negroes and the whites. The only trouble that exists is that which his tongue is stirring up in playing against the prejudices of the people. Fri. 7-12-46

16. He stands for all those things which the veterans of Georgia fought to eliminate. He stands for dictatorship, racial prejudice and hatred, for a return to the old suffering days following the War Between the States. He stands for greed and corruption and government by one man, instead of by the people.

The Alternatives To Carmichael

Dalton, Ga.

One of the most effective mailing pieces of the current campaign was gotten up by student veterans supporting James V. Carmichael.

These students made a study of the records of Eugene Talmadge and Eurith Rivers, the two weighed-and-found-wanting ex-Governors in the race.

In a strikingly illustrated brochure entitled "The Unholy Alliance," the students declared: Sat. 6-6-46

"SIX YEARS OF TALMADGE WAS VIRTUAL DICTATORSHIP—

"When Gene was Governor, you wouldn't have known Georgia from Germany. Six hours after his re-election was certain in 1935 he kicked workers into concentration camps. He declared bayonet rule 17 times. No wonder this devotee of dictatorship bragged that he had read 'Mein Kampf' seven times. Hitler and Naziism fascinated him.

"His burly 'Goon Squads' dragged from office the people's chosen officials when they insisted on sticking to the law. He blasted State vaults when the Legislature refused his outrageous demands for money. For the first time in Georgia, tear gas was used in a political campaign and bribes offered to fake evidence. One henchman beat an old man who put a picture of a Talmadge opponent in the window of his small cafe.

"One of his henchmen organized the Klan-like, Fascist-like Vigilantes, Inc. He welcomes KKK support. He set race against race—creed against creed. He is indorsed by Gerald L. K. Smith and the infamous America First. His Grass Roots Convention assembled the nation's worst rabble-rousing Fascists in the heart of Georgia. He screamed that CCC camps, filled with boys who later fought World War II, 'oughta be closed 'cause they're fulla bums and loafers.'

"He inflicted politics on the State school system, discredited the colleges, made degrees worthless. He packed the Board of Regents with stooges and held star-chamber sessions. He burned public books he didn't like. He urged students to use violence. Teachers left the State by thousands. High school students had to take over some classes. He brought shame on the name of Georgia."

"FOUR YEARS OF RIVERS WAS GREED, GRAFT AND SHAME—

"Highway Chairman Lint Miller smelled soap in the asphalt, felt sand in the cement, refused to cheat the taxpayers by colluding to loot the road department. He shocked the Rivers inner circle by insisting that road money be used only for roads. He exposed the inner circle, headed by the Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. The Wiz was fined $15,000. Frail,

unyielding Miller, beaten and dragged feet first from office by Rivers' Storm Troopers, was hospitalized for serious injuries.

"Eurith Rivers, when Georgia's Governor, was pinched by a Federal marshal, almost needed a pardon for himself. Arkansas Eddie beat the rap and scampered to the sanctuary of the Capitol. Shortly afterward, a State marshal served him papers charging he embezzled State funds to buy flowers and greeting cards, pictures of himself. . . . Mistrial.

"Rivers pardoned more criminals than all Georgia's other Governors combined, a total of 1,915. Seven hundred and seventeen applied during his last four months—and he freed them. His chauffeur was indicted for peddling a pardon for $25. Numerous crimes were later committed by men pardoned by Rivers in his pardon orgy which 54 grand juries decried. His abuse of pardon power prompted one Superior Court Judge to call the Governor 'Public Enemy No. 1.' Sat. 6-6-46

"E(xcessive) D(eficit) Rivers delights in calling himself Georgia's Greatest Builder. But most of the State improvements during his term were financed by Federal cash ($147,254,365.71). He merely held the pitcher while President Roosevelt primed the pump. WPA, FERA, PWA and REA did the job for which EDR claims credit. All he built was Georgia's greatest debt."

These are the records, succinctly stated, of the two repudiated professional politicians who have joined hands to defeat honest and decent government in Georgia. Small wonder that daily more and more thinking Georgians are turning to efficient, clean-cut Jimmie Carmichael.

WRIGHT BRYAN

Yes, the Race Issue Is

EUGENE TALMADGE is right on one count. There is a race problem in Georgia. It is a serious and delicate problem. It has existed for more than a century. It is not going to be solved overnight by extreme action in either direction. Its day-to-day and year-to-year handling calls for all the intelligence and all the good will which the most fair-minded of our white and our Negro citizens can bring to bear on it.

The question before Georgia voters next Wednesday is whether they will entrust the leadership of their state government to a man who inflames hatred between the races and encourages bloodshed, a man whose election might drive the Negroes from their work in Georgia's fields to a doubtful haven in the North, or to a man who already has demonstrated that he can guide relations between whites and Negroes in such a way as to minimize friction and achieve useful results for both.

A little-known phase of Jimmy Carmichael's work as counsel and as manager of the Bell Bomber Plant near Marietta is pertinent to this decision.

The job of the Bell plant was to produce B-29s, America's heaviest and longest-range World War II bombers, to deliver the knock-out blow against our enemies. At peak operation the plant employed 28,500 workers, the majority white, some Negro.

Fertile Field for Agitators

Manpower was short. The labor of every available citizen, whatever his color, was needed for the war effort. The plant was owned by the United States Government. It was operated by the Bell Aircraft Company under close supervision of the Army Air Forces. It was governed by federal law, not state law.

It was a fertile field for agitators who wished to change radically the pattern of race relations in the South. The FEPC was watching it closely, and no one knew what that commission might order the management to do.

There was some fear the FEPC might insist on having Negroes mingle with white workers in the assembly lines, on having Negro foremen supervising white workers.

Jimmy Carmichael said no. He told Larry Bell there would be such serious trouble, if this were done, that the plant could not produce bombers.

He asked, "Do you want me to conduct a social experiment here, or do you want me to build B-29s?"

Larry Bell said he wanted the plant to build bombers, and that Southern traditions should be observed among the personnel.

Fair Treatment for All

Jimmy Carmichael, as the responsible executive here, was firm, but fair. He called in some of the more level-headed Negro citizens. He said: "We want your people to work here. We expect to pay them good wages. We expect to provide working conditions, rest rooms, cafeterias, and other facilities equivalent to those of our white workers. But they will be separate. Otherwise we should have trouble, and the war would be prolonged for lack of B-29s."

The reasonableness of his position impressed everyone, white and Negro. Subassemblies were organized on which thousands of Negro workers could do important, well-paid jobs, without upsetting any of our traditions. The wealth of the state was increased because the economic condition of these Negroes was improved. No white worker was disturbed.

The B-29s, almost 700 of them, rolled out of the giant plant. They bombed the cities and industries of Japan. They delivered the atomic bombs to Hiroshima and to Nagasaki—and Japan surrendered, saving countless American lives.

Jimmy Carmichael, the grandson of a Confederate veteran, had done one of America's best wartime production jobs.

Do we want that kind of leadership in our race relations, or do we want violence and hatred?

There Is No Choice With Honor

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Most of the shouting and the hosannahs have been sounded. Another typical gubernatorial campaign which, a few weeks ago, threatened to atomize the State, is in its concluding drives. To date, nothing spectacular has occurred or threatens to occur unless you consider the impending defeat of Eugene Talmadge as spectacular. Most Georgians will not only consider it as such but also as a harbinger of a better future for their State.

In spite of the efforts of two ex-Governors to the contrary, the only real issue in the campaign has been the promise of good government versus poor, inefficient government as administered by the two ex-Governors. Yours is the choice between electing one of two men who have proven their inability to properly, honestly, and fairly administer State Government or a capable, intelligent young Georgian who you believe can do the job. Mon. 7-11-45

There is no real issue of white supremacy, or "nigger trouble" as Ole Gene lovingly refers to it in his violent tirades, that will stand up under intelligent scrutiny. It is true the Negro is being given the right to vote in our primary for the first time. It is a right guaranteed him under the Constitution and recently confirmed by the United States Supreme Court. It makes little difference whether you like the idea of the Negro voting or not. It is the law. And it will stand.

Poppycock The Negro votes in Virginia, North Carolina, and Texas. He has voted in these States for years. Are they still not considered Southern States, true to our best traditions? There is no connection between the extension of suffrage rights to the Negro and white supremacy, "black and white" schools, lax segregation laws and the other poppycock that Ole Gene distills. The right of suffrage is a political right. It does not encompass or envision, in any of its provisions, any other rights, social, educational or otherwise. Mon. 7-11-15

Talmadge has built his campaign on the psychology of fear. He has tried to build the Negro up out of all rightful proportions as a distinct threat to the white race and then, Tarzan-like and with gaping mouth and red suspenders, on July 17 he will swoop to the rescue and save us from our "black" fate. As an intelligent, thoughtful Georgian, can you really swallow that? Can blatant threats and impassioned harangues instill in you fear when there is no reason for it to exist?

Sir Galahad Of course if you are convinced that Talmadge is the Sir Galahad who is going to save you from a fate worse than death, and if you prefer the Ku Klux Klan to Negro schools, and one-room hovels to Negro housing projects, then you had better vote for Ole Gene. For if you believe and want these things, perhaps your fear is real. Mon. 7-11-15

There have been charges of the Communists backing Carmichael. Eugene Talmadge, who made these charges, wouldn't recognize a Communist if one offered him a drink of vodka on the Red Square in Moscow, probably saw more disguised Communists at his Republican Grass Roots convention in Macon than Ellis Arnall and Jimmie Carmichael have ever seen. This assertion is based on the well-known fact that there are very few Communists in the Democratic Party. And, unlike Gene, our present Governor and next Governor have not invited the Republican "furriners" to Macon.

Full of Holes Ole Gene's record is so full of holes that it would take a greater optimist than he to try to plug them all. That is why he cries, "nigger, nigger." He knows that if he attempted to stand and point to his past record, the people of Georgia would boo him out of the race. And so he instills a false issue of white supremacy to detract from his past performances.

He underestimates your intelligence. He thinks you haven't sense enough to see through his "black" smokescreen to his sordid record in office. We believe, however, your memories will not be dulled by sideshow antics, that you will remember the Talmadge that thrice pillaged and plundered our State and that you will elect Jimmie Carmichael July 17.

Think twice before you leave the name of Eugene Talmadge on your ballot. Think much, and deeply, before you strike the name of Jimmie Carmichael. You may be striking 25 years of progress from our State. Mon. 7-11-15

We believe Georgians have enough common sense, integrity and pride to elect Jimmie Carmichael on July 17. There is no choice with honor, but to elect him.

THE UPPER SOUTH

Times New York, N.Y.

Peace Justices in Georgia Think Talmadge Will Fail

Sun. 7/14/46

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, July 13 — The Georgia justices of the peace, who have accurately forecast the winner in the last four Gubernatorial contests, are strongly of the opinion that James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old candidate backed by Governor Ellis Arnall, will win the Georgia Governorship on July 17. These men, who run the State's elections, have been polled, and 2,889 of them say Mr. Carmichael will win, while only 1,523 lean to Eugene Talmadge, and only 280 to former Governor Rivers.

They have been publicly praised in the past by Messrs. Arnall, Talmadge and Rivers as the most reliable, accurate and far-reaching source of impartial information of this nature to be found in Georgia. They do not say whether they think Mr. Carmichael will win by so large a majority that a run-off will not be required. Sun. 7/14/46

In Tennessee, where the contest between Senator Kenneth McKellar and Edward Carmack is getting warmer, Mr. Carmack has enlisted a hillbilly band. An Associated Press dispatch quotes somebody as saying concerning the attitude of Boss E. H. Crump that "Mr. Crump don't need no git-tar playin' round Memphis."

Mr. Crump recalled his prediction on June 28 that Mr. Carmack would "go the hillbilly band route before it is over." He added that the people were tired of candidates "trying to bolster themselves up by clowning around like a patent medicine vendor."

It Won't Save Him

Editor, Constitution: We don't have any race issue, never have and never will unless whipped into flame by some political demagogue who is willing to gamble our State's good name and human life itself for a mess of pottage. When Little Boy Blue cornered Gene four years ago and began manhandling him, Gene hollered nigger. It didn't save him then and will not this time.

BILL FLYNN, SR.

Greenville, R. 2.

Why?

Editor, Constitution: Why does Eugene Talmadge keep going over Georgia hollering he is against the Negroes?

One term as Governor of Georgia he fired the highway crew working out of from Loganville and replaced them with a Negro crew.

HOWARD COOPER.

Loganville, Route 2.

His Excellency

Editor Constitution: I was looking through some old magazines and I came across one that I wish could be reprinted today, to remind Georgia voters about one of the most shameful periods of Georgia history.

In Life Magazine for Dec. 8, 1941, a picture spread over two full pages shows Gov. Talmadge excusing the Ku Klux Klan flogging in East Point and saying he felt sorry for the floggers.

I blush to think that a man like Talmadge was ever accorded the honor of being called "His Excellency, the Governor."

I will vote for a man whom we'll be proud to have represent our State—a man who's really "excellent." I mean James Carmichael.

JOSEPHINE O'CONNOR THERRELL.

900 Penn Ave., N. E.

Ironical?

Editor Constitution: As I was sitting at the breakfast table reading Ralph McGill's usual one-sided column, I noticed that Mr. McGill ridiculed a statement made by the next Governor of our State, Gene Talmadge, in which Mr. Talmadge reiterated his belief that if the present administration remains in power our sons and daughters, sisters and brothers will be going to school with Negroes.

Mr. McGill stated, "It is ridiculous for Mr. Talmadge to frighten the people of Georgia with such smears." We all must agree that Mr. McGill is a talented and conscientious writer and being such he succeeded in placing a shadow of a doubt in my mind as to the possibility of Negro and white students attending the same schools.

It was at this very instant that the news announcer blared forth with the startling announcement that the higher courts had just ruled that Negroes and white students were to attend the same schools in the Southern State of Texas.

Here at our very back door in the great Southern State of Texas had happened the same situation Mr. Talmadge had warned us of and the same situation which Mr. McGill had scoffed at as being ridiculous. Ironically enough this slam on Southern heritage was made public on the identical day Mr. McGill raved and ranted that such a thing could not happen in the South.

J. R. COFFEE.

Atlantan Hotel.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

THERE IS NO RACE ISSUE IN GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN

(Thomaston Times)

Despite the efforts of Ole Gene to stir it up, there is no race issue in Georgia and the subject has no place in the gubernatorial campaign. The "race issue" has always been his one and only platform but the people of the State are too intelligent to be fooled by it any more. If there should be race riots (we do not believe there will be) between now and the primary of July 17, you can charge them up to the propaganda of Ole Gene.

The relations between the races in Georgia, that is colored and white, were never better than they are now and to upset them for political purposes would be nothing short of criminal. The Negro race in Georgia is only a minor part of the population, and to say that it represents a threat to white supremacy reflects a lack of intelligence on the part of anyone who makes such a statement.

The Negroes do not want social equality. They do want better educational and economic opportunity and should have it. There is nothing whong in giving it to them. Both races would benefit by such an arrangement.

Ole Gene has boasted that he can "holler nigger" and carry any election in Georgia, but Ellis Arnall disproved that statement four years ago and Jimmie Carmichael will again give the lie to it.

Extravagant Promises

Editor Constitution: In the past 20 years Mr. Talmadge has offered for office nine times. Because in the past he has advocated economy in Government and has posed as the farmers' friend, I have voted for him seven times out of the nine. I voted for his opponent, Sen. George, and on one other occasion for personal reasons I voted against him.

But in his campaign this year he has completely reversed himself in his previous promises and practices. He, now, promises to spend nearly a billion dollars in expanded Government services. This will necessarily bring financial ruin to multiplied thousands of farmers, small business men, drive from our State industry which now employs thousands of people. This means unemployment for hundreds of thousands. I plead with Georgians to think this through, and if you do, I believe you will vote against this promise of extravagance which makes the New Deal look like a pygmy.

His and Mr. Roy Harris' white primary idea is unjust to the 40-odd counties where the Negroes predominate. For in these counties, if a white party is formed and a Negro party is formed, the Negroes can out-vote us and elect every officer in the County. Do you people of over 100 other counties think this fair to us?

Mr. Carmichael promises only one increase in expenditures—that is to raise the salaries of school teachers, therefore my only choice is to vote for him.

Again, I sincerely hope the people of Georgia will consider these facts, and if they do, I know that they will elect Mr. Carmichael on July 17.

HOMER J. AVERA.

Fort Valley.

Note to Isabelle

Editor Constitution: After reading Isabelle Woolford's letter in your paper, I decided somebody should get her told. Here is my reply to her:

My dear Isabelle:

It was very amusing, reading your letter in The Atlanta Constitution. I declare, we young people just laughed and laughed at the thought of a so-called aristocrat stooping so low as to campaign for a "country feller" like Gene Talmadge. Really, you have us terribly confused. It has never occurred to us to call Gene an aristocrat even if a so-called institution as that still exists today. On the other hand, perhaps you are still in the class with Mr. Talmadge. You know, Isabelle, having a lot of money does not necessarily make one an artistocrat.

After having graduated this June from a college in another State, I feel that we young people in Georgia are very fortunate indeed to be able to take part in our State's politics. Please do not let us abuse our privilege. While in college, I was able to associate with people from every State in the Union and they were able to offer only praise and surprise at the progress made by Georgia in the last three and one-half years.

Mr. Talmadge has had his day. We want to keep on progressing, but if he wins we will be forced back into our same old rut that it has taken us three and one-half years to get out of.

The people of the United States have great respect for Gov. Arnall (which is more than your candidate can boast) and since he is unable to run again, do let us elect someone who will carry on the good work that he has started. I'm sure that Mr. Jimmie Carmichael will appreciate your vote.

Here's hoping that by the time election day arrives, you will have done away with your childish ideas and will have matured enough to do justice to your State.

STEPHANIE ARCHER.

St. Simon Island.

Political Trick

Editor Constitution: In his frantic efforts to create ill feeling, mistrust and race hatred in the minds of the good people of Georgia, Eugene Talmadge has resorted to every foul trick in the book of dirty ethics. His theme song in the current governor's race is RACE HATRED. He has been feeding his false promises and political bunk to the people of this State for 20 years, and as one native Georgian I am sick of it.

Here is a typical trick of Talmadge. A stooge of Talmadge, Lt. J. gave me a copy of the front page of the Louisville (Kentucky) Times, dated June 26, 1945. The article in question is about a visit that Governor Arnall made to Louisville. Talmade has on his poison sheet that Arnall said in his talk with the Mayor o. Louisville as follows: "What the hell difference does it make if you sit down and eat with Negroes?"

This is what Arnall actually said: "What the hell difference does it make to THEM if you sit down and eat with Negroes?"

It is not really necessary to say that the two words "to them" change the statement as much as night from day! This little detail is no printer's mistake either. No, it is just some more of the evil poison as laid down by Talmadge.

He need not ever worry that Georgia will ever be anything but a white man's State! His worn-out phrase, Nigger, Nigger, Nigger, and keep Georgia white, hurts my eardrums. Every intelligent native of Georgia KNOWS that Georgia was a white man's State before Talmadge was ever born, and that it will be a white man's State after Talmadge is dead, buried and not even a fond memory.

I know beyond a doubt that there are enough native Georgians—citizens who love Georgia, to defeat this would-be Hitler, and put a man into the Governor's chair who will give us good government. That man is Jimmie Carmichael.

JAMES I. LUNSFORD,
Vet. World War II.

Big Hobgobbling

Editor Constitution: Gene started out four years ago hollering "nigger" and got a lot of us to thinking that if we didn't get him for Governor they would take over. Can you tell any difference? Now he comes again with the same spiel. Wonder if he thinks he can fool us? He adds the FEPC this time—tries to make a big hobgobbling out of it by not telling us that it was created by Executive order June 25, 1941, to see that no Federal agency or company doing business with the Government discriminated against any person because of race, color, creed or national origin. Anything wrong about that? It has been closed several weeks and went out of existence July 1. I guess Gene will try to keep it alive to get votes. Gene advocates and advertises the South Carolina plan of white and Negro primary so they can run whom they please and in the 47 counties where they are in the majority they certainly could get the county officials and maybe later get their Governor as they vote in a bloc and we don't vote so strong in the general election.

I don't think Gene had thought of that—he just started out with something to get votes and make us forget his record and doesn't expect us to have any better sense than to think if he doesn't get in and stop the "nigger" from voting in the primary we will have to send our children to school with them and so on. He knows that it would be against the law and to change it the Legislature would have to do it and the Governor would have to sign it and a "nigger" Governor could not get it done. He is careful not to say we would have social equality. He is not quite that big a fool but says if you want white supremacy vote for me and if you want all these other bad things he has pictured up, vote for the other fellow who is as much opposed to it as he is and expects us to have little enough sense to believe and say the things he intimates but doesn't dare say.

W. M. COX.

Lebanon.

Social Equality?

Editor Constitution: Whenever the American people indulge themselves in a political campaign, they seem to lose all sense of values. They attack all questions with emotion instead of calmly weighing them with sober reasoning. It is a part of every campaign to belittle opposition to the extent of mud-slinging. Statements are made by some candidates without any regard to their truth. One of our leading candidates for the presidency a while ago said when faced later with some of his false statements that they should be regarded as campaign propaganda and not examples of exact truth.

Among the things that have been said in this campaign is one that probably has not been questioned, at least I have not seen it questioned in print. An acquaintance, a rabid partisan, told me the other day in reference to the affair at the University when Talmadge ousted a professor, "Well, they never reinstated Cocking." Talmadge made a very similar statement a short time ago and I have seen a letter in one of our daily papers to the same effect.

This leaves a very bad impression in the minds of thoughtless people. It would imply that Talmadge was right and that the Board of Regents could do nothing. As a matter of fact, the Board did reinstate Cocking. They tried their best to re-employ him, but Mr. Cocking had been offered a far better job. Pittman, who was ousted at the same time, came back but the Talmadge people never mention this at any time.

There is another statement emphasized which we cannot seem to consider calmly, and that is the cry if the Negro has the ballot it means social equality. Just because a Negro votes in a booth where I vote does not mean that we have established social equality. The question is really more fundamental than social equality. Is the Negro a citizen of this country? Does the Negro pay taxes? If so, then we have no right to place him under any different qualifications than the white man. This country once went to war on the slogan, "No taxation without representation." That slogan still stands. The Negro should have the same right to say who will govern him as does any white man, if he meets these qualifications. It is not a matter of social equality at all.

F. A. MERRILL.

Atlanta.

An Enemy Of the People

(From The Bartow Herald)

Eugene Talmadge is again stirring the voters of Georgia with his particular brand of hatred and prejudice, based on what he believes to be the colossal ignorance of the people of this State.

He is raving and ranting about the race question, doing everything he can to stir up trouble between the colored and the white before the election, purely in order to get votes.

He is going about over Georgia

and demogoguery, doing every-
thing he can to create strife, dis-
unity, and to build up the Tal-
madge machine to again control
the State government and most of
all the State Treasury.

He is proposing doing away with the present election laws in Georgia, which grew out of a need to remove corruption and misrule in the State many years ago. He hopes to tear down the laws and turn the election machinery over to one man, himself, and his crowd of professional politicians who cannot live without staying in office and exploiting the taxpaying people of this State.

Everyone who has had anything to do with the Talmadge crowd in Atlanta knows that Gene puts on a big show for the rural people all over Georgia, when at heart he is as plutocratic as they come. As another candidate described him: "Gene makes out like he is a hick out in the country, but he is a regular gigolo on the dance floors in Atlanta."

It is well known that his campaign manager, Jim Page, who was formerly manager of the Henry Grady Hotel, has boasted that he had 120 suits of clothes. This when there is a clothing shortage and veterans cannot even buy a shirt.

he people of Georgia and Bartow County can never forget the spectacle he made of himself as Georgia's Governor before. They remember how he made a mockery of the good name of this State, for personal gain. They remember his ruining the educational system of Georgia, making the diplomas of graduates of Georgia's colleges not worth the paper they were printed on.

They remember how he refused to co-operate with the Federal Government when he fought old age pensions, blocked the social security program, how he declared that all we needed were one-teacher schools, that a man in overalls is not worth more than $1 a day.

He has boasted about his regard for labor. And yet he had the National Guard build a barbed wire concentration camp in Troup County and put hundreds of men and women therein who were on strike.

You remember Gene's hobnobbing with Gerald Smith, the nation's leading exponent of the Adolph Hitler variety of Government.

You remember Gene's "Grass Roots" convention, in which he tried to organize the dissatisfied political elements of Georgia, including the Republicans, and how it amounted to a repudiation of the Democratic party. And yet he has the gall to run for Governor on the Democratic ticket.

You remember Gene's throwing out of officials, elected by the people themselves, at the point of a bayonet—because they would not bow to his dictation.

Gene is the worst thing that has happened to Georgia in many generations. We believe that the people of this State realize that fact and that he will be returned to Sugar Creek for good

Talmadgeism is a political philosophy that we can do without in Georgia. Talmadgeism is racketeering. Talmadgeism is reactionary and against the welfare of the people. Talmadgeism is against decency and honesty in government.

There is no room for Talmadgeism in the new Georgia. The very word is the direct opposite of progress. He is an enemy of the people.

Carmichael Pledges Aid In Efforts For Good

Atlanta Daily World
Atlanta Ga.
Sat. 7-20-46

Supporters Report Apparent Irregularities

451

Former Governor Eugene Talmadge has been conceded victory in the gubernatorial campaign by James V. Carmichael, who polled the largest popular vote ever given a candidate for the state's chief executive position. Candidates former governor E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelley, who ran third and fourth in the race, earlier had conceded Rivers victory.

Mr. Carmichael, who ran on a "good government" platform against Talmadge's "white supermacy" planks, p' dged the next governor support "in everything he tried to do for the good of Georgia."

Carmichael's statement was issued following a long conference at the Piedmont Hotel. There it had been suggested to him that he contest the election or run as an independent candidate in the general election, as the choice of a majority of the voters. His statement was as follows: Sat. 7-20-46

"On the basis of the final return under the county unit system, Mr. Talmadge has received the Democratic nomination for the office of governor. I am grateful for the fact that I received the largest popular vote that has ever been cast for a candidate for governor in the history of Georgia.

FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT

"The Carmichael campaign was predicted upon giving Georgia good government with honesty, decency and respectability in the administration of its affairs and upon the maintenance of law and order in this state. These are my principles, and I will continue to fight for them. The next administration will receive my co-operation in all that it tries to do for the good of Georgia, but I will never sacrifice or compromise the principles for which I fought in this campaign, and I will continue to devote my effort toward making Georgia a better state in which to live, and towards encouraging the development of agriculture and industry to the end that all people of Georgia may have a more happy and a more prosperous life.

"To the hundreds of thousands of Georgians who have fought so loyally during this campaign, and to the free press of this state, which never faltered in having the courage to print the facts at all times I shall be eternally grateful.

"We have fought a hard fight. We have done nothing for which we are ashamed. All my friends can hold their heads up with pride at having fought a clean and honest fight. There is no bitterness in my heart. I return to my private work with a feeling that all who love Georgia will continue to work and fight for those things which are best for our state."

Apparent irregularities in a number of counties and threats that not only frightened thousands of Negroes from the polls, but also kept away thousands of white voters who were afraid of disturbances were reported by Carmichael supporters. It was stated that these reports are under investigation by federal officials. Sat. 7-20-46

According to complete returns from 156 of the state's 159 counties Friday, Talmadge had 238 unit votes, or 32 more than the 206 required for nomination. Carmichael carried 44 counties with 144 unit votes and was leading in incomplete returns from Upson County. The incomplete popular vote was Carmichael 312,555, Talmadge 301,763, Rivers 68,338, and O'Kelley 12,323.

The race for lieutenant governor showed a change Friday and returns from 151 counties assured the election of State Revenue Commissioner H. Thompson to the newly created post. His duties will be to preside over the State Senate and to succeed the governor in the event of a vacancy in that office. Sat. 7-20-46

In the Fifth District Congressional race, both Congresswoman Helen Douglas Mankin and Judge James C. Davis claimed victory, the former on the basis of her plurality in the Fulton- DeKalb- Rockdale voting and the latter on the basis of 8 unit votes from the latter two counties as compared to Mrs. Mankin's 6 in Fulton County. A contest to the end was pledged by Mrs. Mankin who received a heavy vote by Negroes voting for the first time in a Georgia Democratic primary.

GEORGIA PRIMARY DRAWS TO CLOSE

Wilmington, N. C. Morning Star
July 14, 1946

Negroes To Vote For First Time; Talmadge Has Two Opponents

ATLANTA, July 13.—(U.P.)—Georgians go to the polls Wednesday to nominate a governor, ten congressmen and various state officers as a climax to a bitter political campaign that will see Negroes voting in large numbers in a Democratic primary for the first time in this state.

Central figure in a four-way race for governor is colorful Eugene Talmadge, who carried the banner of "white supremacy" in an attempt to return from political retirement and become Georgia's chief executive for the fourth time in little more than a decade.

His opponents are former Gov. E. D. Rivers who has served two previous terms; 35-year-old James V. Carmichael, wartime bomber plant executive and chosen candidate of liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall, and war veteran Hoke O'Kelley.

Heated Campaign

Seven of the state's ten congressmen have opposition.

Although accustomed to boisterous politics, seldom has Georgia had a more heated campaign than this year's governor's race. Wednesday's primary follows by only a few weeks the re-nomination of Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, D., Miss., the neighboring state's Negro-hating disciple of white supremacy.

In many ways the philosophies of Bilbo and Talmadge are parallel, and they are perhaps the South's two most outspoken advocates of keeping a sharp dividing line between whites and Negroes, especially at the polls.

"Elect me governor and I will see that no Negro votes," Talmadge exhorts his supporters.

Not Finished

Talmadge's political enemies were certain that after his last defeat he was finished, but they reckoned without the spirit of old Gene. During the four years they thought he was rocking on the front porch of his Telfair county farm, he was quietly restoring his battered political fences.

Today at 61 he is a gaunt, weatherbeaten figure, but the fire is still in his eyes and voice, and the crowds he draws to his rallies remain unmatched.

Talmadge is supported by Gerald L. K. Smith, the disavowed American firster, and the resurgent Ku Klux Klan.

He was handed his campaign platform by a timely Federal court ruling that Negroes must be allowed to vote in Georgia white primaries.

When the courts held that Negroes could sit in the white section of buses engaged in interstate travel, Talmadge paced the floor of his office until his shock of black hair hung over his horn rimmed spectacles.

Then he called in the press and announced his solution:

"I will force bus and train terminals only to sell ETAOINOIN tickets to the state line and then 50 feet within the line I will set up stations where new tickets will be sold. And when the passengers get back on those buses it'll be Negroes in the back where they belong."

Georgia Papers 'Woke Him Up,' Talmadge Says

By KEN TURNER
Journal Staff Writer

SWAINSBORO, July 12.—Atlanta, Macon and Augusta newspapers received major attention from ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge in two addresses in south Georgia Thursday—here and at Baxley—as he carried his fourth term campaign into Appling and Emanuel Counties.

He accused the papers of these three towns of being "owned by outside influence" and bitterly assailed what he called their efforts to hide the white primary issue during the current campaign.

However, he offered these newspapers a left-handed compliment.

"Woke Him Up"

"I'll tell you one thing these papers can do. They can wake up a candidate. They woke me up and from Tybee Light to Rabun Gap I've spoke to more people than read these papers," the candidate said.

"Along about the second week in January these newspapers will be trying to get on the good side of me. One of the prices will be to publish pictures of crowds like this," he declared as he spoke of the "big crowd" present.

He said if the candidate of these newspapers ever had a crowd like this—at Swainsboro and Baxley—"there wouldn't be enough ink to print it in the paper."

The ex-governor contended that while he would not say the weekly newspapers of the state were "bribed" into not supporting him he emphasized that "the $300,000 they got for advertising the new constitution didn't make 'em mad."

Outlines Platform

Turning from the newspapers, Mr. Talmadge outlined what he proposed to do if he is elected governor.

He said he would make permanent the 50 per cent salary increase which the present administration had given the teachers as a bonus; would complete every rough highway in Georgia and

surface all farm to market roads especially those over which rural mail carriers and school busses travel. Would see that the veterans get free lifetime business licenses, and a five percent exemption from state ad valorem taxes; would establish a state veterinary college in south Georgia and

Champions Segregation"

"Segregation is the natural law of this county," he declared and none emphasized that if elected he would see that Jim Crow laws are strictly enforced on busses and trains.

He urged the "Good Government" candidate, James V. Carmichael a "Mother" and touches nothing" and one democratic white primary issue."

The Baxley meeting was attended by residents of many surrounding counties, including Toombs and Jeff Davis. P. F. Phillips, of Baxley, introduced the

Court will wake up" and he

45a 1946

Campaigns (Georgia)

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

A Teacher

Atlanta, Ga.

Thinks It Over

Sat. 7-13-46

A teacher, a woman of many years' service, one I do not know, sent a letter. It was so obviously written out of a deep and sincere feeling, I reproduce part of it as follows:

"I have just listened to Mr. Talmadge talk on the local radio station about how he intends to 'raise the school teachers,' etc. There is one item which seems to have been entirely forgotten about Talmadge.

"In 1933 he came into office as Governor of Georgia. He fired over 200 teachers in the University System of Georgia and cut all the rest of them 30 percent. They had taken a 10 percent cut under Dick Russell in 1932. This gave the teachers in the entire system a 40 percent cut in 1933. These teachers, instructors, professors and assistants had to sell their homes, had to borrow money from loan sharks, from their relatives, from any source they could command. They couldn't pay their current bills nor their debts; they were carried by the business people of Athens and other places (Rich's helped by extending credit and honoring scrip). The professors' children were humiliated and embittered by their experience. But I won't go into that, nor their parents' humiliations and struggles during the years of Eugene Talmadge's dictatorships.

"But just remember the 40 percent cut they took and the struggles they made to live and "carry on" in fear and disgust and in silence during his Hitlerian administrations.

"Remember the Tech professor's wife who succeeded in committing suicide and recall the attempt of two others in Athens—one took poison and the other cut her throat. Another professor's daughter succeeded in killing herself by poison because she was a teacher at Jefferson, Ga., and couldn't collect any salary and her parents had no money, so she became despondent and killed herself.

"These are fearful facts, but the teachers never discuss them. They keep silent for the sake of the reputation and standing of the University of Georgia and the school system. They can't hold their heads up if things like this were known over the United States.

"The prospect of Eugene Talmadge again is a fearful thing to look forward to. They have poor salaries as it is, and no tenure nor security under the laws of Georgia. Their retirement system is a disgrace to the State. They get $49 per month down to $3 per month. All this—then to have Talmadge as a possibility again—is almost too much to endure.

"I think Carmichael should use the facts about the 30 and 10 percent cut the University teachers took in 1933. The entire University System of Georgia, not just the University at Athens. Mr. Wisdom, who was auditor at that time, prepared a digest from 1933 back to 1928, showing that Talmadge didn't need to cut the University teachers as he pretended he did, because he had as much or more tax money than any Governor had ever had to run the State university and the State government. Talmadge, like Huey Long, desired to destroy the educational system and if he had dared he would have put in his personal friends as Huey Long did in Louisiana. . . ."

It is a terrifying sort of letter, but her facts are undisputed.

It is no wonder Mr. Talmadge chooses to cry "nigger" in an effort to make people forget what he did to the schools—

To make people forget he did veto the old age pension bill—

That he did delay and oppose free schoolbooks and did veto the bill, keeping poor children who could not afford books out of school.

Mr. Talmadge has been Governor before. Think back over his deeds.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Seamy

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-12-46

Side of Politics

"Get thee glass eyes;
And, like the scurvy politician, seem
To see the thing thou dost not."—(King Lear.)

There seem to be no innovations in the political tricks employed against James V. Carmichael. Some of them are tedious. Others are so petty as to be almost beyond belief.

As an example of the latter, there is the custom of both Mr. Eugene Talmadge and Mr. E. D. Rivers to pronounce Mr. Carmichael's Scotch-Irish Presbyterian name "Car-Mick-el" instead of Car-Mike-el. As they quietly explained it to the curious, if they could make some persons think him to be a Catholic or a Jew it might prejudice some against him. Hence both these gentlemen studiously mispronounce his name, hoping thereby to pick up a vote or so from the few morons who might be so influenced.

This is probably a new low in pettiness, and is, of course, unimportant. But illuminating.

Gossip There also is the old trick of having some of their friends who travel spread various rumors. For example, the Talmadge headquarters have paid the expenses of a few men to stop at filling stations and talk, very casually, as follows:

"Too bad about the riots they have been having in Atlanta. The riots grew out of rapes. There are so many such cases the police can't stop the riots. Of course, the papers are not printing anything about it. They are trying to keep it quiet. But it's pretty bad." The facts are, of course, Atlanta has had no trouble at all. There is less postwar crime in Atlanta than in almost any other city of its size. The number of attempted criminal assaults is not increased. If anything the total is below the average. But the poison is spread. This is one of the oldest political machinations.

It has other variations. *Fri. 7-12-46*

Sometimes the talk will go as follows:

"I was over in ——— County (usually a county some miles away) and it is going strong for Rivers. (Or Talmadge.) The sentiment is turning fast."

There are still other variations—all of which add up to the fact that a filling station is probably the worst place in the world at which to pick up any ideas of how a political race is going.

Bribes In Savannah there were payments made to low-grade white and colored people to start racial trouble. It worked only once in a small degree. In many places, including Atlanta, Talmadge workers attempted to hire Negroes to attend political meetings and to be insolent and boisterous.

"Publications" are another favorite, but hoary trick. There are always products for hire; always those willing to sing any song or make an affidavit, provided payment is made.

Hence the number of pamphlets, fantastic affidavits and other printed matter. *Fri. 7-12-46*

One of the most obviously ridiculous pamphlets, being broadcast thickly in the last few days, is one purporting to tell the "true" story of the Bell Bomber plant by one of the "staff."

Never a member of the "staff," this gentleman has made so many angry and sensational charges that even the dullest mind realizes that if any one of them were true Mr. Carmichael long ago would have been put in a Federal prison.

The facts are the Bell Bomber plant was highly commended by the Army Air Forces, and by all connected with it. It was not, after the first experimental planes, a cost-plus product. And the records show the costs went steadily down. Had the plant not been entirely satisfactory the Government would have halted it. The facts are its record was the best of all the B-29 plants.

War Work This serves to remind the people fo Georgia that James V. Carmichael was engaged in war work—that it was his product which hastened the end of the war with Japan; that he and his direction brought extravagant praise from the Army Air Forces which designed the plane and which at all times was in charge of the plant and which gave every plane the closest sort of inspection.

I saw that vast plant begin with the breaking of the ground. I saw the first machines and the first planes. And I saw them flying against the enemy. *Fri. 7-12-46*

I got a great thrill out of thinking of the Georgia boy who, at 15 years of age had had his back broken, but who had gone on to conquer it and to play a part in the war as head of the big plant where other men had failed to measure up. I was proud a Georgian could win the plaudits of the Air Forces.

But, there are always those who are jealous of success; always those who allow envy to make them willing to tear down.

Politics always turns up one or more of these.

They haven't found anything to say about James V. Carmichael but that he stands for good, honest government and has said:

"I will never do anything that will make you ashamed of me or make people ashamed of Georgia."

The choice is between James V. Carmichael and Eugene Talmadge.

"Repeat a lie over and over again and people will believe it."—Adolf Hitler.

"A liar is far worse, and does greater mischief than a killer on the highways, for a liar and false teacher deceives people, seduces souls and destroys them."—Martin Luther

Let's take a lie and subject it to the X-ray of facts.

Mr. Eugene Talmadge daily states that Mr. Ellis Arnall and his "crowd" are in favor of mixing the races.

What are the facts?

Mr. Arnall devised a new State Constitution for Georgia. It is called the "new" or "Arnall Constitution."

Not even Mr. Talmadge can deny that Arnall sponsored it and reviewed each provision.

The first section of article 8 of that Constitution provides that the races shall be separated in schools.

That Constitution further provides that for schools of higher education to share the benefits of free taxation of endowment funds, they must separate the races.

Those are the written facts of the Constitution.

Change Four years ago this same Mr. Talmadge was saying that if Mr. Arnall were elected that within his term the races would be mixed.

The answer was the Arnall Constitution.

Now, what is the one way—and the only way—that may be changed?

It is by a vote of the people—your vote.

So, Mr. Talmadge's statement is obviously entirely false. The fact that he repeats and repeats it indicates the fact that he believes at least some of the people of Georgia are fools . . . that he can tell them a lie over and over again and they will believe it.

Mr. Talmadge knows there is not a single candidate or person advocating mixing of races. He knows that it is something the Negroes themselves do not want. The Negro teachers, the students, want decent schools, good pay and a fair chance at an education But they do not want mixed schools. *Mon. 7-15-46*

It is simply a falsehood—repeated over and over on the basis—as Mr. Talmadge privately says—that most of the voters don't know any better and he can excite them and win votes.

It is a dishonest and unworthy act, doing harm to the State.

FEPC Let's take another of Mr. Talmadge's issues. That is the FEPC (the Fair Employment Practices Committee).

Mr. Talmadge says that the Arnall "crowd," with the help of Henry Wallace, is trying to fasten the FEPC about the neck of Geor-

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

The Political

Atlanta, Ga.

Use of Falsehoods

Mon. 7-15-46

45a 1946

RALPH McGILL
The Constitution

A Teacher Atlanta, Ga. Thinks It Over

Sat. 7-13-46

A teacher, a woman of many years' service, one I do not know, sent a letter. It was so obviously written out of a deep and sincere feeling, I reproduce part of it as follows:

"I have just listened to Mr. Talmadge talk on the local radio station about how he intends to 'raise the school teachers,' etc. There is one item which seems to have been entirely forgotten about Talmadge.

"In 1933 he came into office as Governor of Georgia. He fired over 200 teachers in the University System of Georgia and cut all the rest of them 30 percent. They had taken a 10 percent cut under Dick Russell in 1932. This gave the teachers in the entire system a 40 percent cut in 1933. These teachers, instructors, professors and assistants had to sell their homes, had to borrow money from loan sharks, from their relatives, from any source they could command. They couldn't pay their current bills nor their debts; they were carried by the business people of Athens and other places (Rich's helped by extending credit and honoring scrip). The professors' children were humiliated and embittered by their experience. But I won't go into that, nor their parents' humiliations and struggles during the years of Eugene Talmadge's dictatorships.

"But just remember the 40 percent cut they took and the struggles they made to live and "carry on" in fear and disgust and in silence during his Hitlerian administrations.

"Remember the Tech professor's wife who succeeded in committing suicide and recall the attempt of two others in Athens—one took poison and the other cut her throat. Another professor's daughter succeeded in killing herself by poison because she was a teacher at Jefferson, Ga., and couldn't collect any salary and her parents had no money, so she became despondent and killed herself.

"These are fearful facts, but the teachers never discuss them. They keep silent for the sake of the reputation and standing of the University of Georgia and the school system. They can't hold their heads up if things like this were known over the United States.

"The prospect of Eugene Talmadge again is a fearful thing to look forward to. They have poor salaries as it is, and no tenure nor security under the laws of Georgia. Their retirement system is a disgrace to the State. They get $49 per month down to $3 per month. All this—then to have Talmadge as a possibility again —is almost too much to endure.

"I think Carmichael should use the facts about the 30 and 10 percent cut the University teachers took in 1933. The entire University System of Georgia, not just the University at Athens. Mr. Wisdom, who was auditor at that time, prepared a digest from 1933 back to 1928, showing that Talmadge didn't need to cut the University teachers as he pretended he did, because he had as much or more tax money than any Governor had ever had to run the State university and the State government. Talmadge, like Huey Long, desired to destroy the educational system and if he had dared he would have put in his personal friends as Huey Long did in Louisiana. . . ."

It is a terrifying sort of letter, but her facts are undisputed. It is no wonder Mr. Talmadge chooses to cry "nigger" in an effort to make people forget what he did to the schools—

To make people forget he did veto the old age pension bill—That he did delay and oppose free schoolbooks and did veto the bill, keeping poor children who could not afford books out of school.

Mr. Talmadge has been Governor before. Think back over his deeds.

Campaigns (Georgia)

RALPH McGILL
The Constitution

The Seamy Side of Politics

Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 7-12-46

"Get thee glass eyes;
And, like the scurvy politician, seem
To see the thing thou dost not."—(King Lear.)

There seem to be no innovations in the political tricks employed against James V. Carmichael. Some of them are tedious. Others are so petty as to be almost beyond belief.

As an example of the latter, there is the custom of both Mr. Eugene Talmadge and Mr. E. D. Rivers to pronounce Mr. Carmichael's Scotch-Irish Presbyterian name "Car-Mick-el" instead of Car-Mike-el. As they quietly explained it to the curious, if they could make some persons think him to be a Catholic or a Jew it might prejudice some against him. Hence both these gentlemen studiously mispronounce his name, hoping thereby to pick up a vote or so from the few morons who might be so influenced.

This is probably a new low in pettiness, and is, of course, unimportant. But illuminating.

Gossip There also is the old trick of having some of their friends who travel spread various rumors. For example, the Talmadge headquarters have paid the expenses of a few men to stop at filling stations and talk, very casually, as follows:

"Too bad about the riots they have been having in Atlanta. The riots grew out of rapes. There are so many such cases the police can't stop the riots. Of course, the papers are not printing anything about it. They are trying to keep it quiet. But it's pretty bad." The facts are, of course, Atlanta has had no trouble at all. There is less postwar crime in Atlanta than in almost any other city of its size. The number of attempted criminal assaults is not increased. If anything the total is below the average. But the poison is spread. This is one of the oldest political machinations.

Fri. 7-12-46

It has other variations.

Sometimes the talk will go as follows:

"I was over in ——— County (usually a county some miles away) and it is going strong for Rivers. (Or Talmadge.) The sentiment is turning fast."

There are still other variations—all of which add up to the fact that a filling station is probably the worst place in the world at which to pick up any ideas of how a political race is going.

Bribes In Savannah there were payments made to low-grade white and colored people to start racial trouble. It worked only once in a small degree. In many places, including Atlanta, Talmadge workers attempted to hire Negroes to attend political meetings and to be insolent and boisterous.

"Publications" are another favorite, but hoary trick. There are always products for hire; always those willing to sing any song or make an affidavit, provided payment is made.

Hence the number of pamphlets, fantastic affidavits and other printed matter.

Fri. 7-12-46

One of the most obviously ridiculous pamphlets, being broadcast thickly in the last few days, is one purporting to tell the "true" story of the Bell Bomber plant by one of the "staff."

Never a member of the "staff," this gentleman has made so many angry and sensational charges that even the dullest mind realizes that if any one of them were true Mr. Carmichael long ago would have been put in a Federal prison.

The facts are the Bell Bomber plant was highly commended by the Army Air Forces, and by all connected with it. It was not, after the first experimental planes, a cost-plus product. And the records show the costs went steadily down. Had the plant not been entirely satisfactory the Government would have halted it. The facts are its record was the best of all the B-29 plants.

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RALPH McGILL
The Constitution

The Political Atlanta, Ga. Use of Falsehoods

Thurs. 7-13-46

gians and make them hire "niggers."

What are the facts?

There is no such thing as the FEPC.

It does not exist.

It was an emergency wartime committee which never had any real power.

But it doesn't exist at all. There isn't any FEPC.

All efforts to create a permanent one failed. All Georgia's Representatives in Congress voted against it when it came up.

There will be other efforts to create one. They likely will fail again.

But the plain facts are there isn't any FEPC.

And if there was, a Governor would have nothing to do with it.

One cannot help but wonder why he keeps repeating this complete falsehood over and over again.

There simply isn't any such thing as he keeps talking about.

Surely he knows it. He cannot name a single person in Georgia in any position of influence who urged the passage of such a bill. Mon. 7-15-46

It is just another plain, unvarnished falsehood.

And it, with the others, helps explain why many persons are sincerely concerned about a man who deals in such things.

Voting These are but two illustrations. Using them, Mr. Talmadge has abused any who dare oppose him as seeking to mix the races, to foist the FEPC upon us.

He knows the only way races could be mixed is by a vote of the people and that there is no such thing in the United States as an FEPC—and that it never was more than a wartime committee. It was put into effect so that war plants would not refuse to hire persons because they were of Japanese descent, were Catholics, Jews or Negroes.

Now it does not exist.

Equally false is the Harris County attack on Carmichael.

So, think it over.

Your vote is not cast until it is in the ballot box.

You have until then to change your mind.

You owe it to yourself, your State and your country to cast your vote for the sort of government you believe will be best for your State and your country. Mon. 7-11-46

When you go to bed on the night of July 17 you will think back on your vote of that day.

Weigh the facts—

Don't be caught in the spiderweb of falsehoods—repeated over and over again to fool you.

Vote for your State—and your own future.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Collected

Atlanta, Ga.

Sayings of Mr. T.

Wed. 7-10-46

Lon Sullivan was appointed by E. D. Rivers to head the newly formed Georgia State Patrol. He made of it the outstanding organization of its type in the nation, a competent non-political police body which brought commendation from everyone.

Lon Sullivan is a long-time friend and supporter of E. D. Rivers. But he is a Georgian first. Convinced by a State-wide survey that Rivers is not a factor in the present campaign; realizing that a vote for Rivers is therefore nothing more than a vote for Talmadge, Lon Sullivan has thrown his weight behind James V. Carmichael to help prevent Georgia from again suffering the blight of Talmadgeism.

He has been fighting Talmadge most effectively with Talmadge's own words. And of all the sayings of Talmadge which Sullivan has been reminding Georgia voters, none more clearly reveals the man than the one made in connection with the inmates of the State Hospital at Milledgeville.

He was being very "economical."

If no cream or sugar were served in the coffee of the unfortunate mental patients, he said, "it'll save money and them idiots won't know the difference anyhow."

So Mr. Talmadge summed it up and so he said and ordered.

The food was pretty bad, too, and money could be "saved" because "them idiots didn't know the difference anyhow."

Good food, good care, and a humane and modern course of therapy can cure, and does cure, many of these people.

No thoughtful person can think over such a statement and fail to wonder if this attitude, from the office of the man then Governor, is one the State can risk to put back in that office.

It was some years ago, before wages were as high as now, that he said no man in overalls was worth more than a dollar a day.

During the days of 1933 his idea of a relief organization was one that paid 5 cents an hour to unskilled labor and 10 cents an hour to skilled.

It is true that he did veto old age pension legislation. He now wants to pay more.

It is true that he opposed free school books.

It is true that he mocked "that cripple in the White House."

It is true he delayed Federal social security benefits.

War Dead Lon Sullivan had a good paragraph about another of the Talmadge statements—that the young men who were in the CCC camps during the depression were "bums and loafers." Said Sullivan:

"We were opposed to Mr. Talmadge in 1936 because he had labeled the fine young men in the CCC camps as bums and loafers. Some of those men lie today under the blood-soaked soil of France, Germany, Okinawa and Guadalcanal. They died fighting for this way of government we cherish so much—but to Mr. Talmadge in 1936 they were just bums and loafers.

"We were opposed to him in 1936 and we are opposed to him in 1946 because he continues to be dishonest with the people."

It is true that in 1937 Mr. Talmadge said he had read Adolf Hitler's book and liked it so well he was going to read it several times.

But of all these, and more sayings by the man, none is more revealing than the order not to put sugar or cream in the coffee of the patients at Milledgeville "because them idiots won't know the difference."

That is so revealing that it is frightening.

It is so revealing, too, that I think more and more Georgians are recovering from their fear and realizing that this State need not be thrown into tumult and tension.

Summing Up Lon Sullivan summed up another phase of this campaign as follows:

"Four years ago he went up and down this State and on every stump he said if we did not elect him Governor the Negroes would go to white schools. He even predicted we would have Negro policemen, sheriffs, judges and Congressmen if we would not let Mr. Talmadge 'save us.'

"Mr. Talmadge was defeated. Yet none of these dire things happened. No Negro is going to a white school, there are not any Negro sheriffs, policemen or Congressmen. Mr. Talmadge knew he was telling a pure, unadulterated lie—and he knows it today as he strums the same old tune."

Every thoughtful person must know that what Sullivan says is true.

There is no candidate, there is no person in Georgia, who is advocating or who believes in mixing of races in any form or fashion. They all are as strongly against it as Mr. Talmadge. As Mr. Sullivan says, it is a pure, unadulterated lie.

Yet he continues.

Does he remember reading in Hitler's book that if you tell a lie over and over long enough there will be people who will believe it?

Federal Law There is no need for this State to be thrown into tension and trouble—driving new industries and investments who will not want to come into such a condition.

There is no need for this State to be thrown into conflict with the Federal law and the Supreme Court.

Mr. Talmadge says it is simple. We will just abolish all our election laws, turn the votes over to a Talmadge primary, and do "just as South Carolina has done."

It sounds very simple. Yet, like all statements which avoid the whole truth, it is not simple.

Already South Carolina sees that a primary without law still must have its nominees accepted by the State and sworn in as State officials.

So, J. D. Wyatt, attorney, writing in the Charleston (S. C.) News and Courier, says:

"When Gov. Olin D. Johnson called a special session of the South Carolina Assembly in the Spring of 1944 to solve the Negro issue, and that body without dissent abolished the primary laws with the avowed purpose of preventing the Negro from voting, the steps were not toward the solution of the problem but toward its aggravation . . . the special session plank of the State Democratic Convention will prove to be regrettable blunders . . . in the last analysis the statutory and 'constitutional' methods (of Negro disfranchisement) are fatally defective . . . solution, not resistance, is the end to be desired. . . ."

It is not so simple as Mr. Talmadge says.

What he proposes would not save the Democratic primary but would, eventually, destroy it.

The tragedy is that Eugene Talmadge, with a fine intelligence, should so pervert it to untruth and should allow his desire for great power to lead him to deceive and betray the best interests of the Democratic party in an effort to control it all.

No matter how falsely he may abuse those who oppose him, that tragedy is a great one.

COLUMBUS ENQUIRER

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

The Real Issue in the Campaign

Sun. 7-11-46

As election day draws nearer, the heat of the gubernatorial campaign becomes more intense.

Candidate Jimmie Carmichael delivered an address in Talbotton Tuesday and on that same day two speeches were made here by Roy V. Harris, Speaker of the House of Representatives. The latter, of course, spoke for Eugene Talmadge.

While Jimmie Carmichael was insisting that there was only one issue—that of honesty, decency and respectability of government instead of a demagogic regime—Roy Harris was fanning the flame of race hatred, of bigotry and of intolerance as he yelled at the top of his voice that "Talmadge is the only candidate a white man can support in this race for Governor."

He followed the pace set by Eugene Talmadge in attacking the newspapers of the State and he pleaded for restoration of the white primary and maintenance of the county unit system.

As Mr. Harris ranted about "white supremacy" and the "scalawag newspapers," he held before the people a threat of bloody conflicts and race riots if Talmadge is not elected Governor.

Supporters of Eugene Talmadge probably couldn't help Roy Harris announcing his support of the red-suspendered former Governor, but they could refrain from inviting him to speak in Talmadge's behalf. There is little probability that a man who lost his own office in his own county, after appealing to the same prejudices he is now trying to arouse, can win appreciable support for a candidate for the governorship.

Roy Harris yelled "white supremacy" in Richmond County, under an avalanche of white votes. Bill Morris defeated him in the race for the General Assembly and Roy Harris will be forced in January a legislative post he has held for many years.

Roy Harris is mad because Gov. Arnall refused to call the Legislature for the purpose of evading the law that gives the Negro the rights to vote. His anger will get Eugene Talmadge little.

Roy Harris and Eugene Talmadge are shouting false issues and sensational charges to the housetops in the hope that by appealing to the prejudices of the people they can hide the real issue of this campaign—whether Georgia will continue to have good government or whether it will revert to the sort of demagogic misrule that this State suffered in the regimes of Talmadge and Rivers.

Harris Vague We didn't hear Mr. Harris' speech, but we don't believe he went to the trouble to tell the people at the courthouse how the county unit system can be maintained if the primary laws of the State are repealed.

Repeal of the primary laws would remove all legal safeguards and controls from primary elections and there would be no law requiring a candidate for Governor or United States Senator to receive a majority of the county unit votes.

The Question In his address in Talbotton, Jimmie Carmichael asked this question:

"Shall Georgia have honesty, decency and respectability in State government, or shall it return to administrations which are already demonstrated by their own past conduct in office, to be committed, as demonstrated by their own past conduct in office, to extravagance, corruption, racketeering and dictatorship?"

45a 1946

Campaigns (Georgia)

MAGNOLIA MONKEY-BUSINESS

Michigan Chronicle

As this is written the citizens of Georgia are preparing to choose their next governor and over a hundred thousand registered Negroes seem determined to join with the white citizens in casting votes. The great controversial figure in Georgia today is Eugene Talmadge who is a Bilbonic individual of some importance in Klan circles. The citizens of Georgia are expected to put up a stiffer fight against Talmadge than the Mississippians put up against Bilbo.

Detroit-Michigan

Already, however, word has reached us that some Negroes are taking money from Talmadge's camp and seeking to influence Negro voters with the line that Talmadge is going to win and that it is better to be on the "winning side" no matter who wins. We have written a great deal about the political awakening of Southern Negroes and of the great promises of this new development. Nevertheless, there are signs abroad that the stronger the Southern Negro vote becomes, the more interested some connivers will become in exploiting that vote.

It would be a great tragedy for Southern Negroes to fall into the clutches of the political underworld characters, the confidence men, who buy and sell votes. According to report, "strange preachers" have gone into the rural sections of Georgia on "missions" which are purely political and some of them are allegedly being financed by supporters of Talmadge.

Sat. 7-20-46

If these reports are true, it is obvious that the intelligent and honest Southern Negro leadership is going to have a big job on their hands in the years ahead. The old die-hard reactionaries who feel that they can't keep the Negro from voting are sure to conclude that the next best thing is to control the Negro vote. They may exercise this control through buying off phony Negro leaders who will try to deliver the Negro vote.

We do not believe, however, that the great majority of Southern Negroes will succumb to the corrupt practices which are so familiar to us in the North. For one thing, some of the most intelligent and courageous leaders of the Negro people are in the South today. Nevertheless, the new political freedom given the Negro by the Supreme Court ruling outlawing the lily-white primary is sure to open up a virgin field for the political confidence men who have no scruples and no loyalties save to themselves.

We believe that the NAACP and the National Urban League which already have important branches in the South should interest themselves in this new picture in Dixie. Both these organizations are above reproach and they can do a great educational job in the Southern hinterland. They can help, at least, to expose the phonies and crooks. In matters purely political, the Democratic and Republican national organizations can be depended upon to take advantage of the new opportunities.

Sat. 7-20-46

We attach great importance to the political development of the Southern Negro because he along with the growing number of fair-minded Southern whites can fundamentally change the complexion of Congress and eliminate the hate-mongers in Washington on the Federal payroll. The Southern and Northern Negro have the same problems in many respects and we will not make a great deal of progress in the North as long as our Southern brothers have to goose-step to a white-supremacy dictator.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution

Do You 'Understand' Politics?

Atlanta Ga

Are you one of those who say, "I wish I understood politics?"

Are you a student of political science?

Then don't miss making a few notes on the current campaign. It offers perfect examples of the "tactics of distraction."

The Talmadge campaign, for example, talks a great deal about Henry Wallace, former Vice President of the United States.

Mr. Wallace is not generally popular.

He is especially unpopular with some farmers.

Therefore, almost every day the name of Henry Wallace, who is not even remotely connected with the Georgia campaign; who probably doesn't even know who is running, is dragged into the speeches.

Mr. Wallace is painted as plotting against Georgia when, and if, he becomes President of the United States.

Now, of course, the facts are Mr. Wallace can't be elected President of the United States. He knows it. Everyone else knows it. Now and then some theorist suggests him for a third party. This he has refused. But, even so, he has not the remotest chance of becoming President.

Therefore, to drag him in as an issue, is the height of foolishness. There is no more chance of him becoming President and plotting against Georgia than there is for Stone Mountain to get up and walk down to Glynn County. Yet those using him as an issue do so in the hope of distracting from the facts.

They hope there are enough people gullible enough to believe it to make votes. In this connection, it is interesting to note that James V. Carmichael is the only candidate to call for preferential primaries.

Thurs. 6-27-46

Distraction Exactly the same thing is true of the white supremacy issue dragged so much into the race. There is no candidate in any race who is on the other side.

In the Governor's race both Candidates E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael have taken an unequivocable stand on it. Not a single soul has failed to oppose mixing of races in schools or anywhere else. Every newspaper and radio speaker has opposed it. There is not a single influence in the race that wishes to mix the races in schools or elsewhere.

Yet the tactics of distraction are to accuse and shout about them as if there were some effort to do so in Georgia.

Again, they hope there are enough gullible people to fall for this distraction and forget the records of the past.

There is a great deal of talk about Ellis Arnall. He is not one of the candidates. People either believe he has made a good record as Governor or they do not. All he can do in the campaign is cast one vote. Yet the tactics of distraction are to shout about Ellis Arnall who is not an issue.

This is a part of the science of "politics."

The thoughtful voter seeks to see through smoke screens, or distractions of the kind illustrated, and realize those using them have something to hide.

History People must believe in laws to protect the ballot. All who believe in the primary system have been disturbed rather greatly by Mr. Talmadge's proposals to abolish all laws and turn the primaries of the future over to the appointed delegates of succeeding Governors.

At Mr. Talmadge's last inaugural address, Jan. 14, 1941, he said:

"The MAIN thing I want to talk to you about is to protect your ballots!

"Protect our ballots? How?

"The Democratic primary in Georgia is tantamount to election. We have safe and sound laws protecting the general election, but practically no legislation protecting our primaries.

"Why, in some of our highest circles it is considered a sporting event to steal a county or militia district, and sometimes they will become high in political circles by stealing a county.

"Pass legislation guaranteeing a recount in an election. Pass other legislation protecting the ballot in order to have a true democracy in Georgia."

That's what he said.

With this, I am sure, all people are in entire accord.

We supported that and the legislation, drawn by Mr. Talmadge, was passed. Mr. Talmadge felt he had been counted out in a previous primary and he had not been able to have any recourse. The convention was steam-rolling things. He had no legal protection.

Now, he says to repeal all laws, even his own, and leave it to the professional politicians merely because he believes the people of Georgia are not able to handle the problem of the relatively few Negroes qualified to vote. This will really destroy the primary if it is deprived of controlling laws . . . some of them those demanded and passed by Mr. Talmadge.

His interpretation of history is unusual.

Watson In support of his argument he says that Tom Watson, among others, was elected before the primary laws and without any fraud.

Well, that's not the way I heard it.

I suppose every Tom Watson man yet alive knows that because there were no primary laws Tom Watson was twice robbed of election to Congress by the corrupt practices and fraud at Augusta, Ga. Those two steals are among the most famous in our own political history.

There were no laws and no qualifications, and therefore the politicians were not required to qualify either Negro or white voters. The result was the machine twice counted more votes than there were people registered and both times stole the election from Tom Watson, embittering him forever after.

The history of those elections, including others involving races by John B. Gordon and others, was so replete with fraud that there

Thurs. 6-27-46

was a demand for law and that demand has grown through years.

As Mr. Talmadge so truly says:

"What protection have we against fraud and corrup we have laws to protect the ballot? We cannot have a without laws covering primaries."

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

Big Crowd Puller

Atlanta, Ga.

Is Losing Again

Sun. 7-14-46

Talmadge's crowd psychology has failed again, with Jimmie Carmichael slated to be elected Governor next Wednesday.

All during this campaign—until a couple of weeks ago— the opposition worried Carmichael people with the observation that Talmadge was pulling the biggest crowds. Campaign crowds don't elect a Governor, however, unless they are different crowds for different towns. A certain group of people can ride many miles to hear a candidate speak one day, and then ride again to hear him speak in another section on the following day. But when election day comes, this group can vote in only one county—they can't drop a ballot in each county they went to hear their candidate talk.

When Talmadge ran for the United States Senate against Sen. Russell, Talmadge got the biggest crowds. A veteran reporter who followed that campaign informs us that the "smallest Talmadge crowd was larger than the largest Russell crowd." But Russell won the election by a large majority.

A former Talmadgeite who is today supporting Carmichael told us that Talmadge completely overshadowed Ellis Arnall insofar as campaign crowds were concerned in 1942. But Arnall was elected.

Talmadge has, for the most part, drawn a bigger campaign crowd than Carmichael this year. But watch the election results July 17.

Negroes for Gene The ex-Governor spoke at Columbus Saturday and continued his usual tirade against the Negroes. Yet there are indications that Talmadge leaders are secretly trying to line up Negro votes. For instance, the Muscogee County Talmadge-for-Governor Club has decided not to challenge any Negro vote registrants. The Talmadge Chairman, C. L. Foster, said that "a private poll showed that 25 percent of the Negro vote in Muscogee County will be for Talmadge.

One of the things that disturbed the two ex-Governors the most in the campaign was the start of the "Carmichael Parade," which published the names of the supporters leaving Talmadge and Rivers and listing their reasons for changing to Carmichael. Both ex-Governors tried to explain away this trend, and tried in vain to stop the bandwagon. Rivers took up each of his former supporters individually the first week and denounced them. Osgood Williams, Taliaferrio County Tax Collector, was one of them. He observed that Rivers did not deny anything said by his friends who were lining up with Carmichael. Williams said that despite the efforts of some of the Rivers State Headquarters henchmen to help Talmadge, most Rivers people are primarily interested in beating Talmadge. He called on them to unite behind the strongest anti-Talmadge candidate—Carmichael.

Sidelights Rep. Jim Evitt, Jr., of Catoosa County, probably will be a candidate for Speaker pro tem . . . a former President of the Young Democratic Clubs of Georgia, Evitt was renominated as a member of the Legislature recently without opposition . . . One of the hottest Legislative races in the State will be climaxed in Glynn County Wednesday when the voters decide whether to elect Max Rozier or return Charlie Gowen . . . Rozier has thrown the Arnall second term fight at Gowen, asking, "who will tell Gowen what to do now that the Augusta Cracker Party is dead?" . . . When Gowen was voting against the second term, Rozier led a citizens group urging him to vote for the amendment . . . Gowen has announced he would be a candidate for Speaker of the House if he is elected . . . Another hot battle is going on in Bleckley County, where Bob Cooper is opposing Jim Dykes, a Talmadge pal. Sun. 7-14-46

If it is any straw in the gubernatorial wind, you might look at the voting machines in Atlanta . . . the public has been invited to visit the machines and see how they operate before the election . . . and in this simple operation, the people have been allowed to punch the levers—without it counting, of course . . . One particular lever has been pulled so much that the name under it is nearly obliterated . . . the name being voted so much in this sample was that of Jimmie Carmichael.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Aristocrats, Bestir Yourselves for Gene!

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 6-30-46

Many different appeals have been made to Georgia's voters, but Isabelle has pulled the oddest one.

For lo, these many years, Eugene Talmadge has been snapping his red suspenders, chewing tobacco, and shouting for the backwoods country people to rally behind him in his war on the city slickers. Proclaiming himself a "wool hat" boy, Talmadge said he didn't want support from the "street car" counties. Gene's appeal worked so well that ex-Gov. Rivers has adopted part of that strategy this time. Like tough kids yelling "sissy" at another boy, Talmadge and Rivers have hollered "better element" and "silk stocking" at Carmichael and his offers of "better government." Then Talmadge and Rivers got to hurling these "sissy" charges at each other. On these qualifications they would have the people choose a Governor.

Sun. 6-30-46

For years, politicians have claimed to be dirt farmers and have denounced city slickers in an effort to sell themselves to the rural voters. And now comes Isabelle's letter.

Country Club Set It is difficult for even Talmadge's enemies to believe this, but we have a copy of the letter. It was received by a friend by mistake, as the name apparently was taken from some mailing list and was not a personal letter. Pretty Miss Isabelle Woolford, of Atlanta, is the author of the letter. She is trying to line up for Talmadge "all of Georgia's Country Club set." Here's Miss Woolford's letter to a select clientele:

"I am writing you as a member of Georgia's Country Club set. I feel that the time has come for we young aristocrats to take a stand on the affairs of our State. This is not a new idea, for it was the young Georgia aristocracy who chased the carpetbaggers out of the State following the War Between the States. Today we are again in danger of losing our white primary, along with our Southern traditions and heritages.

"As a private citizen who is voting for the first time, I am doing all I can to promote Eugene Talmadge for Governor. I hope you feel the importance of his election also, and will work in your community as I am doing here in Atlanta. If you come to Atlanta, I hope you will write me in advance. I would like to have the pleasure of meeting you, to discuss what we young Georgians can do in this vital election."

So today we find Farmer Gene's campaigners trying to get the bloc vote of Georgia's aristocracy, as they leave "Sugar Creek" for "Peachtree Creek." We can hardly wait to hear Rivers work on this bid for Country Club set support, after he did such a job of Gene's gliding over Atlanta hotel dance floors with his "hair slicked down with goose grease and his swallow-tail coat flying in the breeze."

Students at Work Students of the University System are having quite an experience in this, their first, Summer in real, adult politics. Now that school is out and the major political candidates are no longer delivering campaign addresses on the campuses, a group of student leaders have gotten some sound trucks and are taking to the hinterlands. They are working, as volunteers, in the interest of electing Jimmie Carmichael. From two to four sound trucks, operated by students from various units of the University System, are touring Georgia, playing music and advertising Carmichael speaking engagements. They also distribute literature and, for the heck of it, sometimes do a bit of impromptu stump speaking themselves.

How's the Betting? Some folks lay a lot of stock in how the professional gamblers bet on elections. The whisperers from the various campaign headquarters put out conflicting reports about the odds given on particular candidates. A group from the Rivers headquarters, who run their campaign and bandwagon ballyhoo, were very active in offering fantastic bets on their candidate. A Carmichael supporter, who is a student of psychology if not politics, stopped this by bearing the lion in his den. This man said he went to one of Rivers' Monday night radio rallies, convinced that Rivers is out of the race and ready to take all bets. He said he started betting even money that Rivers would not be the next Governor, until he could get no further bets that way. Then he bet that Rivers would not be in a run-over. Then he kept increasing his odds against Rivers until finally he said he was betting two-to-one that Rivers would not carry 15 counties. Regardless of the financial chances this man was taking in some of those two-to-one bets on 15 counties for Rivers, the spectacle of a person offering such wagers in a Rivers rally must have been disconcerting to the speakers.

M. L. ST. JOHN

The Constitution

Jimmie by Landslide

Atlanta, Ga.

If 600,000 Vote

Wed. 7-16-46

Jimmie Carmichael can win this election by a landslide.

Ex-Gov. Talmadge can win by a landslide, but it is unlikely.

The Gains There are four men in the race this time, instead of just two. Hoke O'Kelley will get a handful of votes. Rivers will get some, and Talmadge has his usual guarantee of 100,000 to 125,000 followers. While The Constitution has mentioned many Talmadge leaders who have left the dictator, the Talmadge workers are reviving the same tune on Carmichael and Talmadge is a close one. Most people seem to agree that it will be decided on the first ballot, without necessity of a runover. Talk has been renewed that Rivers may pull out of the race before election day, but it is not known which candidate heard of no Carmichael supporters joining Talmadge.

Arnall Endorses Carmichael To Be Governor of Georgia; Racial Issue Marks Campaign

Times-Dispatch Richmond, Va.

Sun. 7-7-46

ATLANTA, GA., July 7—(UP)—Governor Ellis Arnall tonight stated publicly his long-known choice for Governor of Georgia, asking the people to elect James V. Carmichael and give the State "good and honest government."

It was no secret that Arnall would endorse Carmichael, who would doubtless carry on the present administration's policies should he be nominated in the July 17 Democratic primary.

"This is an hour for victory and the time for success," Arnall said. "This is the time to win. The future beckons Georgia to victory and a brave new day, with James V. Carmichael as Governor of our beloved State."

Meanwhile, Carmichael charged in a speech at Hinesville that his opposition had tried to "buy a race riot" in the State by attempting to plant Negroes in a white audience at Savannah.

Negroes Offered Bribes

"At my rally in Savannah last night," he said, "henchmen from my opposition stood in front of the auditorium and offered Negroes $10 if they would sit on the main floor with the white people rather than go to the balcony customarily used by Negroes.

"They told these Negroes that the Supreme Court had said they could sit with the white people, and that they ought to do it."

While Arnall, in a broadcast over practically every Georgia radio station, urged the people not to return former Governors E. D. Rivers or Eugene Talmadge to office, those candidates were holding their own political rallies.

White Supremacy Plank

Rivers told a Douglas audience that "the rich people have had their representative in the Governor's chair the last six years, and it is the poor folks' turn now."

Talmadge drove at the white supremacy plank in his platform in a speech at Carrollton.

Arnall said approximately 500,000 new Georgia voters had registered during the past 10 months, many of them students who are eligible for the first time to help name a Governor.

He cited results of a number of straw votes, a number of the polls being taken in the coleges. Seven of them, he said, gave Carmichael 3,380 votes, Talmadge 377 and Rivers 102.

"The political wind in Georgia is blowing up a hurricane to sweep into oblivion the demagogues, the charlatans and petty dictators who have in years gone by damaged the reputation and good name of Georgia, and have waster its substance and injured its institutions."

Arnall reviewed his own administration and asked that its services and "reforms" be continued, and on an economical basis.

State Out of Debt

The State, he said, has paid itself out of debt, but during the current political campaigning "we now hear promises of wild spending that can convert Georgia's small surplus, the first in more than 120 years, into another gigantic debt."

Carmichael picked Liberty County, with a population of 64 per cent Negroes, to make his charge.

"To the everlasting credit of the Negroes who were approached," he said, "they went quietly to the balcony. The Negroes of Georgia don't want to sit and mix with the white people any more than the white people want to sit and mix with the Negroes.

"If bloodshed comes in this State between the races, it will be the direct result of the activities of my opposition going over Georgia preaching race hatred and prejudice, and underhandedly advocating it themselves as they did last night."

'I Am True Friend of Negro,' Gene Cries in War on Press

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

COLUMBUS, July 13—Stung by newspaper charges that he is trying to ride into office on a campaign of racial prejudice, ex-Gov. Talmadge tonight unloosed a bitter tirade against Georgia newspapermen, declaring they had "black hearts and warped minds" and are "prejudiced in favor of the Negro against the whites."

The former Governor singled out the two Columbus papers for particular denunciation because they had said there is no white primary issue, "although the black cloud is in the foreground for everyone to see," Talmadge said.

Talmadge spent most of his talk fighting the newspapers. One hundred and twenty Georgia papers have asked his defeat, while a half dozen are supporting him.

IRON CURTAIN

"The iron curtain with which the Rosenwald press veils the issues of this most important campaign since carpetbagger days has not been able to conceal the truth about the conspiracy against white supremacy in the South," the ex-Governor shouted.

"The airwaves have defeated the monopoly of the renegades over slander and misrepresentation, and by word of mouth and the truth has penetrated to the remotest hamlets of the State."

The ex-Governor charged "these self-styled humanitarians — these self-styled defenders of a free press, who say the whites should yield their historic rights to Negroes because of noblese oblige—show in their news columns how much noblesse oblige they themselves possess."

Talmadge said Georgia newspapers are behaving like "enraged hyenas, but their slurs long since reached the saturation point and make friends for me instead of enemies." He said the spirit of fair play is deep within the hearts of Georgians.

Sun. 7-14-46

Continuing his warfare on the Negro, Talmadge declared:

CORRUPT VOTE, HE SAYS

"The Negro vote has always been a corrupt one. It was so when Negroes held two-thirds of the seats in our General Assembly and controlled our State Government. It is so in large Northern cities, where I am told unscrupulous politicians now pay Negroes to stay away from the polls because they have found that they will take money, then double-cross them in the voting booth."

On the defensive in press criticism, the ex-Governor shouted: "They say that I preah intolerane and racial hatred, but the intolerane and hatred is in their own black hearts and warped minds. I never harbored hatred for any fellow mortal or critivized his right to worship as he pleased. I am a true friends of the Negro and will have him from the evil friends seeking to exploit him as they once did in carpetabger days."

'CLEAR IT WITH ROY'

Voters Shift Horses In Middle of Rivers' Ebbing Political Tide

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Sun. 7-14-46

"Clear it with Roy."

From the depths of despair surrounding the political ambitions of two former Governors seeking a return to office over the candidacy of James V. Carmichael has come, reportedly, this new rallying cry.

The hotel lobbies of Atlanta, concentration point for political campaign headquarters, are a-buzz with the report that from the inner sanctums of both former Gov. E. D. Rivers and former Gov. Eugene Talmadge the cry now is:

"Clear it with Roy."

Roy, in this report, is Roy V. Harris, Lame Duck House Speaker whose political empire fell down around him when a Good Government movement razed the notorious Cracker Party of Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia.

After suffering his own defeat on the same racial platform Talmade espouses for the State, Harris took to the stump for Talmadge reforming a political alliance which he once broke off when it was to his advantage to climb to fame over the then bent and beaten political body of Eugene Talmadge.

And the new report that "clear it with Roy" is the slogan of both Rivers and Talmadge key workers back in the same fold. And Rivers would never have been Governor of Georgia had it not been for his espousal only 10 years ago of wiping forever from Georgia any trace of Talmadgeism.

And it also can be interpreted as meaning that Rivers, whose followers more and more are realizing that their candidate hasn't a chance at winning, would rather cast their remaining influence toward Talmadge, helping return the man he once denounced rather than let things take a natural course in favor of James V. Carmichael, the man now fighting against Talmadgeism.

Rivers' headquarters is "burned up" because Gov. Arnall did not designate Rivers as the man to be backed by the Good Government movement. Rivers has denounced Arnall as a "back stabber," because the Arnall mantle was not tossed to Rivers.

How intenst is hatred for Arnall in the Rivers' camp is evidenced by the "Clear it with Roy" report from both Rivers and Talmadge groups. Since early in the campaign, there has been a report emanating from a Talmadge worker that Rivers would cast his support to Talmadge if it developed that Talmadge was the apparent stronger candidate against Carmichael. There has been a constant claim by this Talmadge worker that should Talmadge face Carmichael in a runover, Rivers workers would attempt to get their followers behind Talmadge.

Rivers, like Harris, has been in the Talmadge camp before. It was Rivers as House Speaker who put through the $3 tag for Talmadge, and did other Talmadge bidding, until that fateful second Talmadge term when issues had to be created to get somebody elected Governor to succeed Talmadge.

Rivers and Harris then broke with Talmadge. They broke in a big way. They cussed Talmadge from one end of the State to the other. On their effective anti-Talmadge stand, Rivers was elected Governor, Rivers held two terms, the second in such a manner that the State returned Talmadge as his successor. Then Ellis Arnall beat Talmadge, and Rivers was still anti-Talmadge. He tells frankly from the stump that Arnall had a sort of deal to make Rivers his choice for next Governor. And he calls Arnall a back stabber because Arnall chose Carmichael.

"Clear it with Roy."

One beaten politician—one who knows he's beaten—and one who is beginning to feel the backfire of his ranting for raciacl discord—is the analysis by the Carmichael headquarters.

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

Politics make strange bed-fellows. "Clear it with Roy."

Sun. 7-14-46

Robert R. Troutman On the Primary

Ga.

Georgia has no finer citizen than Robert B. Troutman.

Of an old Georgia family, one with a long history of genuine service to the State, President of the Georgia Bar Association, a distinguished alumnus of the University of Georgia, it is no exaggeration to say no man in the State is more respected for his character and love of State than he.

It is unthinkable that any one of the three candidates for Governor should make a contrary statement.

He has no personal interest in the gubernatorial campaign. Yet he felt impelled, because of his love of his native State, to speak out in this campaign and denounce the vicious and shameful effort to use the Negro to deceive the people of this State, to divide them, and to bring about the elimination of election and pri-

mary laws, thus turning the State over to the professional politicians to do with it as they will. *Thurs. 6-27-46*

He told of how the people left the convention system for the primary. He explained how we passed necessary laws to make the primary honest and to protect the ballot.

He discussed the Supreme Court decision which was "fully and ably argued" by outstanding Georgia attorneys in a case heard by Georgia judges. There was not, as he said, "a furriner or a Communist" among all those who worked on that case. It was not a phony. It was not a plot. The long brief opposing the Primus King contention contains more than 100 pages of the best legal argument that could be made.

He called names. He said that the Talmadge proposal to abolish all laws was a plot by Roy Harris and Eugene Talmadge to control all future primaries and to set up a political dictatorship.

He took Mr. Talmadge's inaugural speech of 1941 and read from it as follows:

"'The main thing that I want to talk to you about is to protect your ballots.

"'Protect our ballots? How?

"'The Democrat Primary in Georgia is tantamount to election. We have safe and sound laws protecting the general election, but practically no legislation protecting our primaries.

"'Why, in some of our highest circles it is considered a sporting event to steal a county or militia district, and sometimes they will become high in political circles by stealing a county.

"'Pass legislation guaranteeing a recount in an election. Pass other legislation protecting the ballot in order to have a true democracy in Georgia.'"

The thoughtful people of Georgia, every man and woman who love this State and who has hopes for the future of its business and the development of its schools and farms, cannot fail to think about what Robert B. Troutman has said.

We agree with him that the torrent of abuse and calumny is shameful and uncalled for, that it is criminal for any man ruthlessly to make of Georgia a State of fear and tension, to destroy the protection of law in primary elections, and to drive business and investment from its borders.

And we are convinced that any other citizen who takes time—as has Robert B. Troutman—to investigate the facts in the case, will agree that the race issue is a spurious one.

THEY FIGHT FIRE WITH FIRE

Georgia's Candidates Add Planks To Platforms as Race Waxes Hot

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 7-14-46

In Georgia's most elaborate gubernatorial campaign in years, the principal candidates have been adding new planks to their platforms throughout the campaign.

With three, four or even five speeches scheduled each day and with itineraries weaving throughout the State, the candidates from time to time have expanded their original platform announcements. But in the main, the campaign has stayed on the same general basis as at the beginning.

James V. Carmichael kept his general platform base—an appeal for honesty and decency in State Government.

Eugene Talmadge devoted most of his speaking time throughout the campaign to his "white supremacy" planks designed to keep Negroes from voting in Democratic primaries.

E. D. Rivers had for his chief theme an expansion of the services inaugurated by the State under his previous tenure in office.

Hoke O'Kelley based his campaign primarily on advocacy of home rule for counties.

MORE AND MORE

The race at the opening appeared to be a promising contest between Rivers and Talmadge, each promising more old age pensions, more paved roads, more pay for teachers, and more of this and that until the list reached great proportions.

Carmichael at first did not enter into any promising contest with his opponents. Finally, however, he declared he would do more of everything constructive than either Talmadge or Rivers.

"I will pave more roads, pay more old age pensions, build more institutions, pay teachers better salaries, and establish a greater health program than either Mr. Talmadge or Mr. Rivers," Carmichael said. "I will do this by having common honesty in the State Capitol—by spending the tax dollar for State services, and not to pay off political debts to profiteers."

BROAD FARM PROGRAM

Carmichael added a farmers advisory council to his farm plank, thereby giving him the broadest farm program of any of the candidates. This group of farmers would tell the Legislature, the Governor, and the State officials where they wanted farm markets put, how they wanted them operated, where they wanted rural roads built, and what processing plants are most needed. Carmichael's other farm planks called for establishing more farm markets, working to include farm labor costs in parity prices, and seeking to encourage new industries for Georgia to process farm goods and thereby improve Georgia industrially and agriculturally. Throughout the campaign, Carmichael promised to give rural roads priority in his paving program.

Talmadge promised to build more farm markets and to hard-surface "all roads over which rural mail is carried and school buses travel."

THE MONEY A QUESTION

Where Carmichael said he would do all that was possible "within the State's income" and "without going into debt," Talmadge did not specify where he would get the money to pave this amount of roads. Carmichael has said it would cost $860,000,000 to carry out this Talmadge platform, and observed that the State would take in only $360,000,000 during the next four years in taxes.

Another new plank added to the Carmichael platform called for a preferential presidential primary. This would permit Georgians to elect delegates to the national party convention, and let the people instruct these delegates whom to nominate for President—instead of letting a Governor hand-pick a delegation and trade their votes for his personal political advancement. When he was Governor, Talmadge refused to permit the people to have a preferential presidential primary.

Since the campaign got underway, Carmichael announced he would guarantee that the rights of both organized labor and industry are fully protected and that neither is permitted to take unfair advantage of the other. He cited his record at Bell Bomber Plant, where relatively few hours were lost due to labor disputes. Talmadge came out with a similar pledge to protect the rights of labor to organize and to safeguard industry. Some labor groups, recalling that Talmadge called National Guardsmen to put men, women and children into "barbed wire concentration camps" during a labor dispute in 1934, are fighting Talmadge this year.

PAY FOR WOMEN

For women, Carmichael has advocated equal pay for equal work, and a greater part in State Government and party councils. Talmadge has made no particular offers to women.

On Independence Day, Carmichael declared the Legislature under the Carmichael administration would be independent. He said he would not try to impose his will upon members of the General Assembly, either by offers of highways, threats, or otherwise. Talmadge has promised he would not be a dictator if elected this year, but his past regimes have seen the Legislature surrendering most of its powers to the Governor.

THE JUSTICES POLL

After the Georgia Justices of the Peace poll disclosed Carmichael was leading Talmadge 182 to 124 unit votes, Talmadge added a new plank to his platform: He promised to fire A. J. Hartley, director of public welfare, who conducted the poll that once predicted the election of Talmadge, twice predicted the election of Rivers, and once predicted the election of Arnall—correct in every forecast.

Talmadge also has promised to put all sheriffs on the payroll of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation. The cost would run an estimated one million dollars in four years. He did not say where the additional payroll money is coming from.

Adding to his racial prejudice platform, Talmadge promised to stop all buses at the State lines and make the passengers walk across the line. This plank was added when the United States Supreme Court outlawed the Jim Crow law on interstate bus travel.

Talmadge began squirming on his plans for keeping the white primary when Carmichael contended the ex-Governor was plotting to abolish the county unit system so he and the Augusta Cracker Party could run the State.

RACIAL PROBLEM

To get around the United States Supreme Court ruling permitting Negroes to vote in a Democratic primary, Talmadge said he would abolish all election laws. Carmichael reminded people that these laws included the county unit system, which gives rural people the greater voice in Georgia Government, as well as laws against fraud. Talmadge then said he would protect the county unit system by making it a part of the Democratic party rules. Carmichael recalled that it used to be handled by the party, without legal protection, and that the hand-picked delegation stole a United States Senatorial election from John Slaton.

Talmadge then said he would protect the county unit system by writing it into the State Constitution. Carmichael laughed and observed that anything in the Constitution is in the very heart of State Law, and therefore comes back under the jurisdiction of the United States Supreme Court. Talmadge made no efforts to offer any further solution to the problem, but continued to say he would guarantee a white primary in Georgia.

On the racial problem, Carmichael said the United States Supreme Court had decided who will vote in Georgia and that he would not jeopardize honest elections in Georgia and the county unit system by making any futile attempts to get around this decision. He said he would adhere to Southern racial traditions, declaring he was "just as steeped in Southern traditions as Gene Talmadge ever has any hopes of being."

SCHOOL PAY

In their original platform, both Carmichael and Talmadge said they would continue the 50 percent salary increase for school teachers. Carmichael said he would do this even if it took additional taxes. He also said he would pay the teachers in full, on time, before any other State employe is paid. Talmadge has not specified how he would raise the money to carry on the pay raise.

Carmichael's entire platform is built on a pledge of "Decency and Honesty" in State Government. Talmadge's is built entirely on preservation of the white primary.

Carmichael has pledged no debt and no new taxes (aside from any necessary for school teachers' salaries) unless first approved by the people. He has offered speedy simplified services to the veterans, expansion of health and pension programs within the State income, home rule and preservation of the county unit system.

Talmadge has promised more old-age pensions, free drivers' licenses to veterans, ad valorem tax exemption for veterans for five years, expanded vocational education and appropriation of one million dollars annually for hospital buildings over the State.

VETOED OLD-AGE PENSION

Talmadge's record showed he vetoed old-age pension and free school books bills in his previous administrations.

A third candidate, ex-Gov. Rivers started the race as a major candidate with the most elaborate program and has added continually to his promises. He offered no detailed plan for financing his promises, however.

Rivers promised to: Pay school teachers of Georgia the national average; establish a junior college and kindergarten in every county by adding two grades at the top of one high school in each county and one grade below grammar school; pave 10,000 miles of highways, improve the State Patrol, double old-age pensions, modernize State labor laws, improve Georgia's institutions, build State-owned hydroelectric dams to sell power to municipalities, REA and power companies, sponsor housing projects for veterans near colleges, pay women equal wages with men, to cutback the increases in tax assessments on homes and farms which county tax boards recently made at the request of the State, and to provide better working conditions, better pay and shorter hours for labor. To finance this program, Rivers planned to revise Georgia's tax structure so as to "put the tax on that crowd of rich tax-dodgers."

Sun. 7-14-46

The last Rivers administration raised the State debt to more than $50,000,000 and left school teachers unpaid for six months.

Campaign (Georgia)

M. L. ST. JOHN

First Ballot Victory Possible for Jimmie

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 7-3-46

Within the next few days, most of the polls predicting a victory in the gubernatorial race will be announced. Wiley Moore has forecast a first ballot victory for Jimmie Carmichael, and he has yet to fail in his political estimates.

The Lon Sullivan-Rutherford Ellis poll will be made public Thursday. Ex-Gov. Rivers has tried to guess that his old pal, Lon, is seeing the race as a battle between Carmichael and Talmadge, with Rivers out of the race. It wouldn't take a political figure like Rivers, with the experience of five gubernatorial campaigns, to see something that obvious. Gov. Arnall plans to present his analysis of the race Saturday night.

From the way the two ex-Governors are fighting back at these unannounced polls, it would indicate they see the handwriting on the walls. They seem a great deal more disturbed over these forthcoming polls than Carmichael did about the Talmadge claim that he (the repudiated Governor) would carry 135 counties, or the Rivers claim that he (the other repudiated Governor) would carry all but one county in Jimmie's congressional district. Jimmie laughed, knowing the people wouldn't take these claims seriously. But the two ex-Governors apparently think the people will take the forthcoming polls seriously, because they are spending speech after speech shouting against the polls.

Comes From Behind The ex-Governors started this race much stronger than the Cobb County candidate. They had their old machines and they had been running, unofficially, for more than a year before Carmichael decided to enter the race. Of the ex-Governors, Rivers probably started in the lead. He talked it as a two-man race, talked fast, worked fast, and convinced many that he, and he alone, could whip Talmadge. At first the Rivers group wasn't bitterly denouncing Carmichael. They were trying to instill a fatalistic attitude in the Carmichael friends by saying: "Jimmie is a good boy, but he can't win because he hasn't a political machine." Rivers was riding high during the early weeks of the campaign. Then Talmadge's campaign got underway. He was shouting "Nigger, Nigger" again. The people didn't pay much attention to him at first, but more court decisions on the racial question were handed down and racial incidents—some say they were planned—occurred, and the Ku Klux Klan tried to reorganize. Talmadge dipped into the mire of racial prejudice, leaving the true issues of the campaign and trying to pit race against race and class against class. For a time it looked like the people were forgetting that Talmadge wrecked Georgia's colleges on this false issue in 1941. Carmichael started his campaign on a high plane, ignoring the mud. When Talmadge began hurling false charges at Carmichael about racial equality, however, the fiery young former legislator and war plant manager waded into a slugging match with him on the dictator's own false issue in what Talmadge had considered his own territory—the so-called "Black Belt." Everywhere Carmichael affirmed his faith in Southern racial traditions and labeled Talmadge as a hypocrite. Jimmie won friends. Soon Talmadge's campaign, like that of Rivers before him, began to lag.

Bandwagon Rolls About a week ago Jimmie Carmichael became the No. 1 candidate in the field.

The Carmichael campaign turned into a bandwagon movement a few days ago. Friends of Rivers—who, despite all charges, still believed the ex-Governor would produce a good administration if given another chance—turned to Carmichael when it became evident that Rivers had no possible chance of winning. Somewhat like a punch-drunk boxer, the Rivers headquarters blundered into virtually admitting that the Carmichael bandwagon was rolling toward a landslide victory when they took a crack at Sheriff Lynn Norris, of McDuffie County, who had switched to Carmichael. "Lynn Norris never was a supporter of mine," they had Rivers say. "He backed Blanton Fortson in 1936 until he saw I was winning by a landslide and he came aboard my bandwagon." As they sought to discredit Norris' friendship, they pointed out that at least he is a good judge of who is going to win an election. Wed. 7-3-46

When The Constitution carried a news story stating that all three major gubernatorial candidates were quietly preparing for a runover, it was significant that only one headquarters denied this. Talmadge didn't. Rivers didn't. Carmichael did. Carmichael said he had no plans for a runover—because he was going to win by a landslide on the first ballot.

As the bandwagon rolls, it is possible that he will,

TALMADGE TRAILING AS 100,000 NEGROES VOTE IN PRIMARY

The New York Times
New York, N.Y.

Georgia's Heaviest Balloting Indicated as Ex-Governor Pushes Racial Issues

Thur. 7/18/46

SOME WHITES QUIT POLLS

No Friction Shown Throughout State but Isolated Incidents of Confusion Are Reported

By The Associated Press.

ATLANTA, July 17—An estimated 100,000 or more Negroes voted in Georgia today for the first time. They went to the polls with dignity and voted in an orderly manner. In general there seemed to be little friction although isolated "incidents" were reported. More than 130,000 were registered. Everywhere the story was that most Negroes voted.

James V. Carmichael, backed by Governor Ellis Arnall, forged into a three-to-two lead early tonight but the trend was inconclusive.

While Mr. Carmichael, former legislator and wartime bomber plant manager, led Red-gallused Eugene Talmade, the early vote count included returns from Carmichael's home county which gave him a vast plurality.

Tabulate 147 Precincts

The tabulation from 147 precincts in 26 counties gave Mr. Carmichael 6,275 votes to 4,078 for Talmade, three Times Governor of Georgia who ran on a "white supremacy" platform. 7/18/46

Ex-Governor E. D. Rivers at this stage had polled 551 votes and Hoke O'Kelley, a veteran of both World Wars who did relatively little campaigning, 106.

So great was the congestion that many Negroes waited for hours. At some places in Georgia they had separate booths. In many counties they voted at boxes with the white race.

A hundred thousand Negro votes—that is a third of the number of ballots cast in an average Georgia election. But this year more than a million voters were registered.

A record turn-out of 700,000 or more was expected.

Negroes have voted in a few other Deep Southern States this summer, but in negligible numbers. An intensive registration campaign developed in Georgia after repeal of the State's poll tax last year.

Mr. Talmadge made the race question the paramount issue in the campaign and promised restoration of the "white" primary.

The United States Supreme Court early this year said in effect that the South's "white" Democratic primaries are no more, and Georgia made no move to oppose or circumvent the decision.

At one polling place in Atlanta Negroes lined up long before the polls opened. Many white voters left as soon as they saw the long lines of Negroes ahead of them.

Later separate voting booths were provided and balloting proceeded with every one in good humor. There was no trouble.

In many of the places in Georgia where separate voting booths were provided for the races, they had been requested by leaders of the Negro race. Thur 7/18/46

United States District Attorney Neil Andrews reported he had received complaints of picketing of one box in Manchester, Meriweather County, to prevent Negroes from voting.

Warm Springs and the "Little White House" of the late President Roosevelt are situated in Meriwether County, which is in the southwestern part of the State.

At Valdosta, in extreme south Georgia, Negroes sought assistance from registrars in marking their ballots.

In Macon police seized some "marked" ballots brought to the polls by Negroes and some of the Negroes left the booths. Solicitor General Charles H. Garrett said he would investigate the affair.

45a 1946 Campaigns, Georgia

Racial Issues and 'Pie' Promised County Sheriffs Obscure Liberalism's Fight for Life In Georgia

Teen-Age Vote To Be Factor For First Time

Courier-Journal

By GEORGE BURT

Courier-Journal Staff Correspondent.

Atlanta, July 2.—Georgians are calling the three-way primary contest to nominate their next Governor a crossroads campaign.

By that they mean this election will determine whether Georgia is to continue along the liberal line established by Governor Ellis Arnall during the past two years or return to the traditional conservatism characterized by avowed suppression of the Negro and mistrust of the policies of the New Deal.

If that were all that is involved, it would be a simple and definite decision by Georgia voters between liberalism and reaction. But there are new influences at work in this campaign. Four of them are significant enough to swing the election, but they are without precedent and therefore without yardstick.

They are the teen-age vote, the Negro vote freedom from the poll tax, and the promise of one of the candidates to put every County sheriff on the State pay roll.

Thirty-five-year-old James Carmichael, Marietta, is the favored candidate of most Georgia newspapers. He has the blessing of Governor Arnall. He has the backing of aptly named Wiley Moore, Atlanta capitalist whose record of never having backed a losing candidate makes him something of a king-maker and prophet in Georgia politics. Carmichael is the favorite here in Atlanta. But it is rural Georgia, where sentiment may be of an entirely different sort, that elects Governors. 7-3-46

Talmadge Raises Race Issue.

Red-gallused Gene Talmadge, thrice Governor, is back in the arena, riding the race issue, summoning up the ghost of Georgia's fiery old Tom Watson to repeat the words he spoke of Woodrow Wilson, "His enforcement of racial equality has endangered the honor of every white girl and woman in America."

It is Talmadge who has promised to put every sheriff on the State pay roll as a member of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation, with $125 a month to use for "special investigations." Georgia sheriffs control the votes of all those citizens whose livelihood depends on the sheriffs' tolerance—the prostitutes, the numbers-racket men, the people who run a "little game in the back room," and a lot of others whose life the sheriff can make miserable if he chooses.

Nomination Means Election.

Eurith D. Rivers, twice Governor, onetime Ku Kluxer, whose trademarks are a wan smile and a black bow tie, is the third candidate. Talmadge is less worried about him than is Carmichael whose backers fear Rivers may drain enough of the Carmichael vote to nominate Talmadge.

Since Georgia is a one-party state, nomination as the Democratic candidate is equivalent to election. But the stresses inside the party and the extremes of philosophies represented are as great as if there were as many parties as there are candidates.

The teen-age vote, the Negro vote, absence of the pole tax and the Talmadge pay-the-sheriffs plan are significant for these reasons:

Governor Arnall gave the franchise during the war to persons from 18 to 21 years old on the theory that if they were mature enough to fight for their country they were mature enough to vote for its public officers.

Registration Up 400,000.

Likewise, he engineered elimination of the State's poll tax. The result: 400,000 more persons are registered this year than ever before in Georgia. Heaviest vote in any previous primary was 389,000 in 1936. Total registration this time is more than 1,000,000.

Best guess is that 300,000 of the new registrants are teen-agers, opposed to Talmadge because of his fight with the University of Georgia when last he was Governor, and because they think the bumpkin's manner which once won him country votes is corny. Carmichael backers claim about 80 per cent of the youth vote, and this seem supported by straw ballots taken in this group. Wednesday

Many Negroes Registered.

The U. S. Supreme Court ruling on Negro participation in Democratic primaries, plus abolition of the poll tax, has put many Negroes on the registration lists for the first time. Their opposition to Talmadge is foregone. Talmadge, therefore, has instructed registration officials on whom he can count to strike from the registration lists all the Negroes who cannot read and write. Under Georgia's old State Constitution, one of the requirements for registration was ability to "read and interpret" any part of the U. S. Constitution—a feat on which the Supreme Court itself cannot agree.

EURITH D. RIVERS
Twice Governor tries again

GENE TALMADGE
Raises race issue

GOVERNOR ELLIS ARNALL
Backer of Carmichael

Many May Lose Jobs.

The Arnall-patterned new State Constitution requires that registrants be able; 1, to explain the working of democracy, or 2, read and understand the State or Federal Constitution. The Carmichaelites, therefore, insist that the Negroes are being stricken from registration lists in several counties illegally.

There has been one variation of this technique. Registration officials send out cards to several hundred registered Negroes, summoning them to the Courthouse to show cause why "their names should not be stricken." The several hundred report, and only a handful are interviewed. The rest are told to "come back tomorrow." After a few days of that they get discouraged, and the registration officials strike their names on the ground that the registrants didn't prove they should not be stricken.

Unit System Is Used.

As to the Talmadge maneuver to win the sheriffs' support, its advantages are plain to see. Gene always has counted heavily on the small-population counties, which have two electoral votes each in Georgia's county-unit system—which is like the presidential electoral college. The counties of highest population have a maximum of six electoral votes. So one rural voter's ballot may count as heavily toward election as hundreds of city votes. That's why the Talmadge appeal always has been astutely directed to the rural voters. However, he certainly will not turn down any four-vote (medium population) or six-vote counties' support. The sheriffs can help there as well as in the country counties.

Machines Are In Danger.

Deepest significance of eliminating the poll tax lies in its effect on established county machines. Registration has increased so much that the machine-controlled votes alone are not enough to swing elections as they did. There have been proofs of it in machine upsets in Richmond (Augusta), Glynn (Brunswick) and Fulton (Atlanta) Counties. It has frightened the machine bosses, and it may make Talmadge's alliance with the sheriffs ineffectual.

The C.I.O., which is a growing power in Georgia, has announced only its opposition to Talmadge. Carmichaelites hope for a last-minute declaration of support from C.I.O. Louisville, Ky.

Thus, on paper, and in Atlanta, it appears that Carmichael has a better-than-even chance of winning the nomination. But it will not do to forget that the rural counties count heavily, and that, while the issue looks clear, there are new players and new rules in the old game this year.

Georgians Warned Talmadge May Try Pre-Election Riot

The Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 6-15-46

Expect KKK Terror

ATLANTA, Ga.—Predictions of anti-Negro pre-primary rioting raised the temperature of this sweltering election-conscious state this week.

In a speech at Quitman last Thursday night, Gubernatorial Candidate James V. Carmichael warned that one of his rivals, the notorious Eugene Talmadge, would stage the riot to incite white supremacist hysteria favorable to his campaign.

"Gene Talmadge has been trying to create racial prejudice for a long time," Carmichael charged. "If he and his henchmen can do it, there's going to be race trouble in Georgia before election day. If and when there is, you can look under the bedsheets and you'll find Talmadge henchmen."

Carmichael's warning coincided with rumors, prevalent in sections of the Negro communities here, that the Ku Klux Klan would attempt a pre-election demonstration in Negro residential areas.

This possibility clarified further the issues in a confused and paradoxical situation, the main features of which—with the July 17 himself completely from the white supremacist candidates.

1. An upsurge of political consciousness and activity among Negroes despite the persistence of confusion and disunity on the issues and candidates and issues.

2. The conspicuous weakness of organized labor in providing counsel and direction to working class voters, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the voting population.

3. Failure of the liberal gubernatorial candidate to differentiate himself completely from the white supremacist candidates.

4. A studied effort by the majority of the press and liberals to question the white supremacy issue.

5. The overwhelming desire of the youthful Georgians, unique in the South revolves.

Hence, the fact that some 70,000 the county.

Negroes are expected to qualify and But it is significant that the Atlanta to vote vote, out of a probable total vote of Daily World, the Negro daily, 600,000, is both a cause and measure has declared editorially its regret of the pace of Georgia's advance that "so few of the 24,000 or more Whatever else may be said for the registered Negroes took advantage Negro vote, it will go against Tal- of the opportunity of voting."

Joining Negroes in the voting for

leaders found that the registration of Negroes for voting is only half of battle. In the recent county relationships, and around which primary election last Tuesday, there were 24,137 Negro qualified registrants out of a total of 122,196 for

governor, it is not premature to assert that the Negro-white relationship is basic and decisive. It is this which is the pivot of all other

change and progressive candidates will be the "teen-agers" who are benefitting from Georgia's extension of the franchise to 18-year-old citizens. The Student League for Good Government is hard at work in sampling "teen-age" opinion and mobilizing the youth vote for Carmichael.

It is estimated that there are 475,000 votes among the 18-21-year-old citizens. About 50,000 are expected to turn out at the polls.

International

IMPERSONATORS. Youth, which can vote in Georgia, is active in the forthcoming primaries. At a Carmichael rally, they "take off" the candidates. (SEE: Georgia's Last Chance)

Georgia's Last Chance

The Newsweek New York, N.Y.

Gene Talmadge popped his red galluses, shook the hair out of his eyes and looked over the crowd. 7/17/46

"It's hot, fellers," he shouted, "but you ain't seen no hot weather till we start runnin' that Arnall crowd out of Atlanta."

"Pour it on, Gene," the crowd roared, "pour it on."

Gene poured it on, just as he'd been pouring it on since 20 years ago when he roared out of the Georgia canebrakes spitting prejudice and false hope to get himself elected twice as secretary of agriculture and three times as governor.

"Another thing," Gene shouted again, "when we get back to Atlanta there ain't gonna be no niggers a-runnin' the legislature and tellin' us white folks what to do."

Rampage. The Talmadge supporters howled and screamed. Ol' Gene was on the march again, stumping for his fourth nomination as Democratic candidate for governor which in the South is as good as election. Afore he finished, he said, he'd run Ed Rivers and "that Carmichael feller" so far back in the mountains it'd take a search warrant to find 'em.

Maybe so, but not if the thinking people of Georgia could stop him.

"Talmadge has got to be beat," said the *Atlanta Journal*. "His or Rivers' re-election means our return to racial strife, the pardon racket and all the other ills that have kept Georgia stifled."

"Georgia can't stand another administration of crookedness, demagoguery and ignorance," said the *Atlanta Constitution*.

Said the *Columbus Ledger:* "Ellis Arnall removed the stigma and bad smell of Talmadge and Rivers. He built us a better national reputation. Under Arnall we made our greatest gains in constitutional morality. Re-election of Talmadge and Rivers would be the greatest calamity."

Two of a Kind. As the words fly back and forth, the smart money admits it's either Talmadge or James V. Carmichael, young business man and former legislator, who has Arnall's endorsement. Rivers doesn't appear to have a look-in. Twice governor following Talmadge's second administration, Rivers, although of the same stripe as Talmadge, never has had the Talmadge fire. Whereas Talmadge is rambunctious, ruthless, packs state boards with Talmadge stooges, Rivers does the same but in a quieter way.

Talmadge's last administration was his worst. He fired University of Georgia professors right and left, put in Talmadge supporters; juggled institutional boards; sanctioned wholesale waste of tax money; denounced public figures who opposed him; carried on his most ruthless regime. As a result a good part of the state, even some of his staunchest supporters turned against him, all of which led to his defeat by Ellis Arnall, then attorney-general.

Arnall effected such reforms as getting rid of the pardon racket (pardoning criminals as political favors and for pay), repeal of the poll tax, doing away with the rottenest sort of spoils system and on the whole giving the state good government. Arnall's magnetism and his ability to keep the people behind him soon made people forget Talmadge and Rivers.

Back Again. But at the end of Arnall's four years (a governor can't succeed himself) when no likely successor appeared, up popped Rivers and Talmadge again, both pursuing their old tactics. Rivers is promising to double teachers' salaries, old-age pensions, build every veteran a home, pave every cowpath in the state, give every veteran a job. Talmadge warns against "the niggers taking over." Georgia leaders were sick, ominously conscious that the state's political predicament was serious. When Carmichael entered the race, their hopes picked up again.

The main campaign issue, as always when Talmadge is running, is the Negro, this time magnified by two developments, (1) the recent Supreme Court decision giving the Negro the right to vote in "white primaries," and (2) Arnall's success in getting the poll tax repealed.

Talmadge knows, as do his opponents, that the old fear of the Reconstruction Days when Negroes dominated the legislature, held public office and sat as judges, is still there. Despite the fact that this was 70 years ago and few, if any, of present day Georgia voters were alive during the period, the issue remains alive and menacing. 7/17/46

Thousands of Georgians believe that Yankee laws were made to keep the South poor and are convinced that these laws still throttle Southern development. And men like Talmadge and Rivers know that promises, no matter how wild, if they're pointed against the "godless North," win votes.

Can't Believe. Living and working with the Negro, Georgians know him and his shortcomings. The average Southerner wants to help the Negro and see him get his constitutional rights, but deep in his heart he can't believe it will work out—at least not for another two or three generations. Men like Talmadge and Rivers keep these fears alive.

Carmichael doesn't say too much about the Negro. His efforts are to emphasize other issues, to promise to carry through a program along the lines of Arnall's reforms. Little known at the beginning, he has grown in stature as the campaign has progressed.

He has behind him the better element of the state, the students and the professions. Come primary day, July 17, every man-jack of them will have to go to the polls and vote to beat Ol' Gene, the Wild Man from Sugar Creek. Many call it "Georgia's last chance."

Georgia Politics Again

Negroes Have Chance for Wise, Constructive Use Of Ballot in Georgia

By BENJAMIN E. MAYS

(The views expressed in this column are those of the writer and do not necessarily express the editorial opinion of The Pittsburgh Courier.—The Editors.)

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 6-22-46

WE hope that the time has come when candidates who make the Negro an issue in their campaigns will be overwhelmingly defeated. At least we have one clear case where the candidates contending that the white primary should be preserved did not land the candidate in office. It was in a city in Georgia where Negroes voted for the first time in years. The candidate was known to be in opposition to the Negro voting in the Democratic primaries. Although Negroes voted heavily in the campaign, Roy Harris, Speaker of the House, had enough white votes against him to defeat him. There were other issues and reasons of course. But the fact that his contending for the perpetuation of the white primary did not land him is indicative of the fact that many white persons in George who would have never had the courage to declare openly that the ballot should be given to Negroes. But since the Federal courts have ruled in favor of the ballot for Negroes, they are glad of the decision and want to see it enforced. Many other rights for the Negro will no doubt have to come through the Federal courts.

Mr. Mays

Many people throughout the Nation were mislead when Governor Arnall defeated Talmadge. Some people, North and South, believed that it was Talmadge's anti-Negro views that defeated him. This is hardly the case. If Talmadge had left the University System of Georgia alone, he might have been elected despite his views on the Negro. The real test at this point is in the present campaign where three men are running for Governor: Talmadge, Rivers and Carmichael.

* * *

ONLY Mr. Talmadge has openly projected the race issue into the campaign. Up to this point the other two have not waved the red flag of race prejudice. If Talmadge is elected, it will be proof that a man who runs on an anti-Negro platform can still be elected. If he is defeated, it will prove that the race factor is too weak a platform now to guarantee the election of a candidate to the office of Governor. The potency of the racial issue in a campaign will be more validly tested this summer than was the case when Governor Arnall defeated Talmadge.

It will be interesting to see how the Negro will vote. It is clear where Mr. Talmadge stands on the Negro question. He has made his position unmistakably clear in the press, on the platform, and over the radio. So far as he is concerned, the white primary is to be preserved and Negroes are not to participate in Democratic elections. It is clear that he wants something done to get around the decision of the Federal courts.

Mr. Rivers' position is not so clearly defined. It is probably correct to say that when Rivers was Governor before, he did nothing specially for the Negro and did nothing specifically against him. Although Negroes do not want class legislation in their behalf at the expense of other citizens, it is true that in cases where Negroes are third and fourth-class citizens, they do want men in office who are willing to bring them up to the status of first class citizens. So in the South, and in the North, Negroes will need special things done for them, especially where discrimination is rank and obvious. But when something is done to make Negroes real citizens, it will not be a lift to the Negro alone, but the South and the Nation will be helped as well. The South and the Nation will be benefitted when all citizens have the franchise. The Nation will be benefitted when wage differentials based on race are abolished. The South will gain when salaries are equalized in education.

* * *

MR. CARMICHAEL'S record as Governor is yet to be made. He has a good record in the Legislature. Some men who know Carmichael personally, men whose judgment I respect, say that he is a man of integrity and honor—a man of real stature. It is quite clear that Governor Arnall thinks well of Carmichael and will throw his influence in that direction. It is unfortunate that race prejudice runs at such a high ebb here in Georgia that it would probably be political suicide for any of the candidates to express themselves very favorably where the Negro is involved.

If the Negro is wise he will study the record of each candidate and vote for the person who believes in honest Government and who plans to be the Governor of all the people, irrespective of race. It may be difficult to find the man who qualifies 100 per cent, but we here in George should vote for the man who more nearly approaches the ideals of good Government.

It Failed Before--

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga

and It's Failed Again

From every corner of the State evidence continues to accumulate that the vast majority of Georgians have not been taken in by the campaign of prejudice and demagoguery which Eugene Talmadge has conducted. Tues. 7-16-46

Soundly repudiated four years ago, while running on the same phony issue, Mr. Talmadge bolstered his faltering machine with a new co-pilot—Cracker Party mouthpiece Roy Harris—and set the same unworthy course he pursued in 1942.

There were those within the Talmadge camp who argued that the former Governor could make a better showing if he admitted his previous mistakes and pledged himself to respectable conduct in case he were given another chance. These were overriden. Spearheaded by the vindictive Mr. Harris, the hate-mongers among the Talmadge strategy board have had their way.

Eugene Talmadge has run this race on a platform of bias and bigotry. He has constantly defied the Supreme Court of the United States and recommended action in open conflict with the law. He has preached hate and animosity. He has appealed to prejudice and inflamed passion. Instead, in short, of learning his lesson in 1942, he has come back in 1946 to redouble his venom, to multiply his duplicity, to reach heights of viciousness of which not even he had previously been thought capable.

In the face of this, James V. Carmichael has campaigned decorously and intelligently. He has not sunk to the level on which the increasingly desperate Talmadge has pitched his race. He has not endeavored to compete in either the mud-slinging or rabble-rousing. He has not entered the two ex-Governors' promising contest, which reached such fantastic heights as to be an insult to every Georgian who ever took second-grade arithmetic. He has offered simple honesty and decency in government and a pledge that, when elected, he will never do anything to reflect shame and discredit on those who voted for him.

The contrast between the two men could not have been more strikingly illustrated than by the campaigns which each have run. Tues. 7-16-46

And the thinking people of this State cannot but have made up their minds that, with such a choice, Georgia shall not again be turned over to a man who has nothing to offer but intolerance and despotism; who three times has been accorded the State's highest honor and each time has made a mockery of democracy and a laughingstock of our commonwealth.

Small wonder that in virtually every County in the State the majority of the God-fearing, respectable people will go to the polls to vote for James V. Carmichael.

Small wonder that Eugene Talmadge will be snowed under a blanket of protest at his appeals to narrow prejudice, just as his colleague in demagoguery was trounced at the polls in the recent Richmond County primary.

Purge of Negroes From Voters' List Ordered Halted by Judge

BRUNSWICK, July 13—(AP)—A Federal District Judge ordered a halt today to wholesale disfranchisement of Negroes in one Georgia County and cited election officials of several other counties where purgings have been charged to appear before him.

The order, by Judge Frank M. Scarlett, was directed to Atkinson County in South Georgia where Attorney Rufus Moore had charged there was a "conspiracy" to disfranchise Negroes in the State's July 17 Democratic White Primary.

FORBIDS PURGING

The order forbids wholesale purging of Negroes from the registration list.

Approximately 134,000 Negroes have registered in Georgia since a Supreme Court decision allowing them to vote in the Democratic White Primary.

Former Gov. Talmadge has made the retention of the white primary the principal plank in his platform for nomination to another term. Talmadge's principal opponents in the gubernatorial race are former Gov. E. D. Rivers and James V. Carmichael, wartime aircraft manufacturing executive, who has the backing of Gov. Arnall.

Registrars of three South Georgia counties, Appling, Coffee, and Pierce, was ordered to appear for a hearing Monday. Attorney Moore and Attorney Aaron Kravitch, of Savannah, also asks that they be enjoined from wholesale disqualification of Negroes.

Judge Scarlett asked today who had challenged the Negroes in Coffee County, and said, "I want that man in court."

DAVIS ALSO ACTS

In Macon, another Federal District Judge, Hoyt Davis, ordered indefinite continuance of injunction proceedings against registrars of another county—Ben Hill. Attorney Moore had filed charges of the County Board of Registrars by wholesale disqualification there and been granted a temporary injunction by Judge Scarlett, acting in absence of Judge Davis.

Later, however, Judge Dukes issued another order reinstating the county had adjourned until Chairman and ordering a hearing September, and declared that their action automatically prevented further purging.

The Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee in Colquitt, Pierce County cases two days ago a "judicial lynching" and asked and Judge Scarlett left it in effect the court to rule the Negroes qualified.

The Appling County registrars disqualified 600 Negroes yesterday. Kravitch termed the action

for Valdosta on July 16, one day before the primary.

The Chairman, C. E. McLendon, engaged in a hot verbal controversy with another board member yesterday during hearings on challenges filed against approximately 800 Negroes. McLendon objected to the mass challenges.

Last night, a group of spectators at the hearing addressed an affidavit to Judge Dukes, asking McLendon's removal from the board. Judge Dukes appointed Herman Green, a farmer, in McLendon's place.

Six Negroes of the 21 who have appeared before the Colquitt registrars since the hearing started, have been disqualified.

Gene Attacks U. S. Attorneys, Threatens Negro Voters Again

Apparently in a defiant mood, former Gov. Eugene Talmadge last night attacked the United States District Attorneys who have issued warnings against illegal purging of Negro voters.

In a speech prepared for delivery at Cochran, the red-gallused ex-Governor declared:

"Maybe it would not be inappropriate to warn some of these fellows to be careful, since one of these days, in the not distant future, there is going to be one of the greatest house-cleanings of bureaucrats the country ever saw, now that Henry Wallace and his gang are on the run and the Rosenwald press is quaking in its boots.

"What is it but intimidation," he said, "when United States Attorneys continually issue warnings of what they are going to do? It would seem that they are greatly interested in getting as many Negroes to vote as possible."

VEILED THREAT

The former Governor, who has based his campaign on the race issue, also hurled a veiled threat to Negro voters when he said: "I think it would be extremely wise for Negroes to stay away from the white folks' ballot boxes on July 17, for neither the U. S. Attorneys nor Jimmie Carmichael will have a corporal guard to back them up."

Although apparently so desperate that he is resorting to threats against Federal officials, Talmadge predicts success for his candidacy: "The victory drive for the white primary is on; lying polls, lying appeals, underhanded threats, the Rosenwald press cannot stop it. Two million white Georgians are being attacked at their strongest point—their determination to survive as a white State—and they will slap down the decadent 'reformers' by the greatest avalanche of votes ever seen in this State by voting for Eugene Talmadge on July 17."

CARMICHAEL CANCELS

Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmie Carmichael cancelled his speeches at Washington and Augusta yesterday because of the death of his father-in-law.

Talmadge Holds Early Lead In Georgia Primary Returns

Atlanta, July 17.—(AP): Gallus-snapping, 61-year-old Eugene Talmadge, fiery champion of white supremacy, piled up an impressive lead tonight toward his fourth term as governor of Georgia.

Scattered and incomplete returns from Georgia's Democratic primary—in which an estimated 100,000 negroes and another 100,000 teen-agers voted for the first time—gave Talmadge an indicated 206 unit votes.

He was leading in 83 counties and his popular vote at the time was 72,584. Youthful James V. Carmichael backed by Governor Ellis Arnall, had a popular vote of 84,741 but led in only 40 counties having a total of 122 unit votes.

Talmadge—a familiar political figure in Georgia when he shucks off his coat, snaps his red suspenders and tosses the hank of unruly hair out of his eyes—was exuberant over the trend.

He took to the radio and said:

"I think the returns so far indicate we have swept Georgia. The right people have got to rule Georgia, the South and the nation. I am glad this victory has been so great."

Talmadge promised in his campaign to restore the "white" democratic primary to Georgia, regardless of the supreme court decision that it must go. He proposed having a primary unregulated by state law.

Another ex-governor, E. D. Rivers, seemer to be running a poor third. He was ahead in only five counties with 10 unit votes and had a popular vote of 9,974. Hoke O'Kelley, the fourth candidate, had a popular vote of 2,962 and no unit votes.

There are 159 counties in Georgia and 410 unit votes. A majority of 206 is necessary to elect.

The negro vote seemed to be going solidly to Carmichael.

Long lines of both negroes and whites crowded polling places throughout the day. Separate voting booths were set up for negroes in most cities but both races used the same booths at some points.

While the Southern custom of limiting Democratic primaries to whites was tossed out the window today, Talmadge told voters he would toss it right back, declaring he would restore it through removal of regulatory laws, if elected. He proposes making the primary a strictly party affair.

Parting company with the age-old custom was not easy. Charges of wholesale purging of voters' lists were under federal investigation. In Greenville, in western Georgia, Sheriff C. H. Collier reported seven white men burned a cross in the negro section last night. He said the seven were arrested but later released because "I don't know under what law I can prosecute them."

Three Talmadge opponents promised to uphold rights of the negro to the primary ballot. Nomination in a Democratic primary in Georgia is equal to election.

James V. Carmichael, former state legislator, backed for governor by incumbent Ellis Arnall, declared negro voting was not an issue. He said "good, honest government" was the issue and that Talmadge introduced the racial question to make voters forget his record of "dictatorship".

To this, Talmadge retorted: "I didn't write the supreme court decisions about our time-tested white primary and against segregation on buses."

Also in the governor's race were E. D. Rivers, former governor and Hoke O'Kelly, war veteran of Logansville.

Nomination is under a county unit system, similar to the electoral college in a presidential election.

There are 159 counties. Eight of the larger counties have six unit votes, 30 have four and the remainder two each. A plurality of the popular vote entitles a candidate to the county's unit vote. Thus, three small counties with a total unit vote of six and total population of around 7,000 or 8,000, can equal the vote of one six unit county with 100,000 or more voters.

There are 410 unit votes and a majority is required for nomination for governor. If one of the candidates fail to receive a majority, the two top men will enter a run-off on July 31.

Inactive Dodge County Board of Registrars Temporarily Halts Negro Vote Challenges

The Dodge County Board of Registrars so far this week has still taken no further action on approximately 175 challenges issued by citizens of Pondtown, Sandgrove and Milan districts, against Negro voters. The challenges cite the Negroes' disqualification due to fact they cannot comply with certain requirements necessary to be allowed to vote.

The Registrars last week voted two-to-one to leave the Negroes on the list.

Col. Hal Smith, county attorney who is representing the white citzens in the challenges, last week was prepared to present approximately 76 more challenges against Negroes from Chauncey district. Following the board's action, however, Col. Smith retained the challenges pending further developments. He said today he still has the challenges, and that "I can't say there will or will not be more challenges issued from that district."

It was rumored Wednesday afternoon that every Negro registrant from Chauncey district would be challenged.

When the first challenges were presented to the board for action two weeks ago, Mrs. Pearl Pierce and Alf Burnham resigned. They were succeeded by Roscoe Nash and Matthew Bellflower.

This week, however, Mr. Bellflower has resigned, and at the present time his successor has not been appointed by Judge Eschol Graham. Judge Graham stated today that the appointment would be made later in the week.

Bart Harrell is the other member of the board of registrars.

Although one shy of full membership, the board has met this week without taking action on any of the challenges.

Bellflower Resigns

GAINESVILLE NEWS
Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Carmichael Is a Sure Winner

We urge Carmichael supporters to keep constantly at work until every Carmichael ballot is in the box. Talmadge's strategy has always been to rant and rave and claim the earth in order to try to create the impression that he is sweeping the State. He seeks to have large crowds at his speakings, and more often than not he does have lots of people at his rallies, as Talmadge's followers traipse from one county to another to whoop and holler for their idol. But, this does not by any means mean that a majority of the voters are for him. He has a way of asking the residents of a given county to stand up at his meetings, and from this we have learned about what his strength is in the county at which he is speaking. It is a pretty fair criterion of what his support is, hence we are seldom alarmed at it.

Right now, as is usual for Talmadge's followers just before an election, they are claiming a clean sweep of the State. This is largely for effect—for the purpose of creating in the minds of the people that there is a Talmadge bandwagon. Well, such a thing does not happen to exist this time. As Rivers' strength has gradually weakened more and more as the campaign nears a close, it is now evident that it is a fight between Carmichael and Talmadge, with Carmichael's star in greater ascendency than at any time since that gentleman entered the governorship contest. The people are going to continue in Georgia the good government that Ellis Arnall has given them during the past three and a half years by electing dynamic and able young Jimmie Carmichael as his successor.

Jun. 8-9-46

To Be Repudiated Again

Talmadge's campaign of racial hatred is going to be repudiated at the polls on July 17. Georgia is still for white supremacy, but its people will maintain it in their own way. Although Talmadge will be defeated, there will be no social equality in Georgia because neither whites nor blacks desire it. These races are going along in their respective ways by trying to help each other. Each knows what the other's problems are, and they are going to work with each other in trying to help solve them. They are not going to be swayed by the appeals to ignorance, prejudice and passion which Talmadge is proclaiming on every stump purely to win political preferment.

Georgia voters are not going to forget Talmadge's dictatorial methods when in office, nor are they going to overlook his fight upon our institutions of higher learning four years ago when every unit in our University System was disaccredited because of his highhanded and vicious fight upon a few people connected with them. Neither will they forget that, despite his present appeal for a white primary, when Governor he himself appointed two Negroes as special employes of the Department of Public Safety in 1941 to investigate cattle rustling in Monroe and Telfair Counties, in both of which counties he operated farms. According to an auditor's report, these two Negroes used State expense money—money contributed by you and me—to buy whiskey, perfume, liniment and a lot of "miscellaneous" items, whatever that means. This shows what a hollow mockery and sham his "nigger" fight is; that he is using this racial pretext to cover up and try to make the people forget his misrule during all of his terms as Governor.

Jun. 8-9-46

Exorbitant Claims

Do not be misled nor deceived by Talmadge's blatant claims of overwhelming victory. It just isn't true! Here in Hall County we have nearly twice the registration this year that we have ever had before. Our belief is that these additional voters, at least a large majority of them, are against Talmadge and will vote against him, hence when the ballots are counted it will be shown that he will have suffered the greatest defeat of his life.

But, do not relax nor cease working for Carmichael. Hold your Carmichael banner high and let's show to the world that Georgia is still for law and order, and for decency and good government!

Georgia Negro Voting Gets Test In Torrid Primary

ATLANTA, July 16. (AP)—Georgia Negroes vote tomorrow for the first time in a Democratic primary which finds the race issue topping other controversies in the heated gubernatorial campaign.

Former Governor Eugene Talmadge, campaigning on a "white supremacy" platform, has warned "wise" Negroes to remain away from the polls.

Two of his opponents, 36-year-old James V. Carmichael who is making the race with the support of Gov. Ellis Arnall, and former Gov. E. D. Rivers, have charged that Talmadge was trying to develop racial disorders.

FBI Agent John F. Trost said the department of justice had ordered investigation of the primary to support a supreme court ruling that qualified Negroes be allowed to vote. Approximately 146,000 Negroes are registered in the state total of more than 1,000,000 qualified voters.

U. S. Judge Frank M. Scarlett struck again yesterday at wholesale purging of Negroes' from voter lists. He enjoined Pierce county officials from "illegal disqualification of any Negro" after more than 600 had been stricken from the county lists.

Similar rulings have been made in cases from other counties.

Talmadge also has kept the name of Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace prominent in his attack on the Arnall-supported Carmichael. He charged that "the whole country is fed up" with Wallace "seeking to bring about a social revolution" and that Arnall had been used as a "tool" in this section.

A fourth candidate in the gubernatorial race, war veteran Hoke O'Kelley, has made few speeches.

The primary also will be the first in which Georgia has voted without a poll tax and in which teen-agers have participated.

Congressional seats and state offices also are at stake. The gubernatorial nomination is on a county unit basis under which the smallest of the state's 159 counties has two votes and the largest six.

Gainesville, Ga., News
July 4, 1946

Talmadge Friends Challenge F 260 Negroes to Vote in Primar

J.K. Faulkner, Sam Etheridge, W. B. Reed and J. Perino Davis, supporters of Eugene Talmadge, have filed protests challenging the right of 260 Hall county negroes to vote in the Democratic primary to be held July 17.

According to T. H. Robertson, Chairman of the Board of Registrars for the county, the challenges were filed by Frank B. Stowe, attorney for Messrs. Faulkner, Etheridge, Reed and Davis, and Mr. Stowe stated that in all the right of some 300 negros would be challenged before the primary.

Judge Boyd Sloan, of the Superior court, has named John Quillian, Hammond Johnson, Jr., and Joe K. Telford as special registrars to hear the challenges and determine the right of those challenged to vote in the forthcoming primary.

The special registrars met Tuesday afternoon and set Friday, July 12, as the date for hearing challenges and, according to Mr. Telford, it is up to those challenging the right of the negros to vote to prove that they are disqualified from voting.

Up until Monday afternoon, 936 negros had registered to vote in the July 17 primary in this county and the registrars expect the number to reach a thousand before midnight of July 5, at which time the registration books close.

The challenge was filed on mimeograph forms that are similar to those being used throughout the State and were evidently mimeographed in May, for that month was struck out and July inserted. The challenge is based on six points — 1, that the voter is not 18 years old; 2, has not resided in Georgia for one year preceding the general election; 3, has not resided in Hall county for six months prior to the election; 4, is not a person of good character and understands the rights of citizenship; 5, cannot read the English language, nor correctly write in such language; and 6, cannot understand and give reasonable interpretation of a paragraph of the Constitution.

T. H. Robertson, L. C. Loudermilk and Harry Tucker compose the Board of Registrars whose duty is to compile the voters list and have it ready for use at the July 17 election. They estimate that approximately 11,000 people have or will register in the county, of which approximately 1,000 will be negro voters.

The registrars announced Wednesday that the first meeting to hear voters who have been challenged will be held Saturday afternoon, July 6, at 3 o'clock, and hearings will be held every afternoon of next week in the court house.

THE PULS OF THE PUBLI

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Served With Harris

Editor Constitution: I notice that Roy Harris made the statement that Gene Talmadge was the only candidate in the present Governor's race that a white man could support.

Yes, this was Roy Harris, the one-time statesman advocate of good progressive government and prospective candidate for Governor. Jun. 7-11-46

I served 150 days with Roy in the General Assembly some years ago and learned to like him. I learned that he had certain faults. He had little tact and diplomacy and he did not hesitate to pull tricks to put over contested measures. But I never thought he would descend to the point of combining forces with Talmadge and parading up and down the State

Griffin.

Will Need Cushions

Editor Constitution: Yes, run him out of Georgia politics, if possible, out of the State. He is the biggest liability we have. A menace to all the best progress of Mr. Carmichael and is the man that will be elected July 17.

Noes for the 2 He Knows

Editor Constitution: I do not do not sure they are all for voting for spring cushions made sit down. I am sure

W. L. HARRIS.

skinned up from riding Ellis Arnall. Jun. 7-14-46

W. G. EAGER.
Valdosta.

Keep Gene Running

Franklin.

Georgia. It would be a calamity if he is made Governor again. He has everything that we don't need, is crack-brained, is not sane nor responsible, with ego by the ton. All he wants is to fool the voters and keep them from seeing his record as Governor. It is unthinkable that the people of Georgia in comparing what we have had without him, would want him Governor again. Gene has a big thirst for power. So, may we run him on July 17 so fast and hard until he will cross the line and keep going and get clear out of hearing and stay out. He should be run fast and long. This stuff he's dishing out about the white primary and mixing of races in Georgia, if he has any sense, he knows is a big lie. Sun. 7-14-46

Now, fellow voters, we are sure that all of us don't want such a wild loony for Governor again.

Yes, run Talmadge and keep him going.

EMMETT MILLER.
Woodland.

His Stomach Crawls

Editor Constitution: Feel sure there are thousands of Georgians like myself, darn tired of seeing Talmadge's picture in the papers. To pick up the paper and have Talmadge staring you in the face, it's hard to get your food down, it's nauseating, your stomach crawls. Hope after the 17th Carmichael will send him down Sugar Creek without a paddle.

Sun. 7-14-46 W. S. McCARTY.
Dalton.

Talmadge's Wing Spread

Editor Constitution: It passes my understanding how some newspapers can keep on berating Talmadge as a hate-monger, a demagogue, rabble-rouser and so on. His stock in trade, they say, is hate and prejudice. In this particular I would suggest that if they would first cast the beam out of their own eyes their vision would be straightened, and they would see Talmadge as he is, highly worthy of consideration, most worthy of their voting. I never knew a person who had to stand up under such a barrage of untruths as he has had to stand. I do not claim that Talamdge has wings—but be it said, neither have his detractors, and if he were so equipped I do contend that his wingspread would be vastly wider than theirs.

Sun. 7-14-46 CLARA ROBBINS.

(Editor's Note: Miss Robbins has long been a paid columnist in Mr. Talmadge's weekly paper, The Statesman. We are happy to learn he has no wings. In The Statesman he does.)

Golden Rule Guides Him

Editor Constitution: A man of honor! What a glorious title is that! Who would not rather have it than any that men can bestow? It is worth all the gold and silver in the world. Jimmy Carmichael merits it. "His word is as good as his bond," and if there were no law in the land one might deal just as safely with him. His speeches are never riddles. He looks you in the eye and says straight out the things he has to say, and he does unto others the things he would that they should do unto him. Jimmy will set the right example and lead Georgia into an era of prosperity and happiness for all, the high, the low, the rich, the poor, all for one, and one for all. Sun. 7-14-46

You can share in better government for our state by going to the polls on July 17 and casting your ballot for James V. Carmichael.

GOBER F. OSBORNE.
Marietta.

Georgia And The Negro

Cochran, Ga.
June 17, 1946.

Well, let's talk about the negro in Georgia a little more. This is a continuation of my letter of week before last. We people in Georgia and the South generally get along with the negro fine and always have up until recently. We were satisfied with the negro situation as it was, and as for the Southern negro, they were the happiest bunch of people in the world. They make their own living, they raise their own families, they have their own schools, their own teachers, their own churches, their own preachers; they have their own public businesses, their own homes, their own lodges, and anything else decent they desire. And they have it, unmolested by white people, and our courts protect the negroes' civil property, and religious rights exactly the same as they do the whites.

When the negroes need money or any kind of assistance for their schools, churches or anything, they call on the whites as much as they do the negroes, and they get the desired assistance and everything has been in harmony between the whites and negroes. We respected each other in any and all things and we got along fine and prospered together, until recently a few fellows, for instance like our present Governor and our newcomer newspaper editor from Ohio and some others who were not satisfied with well enough, began to meddle and stir up strife and confusion and destroy the harmony, respect and good will that existed between the whites and negroes, and at present they have got Georgia into the damnest mess it has ever been in.

They run around and holler dictatorship, and if I know the meaning of dictatorship it means a person or persons meddling where they have no business nor no right whatsoever, imposig cruel, unfair and inhuman hardships and trouble on a group of people or a nation agaist their will and judgment by force. That is exactly what Hitler and a few others did to the people of Germany and what is their condition today?

So compare that crowd with our present Governor and his little bunch of newspaper editors and a few others who follow them, and if one was dictator in Germany the others are trying their best to be dictator in Georgia. They have come in here on us from outside the state and are telling us what to do, whether we like it or not, and are doing their level best to force us to do it, namely, mix and mingle with the negroes socially, legally, spiritually and every other way. But I would like to give them a little advanced information, and that is: the white people in Georgia and the South are not going to allow the negro to run over them regardless of the cost. It has been done before and we will do it again.

We have only one thing to say in this matter and that is if that little bunch is so dissatisfied with the way the white and negroes live and enjoy life together in Georgia and they want to wallow with the negroes, eat with them, sleep with them, go to school and church with them, marry them, and all that stuff, here is what the people of Georgia have to say to you and that is: There is not a fence built around Georgia, there is no barbed wire entanglement around it, there aren't even any gates to open. There are trains leaving out of Georgia every day and night in all directions. There are highways in all directions, with busses running day and night. There are airplanes leaving out every day and automobiles going out of Georgia every day to all parts of the U. S. A. If you ase so badly dissatisfied, just catch a plane, a train, a bus, or a car and take off and go where you can do all these things and like it, and the people in Georgia will not shed any tears at the parting.

I believe they will even sponsor a brass band to give you a real send-off. You will find a fellow now and then that will argue to you that every time we have a war they draft the negro in the army the same as they do the whites, and if he is fit to be drafted in the army and fit to fight for his country he is fit to vote and have a voice in the government of his country.

So far so good, but let me ask you one question, just be honest with God, with yourself and with the negro and answer it correctly: Have you ever in your life seen a crippled negro that was crippled in battle during a war, come back from the army? No, I never have and I can tell you why you haven't. I happened to be in a position for the last three and one-half years, I have been looking at the reason, and that is, when they go to the army the only thing they ever do is be waiting boys for the Northern Yanks, officers running around this country while our Southern boys are on the battle field fighting the war.

And another thing I want to call your attention to is this: Most of us paid a dollar a year, from five to fifteen and twenty years for your privilege to register and vote. Many of your dear old daddies who have passed on paid a dollar a year from the time he was 21 years old till he was 60 years old. I paid it myself till I was 46 years old. Now do you think the State of Georgia is handing you a fair deal to take your hard-earned money and your dad's money for the privilege of voting, and come up now and tell all the negroes in Georgia to take off to the courthouse and register and you can vote the balance of your life and it won't cost you a penny. They have never paid a poll tax before. So just be honest with yourself and ask yourself these few simple questions, and ask yourself if that was the way you were taught by your father and mother. Did they teach you that you were no better than a negro, and that you should eat with them, visit them, sleep with them, marry them, and all that bunk, or did they teach you otherwise?

The people of Georgia are up agaist the most serious proposition they have been against since the Civil War and if we don't do something and it now it means disaster for Georgia and the South. We have only on remedy and that is to elect Gene Talmadge Governor and elect a legislature of senators and representatives that will back Talmadge up in this fight and we can stop it without any serious trouble now. I especially call your attention to the question of senators and representatives for it is just as important to elect them as it is to elect Talmadge, for with a legislature with a majority in favor of the negro issue there would be nothing Talmadge could do by himself. The important thing to do is sound out your candidates for senator and representative and make them declare themselves one way or the other, either for Talmadge and white supremacy or against both of them, then the one that declares himself for white supremacy just forget everything else about him but that, and vote for him.

And let's send a legislature to Atlanta that will help Gene whip this thing and do away with it once and for all time.

Now a word to the G. I.'s You boys with my boys have just returned from a second world war where you faced death, hell, destruction, damnation, Germans, Italians, Japs, hot lead and steel, shells, and everything else, except something pleasant, and thousands of your buddies died in the effort and will never return. You did all this to destroy a dictatorship that was trying to force on you an iron rule that would have destroyed your freedom and ensaved you and your fellowman for the rest of your lives. That curse you defeated and destroyed and now you have returned home to find you are threatened with a worse form of dictatorship composed of a few politicians in Georgia supported by outside influence that are trying desperately to invade your state, your county, your home, your schools, your churches, your restaurants, your hotels, your busses, your trains and everything you possess. And they are trying to do it by force, and that is to destroy your heritage of white supremacy as it was handed down to you by your father and your mother. They are trying to tell you that you must associate with the negroes, you must ride the trains and busses side by side with them, you must sit at the table to eat with them, you must sleep with them, you must send your children to school with them, and many other things, and they are not asking you whether you like it or not. They say you have got to do it and you might just as well get at it. In fact, they are trying to ram the negro down your throat and having the United States Supreme Court to tell you that you have got to swallow it and like it. Now, if that isn't dictatorship, I would like to know what it is.

You boys can help us defeat this dictatorship enemy of your Southland without another way by going to the polls on July 17, 1946, and help us defeat this crowd and help us elect Eugene Talmadge, the only man in the race that has got guts enough to come out in the open and fight this crowd and defend you and your home against it. He has told past experience that he is a man of senators and representatives that Georgia and made it safe to future generations you definitely that if elected he will have once again declared themselves to support rescued Georgia and we will that keeps his promises. You boys have decstop this mess and you know from help us elect him, and a majority Talmadge and white supremacy in for our wives and children and the

THE PULSE

There Is Hope

For Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: To thoughtful Georgians it is sometimes depressing to consider the number of people who seem to be mixed up over the present gubernatorial race. Fortunately, the hackneyed and mediocre utterances of Mr. Talmadge have not confused enough people to elect him. But enough seemingly intelligent people fall for his line to make one stop and think; and if one thought long enough on it, he might come to the conclusion that we might as well elect Talmadge, because there's no hope for the human race anyway. 7-17-46

But there is hope. As long as decent, courageous men such as James V. Carmichael will offer his services to the State of Georgia, there is hope.

Those who are confused themselves, and who would further confuse us, ask, with an effort to keep a straight and innocent face, what we mean by good government? They say the issue, as Mr. Carmichael correctly stated it, of good government versus dishonest government is a mere generality. They say they don't know what we mean by good government.

Well, admitting that they can't be expected to know much; that they apparently can't see very far; still even they know the difference between honest, decent government and dishonest, gang government, which their man on horseback, Mr. Talmadge, has two times dishonored the great State of Georgia with. Wed

There's another kind of voter who can't even see as far as the ardent wool-hatters. He will say something like this: "I don't care who is elected, they're all alike anyway, all corrupt politicians." This kind of voter is admitting that he hasn't interest enough in his State and country to look into a few facts, and those facts loom so tall in the present scene that instead of having to look for them, he will have to close his eyes to keep from seeing them.

But to our honor, all signs indicate now that the vast majority of Georgia citizens have their eyes open. Enough of them could see clearly four years ago. Since then, through the great and statesmanlike services of Gov. Arnall, thousands and thousands have had their eyes opened. On July 17, in a landslide march of progress, these honest, sensible Georgians will elect Jimmie Carmichael to the governorship, and forever repudiate the kind of government for which Gene Talmadge stands for. CLIFF OWSLEY.

1077 St Augustine Place.

Georgia Churchwomen

Editor Constitution: "These are days of rebuilding—rebuilding a broken world. New patterns in community life and human relationships are evolving. Good will among nations cannot become a reality until there is good will between peoples within each nation and within each community. Churchwomen face a tremendous responsibility."

As Georgia churchwomen face these realities, we feel, in a very real sense, that we must first put our own house in order, and right now we know that this means we must turn our Christianity into action by assuming our duty as citizens at the polls on July 17.

Before voting on this day we will need to seek divine guidance that our minds and hearts may be free from prejudice; and we must also seek divine wisdom from the Bible. How it stirs our hearts to read of the cherished ideal for the city of his fathers given us by one of God's great prophets: 7-17-46

"Jerusalem shall be called the city of truth. . . . There shall yet old men and old women dwell in the streets of Jerusalem, every man with his staff in his hand for very age. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof. . . . And it shall come to pass that . . . ye shall be a blessing. . . . These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth with his neighbor, execute the judgment of truth and peace in your gates; and let none of you desire evil in your hearts against his neighbor: and love no false oath."

With this challenging ideal ringing in our ears, and, at the same time not forgetting the truth that, "A man's character is remarkably revealed in his ideal for his community," we will cast our vote on July 17 for the man who in seeking the office of Governor of Georgia is for clean government and is swayed not by might nor by power, but rather by a desire to lead the people of Georgia in such a way that she shall be called "the City of Truth" by her friends and neighbors.

MRS. AUDLEY MORTON.

Athens.

Wednesday

No Longer Slaves

Editor Constitution: I hope the people of our good State of Georgia are not foolish enough to elect Gene Talmadge. I don't think Mr. Carmichael is the best man that we could have chosen for the job but he is the only man in the race that will make a decent Governor. 7-17-46

I can't understand why Talmadge is hollering so loud about the Negro. I work a lot of them and they give me no trouble. In my estimation he is doing our State more harm than good by getting our Negroes stirred up with his nonsense. The majority of them don't want to mix with the white people. After all the Negroes aren't slaves any more and as long as we try to treat them as such we will have trouble.

I have heard none of them even mention voting. Why they don't even know who the Governor is now.

CLIFFORD L. JONES.

Benevolence.

Atlanta, Ga.

Think!

Editor Constitution: To my fellow citizens of Georgia I would like to ask this question: Would you fight for your State as you would for your country?

Our State has had good government under Mr. Arnall, and at last we are looked upon with respect by other states. It's a shame that Mr. Arnall cannot continue his good work. But we have in James V. Carmichael a candidate for Governor who I am sure will not only continue the good work of Mr. Arnall, but will add many improvements.

We cannot afford to let our State lose what we have gained under Mr. Arnall. So, fellow citizens, think! and vote for James V. Carmichael. H. PEACOCK.

Atlanta.

Treat Us Like Humans

Editor Constitution: Why are some white people so down on Negroes? It's true we have in our race some very common Negroes, but we have in our race many decent, intelligent Negroes. When Mr. Eugene Talmadge wants to be Governor of Georgia he is always speaking about the nigger. I do not want to mix with white people. I only want to be treated like I am human and have feelings.

MARCIA E. WEST.

Atlanta.

God Save the South

Editor Constitution: I am a Southerner, a gentleman and a Christian. I was reared with the Stars and Stripes and the Stars and Bars crossed on the wall at the head of my bed.

Since growing to manhood, my travels have taken me into every state capital in the Union and into 19 foreign countries. But my heart and love has always been in the South—God's country, if you please!

But when I see such ranting lunatics as Gene Talmadge, Theo Bilbo and Huey Long, I am compelled to hang my head in shame to think that our land, the land of Lee and Jackson and Washington and Jefferson and Patrick Henry, all Southerners, should spawn such tripe who prey upon the gullible to rouse the hatred of the rabble against such issues as race and religion!

God save the South! And may He guide us and keep us!

RICHARD H. KEECH.

Birmingham, Ala.

Atlanta, Ga.

Confident

Editor Constitution: I ain't a' goin' to set up to no late hour a'listening to no election returns; but am a'goin' to bed at my usual 10:30 p .m.

For I got confidence in there bein' enow Crackers—who dont care fer anymore strong arm stuff—K. K. Kism—pardon-racket disgrace, etc., to shore keep Talmadge—Rivers—Griffin—et al out of any elective office in the gift of Georgians who have pride in their State. JOHN WEBB.

Atlanta.

Wed. 7-17-46

Confidence

Editor Constitution: The rabid mossbacked Talmadgeites claim that the Atlanta Journal and Atlanta Constitution are not home-owned papers and are paid to be for Carmichael and slay Talmadge and we enlightened Carmichaelites don't believe it. We think you have a good memory like us and want the best for our State, and that you know we can't get that with a little "Hitler" in the Governor's chair. Please put us wise.

MRS. C. W. DUGGER.

Higgston.

Constitution

War Knew No Color

Editor Constitution: Perhaps it would have been good if the Hon. Mr. Talmadge could have been a soldier in the Southwest Pacific or the ETO and experienced some of the hardships of our colored soldiers. They fought and died the same as the white soldier did. Maybe Mr. Talmadge would have a different attitude about them. When the war was on, it was fight for your county. War knew no race, color or creed.

RANDOLPH DAVIS.

Atlanta.

'White Supremacy' Promise Pays Off

ATLANTA, July 18.—(AP)—The man who made a pair of red suspenders support a fourth and apparently successful gubernatorial campaign as well as his pants, Eugene Talmadge, was back on top of the political heap in Georgia tonight.

The old gallus-snapper promised at the outset of his campaign that he would maintain "white supremacy" in the State of Georgia against all comers.

"Alien influences and Communistic influences," he said, "are agitating social equality in our state. They desire Negroes to participate in our white primary in order to destroy the traditions and heritages of our southland.

"They desire," said Talmadge, "to pass the FEPC law and to defeat our southern congressmen and senators who oppose FEPC. They want Negro policemen, Negro office hold-

ers, Negro tax assessors and many other Federal, state and local offices that are held by the white people of this state."

OFTEN AND LOUDLY

With that as the principal plank in his platform, Talmadge started out to shake the bushes. He spoke often and loudly, and always he sought to hammer home that:

"If elected Governor, I shall see that the traditions which were

passengers entering Georgia dismount on the far side, walk into Georgia and re-purchase tickets. Thus, he said, we would enforce racial segregation on interstate buses.

Slender and wiry, Talmadge repeatedly has won public office. He has never polled less than 100,000 votes.

Talmadge began developing his political career, which was to catapult him into national prominence when he became a strong anti-New Dealer, in races for state commissioner of agriculture, an office he held from 1927 until 1933.

LOST TO RUSSELL.

From 1933 until 1937, he served two consecutive terms as governor — the maximum under Georgia's Constitution at the time. He withdrew to private life after losing a bitter 1936 battle for the Senate to Richard B. Russell.

Two years later he tried again for the Senate, this time opposing Georgia's Senior Senator Walter F. George in the spectacular "purge" campaign of 1938. Again he was defeated and cntinued private life as a farmer-lawyer until a successful bid for the governorship in 1940.

In a quarrel with the Board of Regents, which controls the university system of Georgia, Talmadge succeeded in firing two educators after a long, involved hearing in which he accused them of advocating racial co-education.

Eventually, the educational issue was intensified as one after another of the national educational accrediting agencies dropped the university system from recognition.

Four years ago, Talmadge was defeated for re-election by the present governor, Ellis Arnall. Arnall supported Carmichael in this campaign.

One of the more turbulent incidents in Talmadge's career came when the Legislature adjourned in 1935 without enacting an appropriation bill for 1936-37. Talmadge declared against an etxra session. He suspended both the treasurer and comptroller general when they declined to pay out funds. He then set out to run the state by executive decree.

National guardsmen took over the custody of the treasury with $10 million in it. Talmadge also used troops in 1933 to oust opposition highway officials and during a textile strike "to guarantee the right to work."

Talmadge Explains Legalization of White Primary

Eugene Talmadge displaying renewed energy and confidence continued to show the people of Georgia this week how the white primary can be legally preserved and the county unit system preserved.

Carrying his fight for Southern traditions direct to the voters, Talmadge explained that appropriate state laws and constitutional provisions can still be used in any manner desirable to protect the ballot box against corruption under a Democratic primary solely for White people.

"Anyone who has read paragraph three of Judge Samuel B. Sibley's decision in the very case which gave Negroes the privilege to vote in our Democrtic primary will not have any honest doubt that State laws can be used under a white pramary to protect the election against abuses. In his opinion in the case Judge Sibley stated that all laws regulating elections in a white pramary, except those which commit the State to party practices can be retained. 'Much, perhaps most, of this regulating we think in no wise commits the State to party practices,' Judge Sibley said. The Judge makes it clear that as long as our white primary is solely an instrument of the party, constitutional provisions and laws of the State can still be used to protect our white primary election agains abuses."

Pointing to the recent action of the Arkansas Supreme Court in upholding legislation banning Negroes from voting for state officials in their Democratic primaries, Talmadge said that despite statements of the Arnall-Carmichael crowd that it can't be done, citizens of Arkansas with other Southerners in Florida and South Carolina are saying we are doing it—only white people will vote in our democratic primary election for them. Now they are bringing out the false polls that I warned you about. But, anybody can see that even honest men can get the results they want by picking the people they question. Now, they are ready to spend hundreds of thousands of doliars in an effort to bolster their faltering campaign. Take their money but vote as you see fit."

"The hand picked 'peoples candidate' of Ellis Arnall and the Ohio Jim Cox press says he can't do anything about negroes voting in the white primary, but let him answer how it is that South Carolina and how it is that Arkansas are now excluding negroes from their white primaries.

Speaking of the action of the National Negro council in demanding that President Truman send Federal troops to insure Negro voting in Mississippi's white primary, Talmadge told the large audience that 'it is becoming increasingly evident that there is no limit to which the Moscow-Harlem-Zootsuiters will go once their privilege to vote in the white primary is definitely established."

"The Arnall-Ohio Jim Cox conspiracy has tried to make you believe that our Southern traditions and segregation laws are not endangered while all the time they bore away like termites at their very foundations. They threw the white primary case by agreeing away any chance of winning it. They struck at segregation in our inter- state buses. They attacked segregation in our public schools and secured a decision in Texas allowing the University only six months to provide equivalent facilities for Negroes or be forced to allow race mixing. Now they threaten the use of Federal troops to protect Negro demands. Still they tell you not to be concerned about the white primary nor our segregation laws."

Talmadge told his large crowds that his opposition was getting desperate and that they are willing to go to any extremes to bolster their campaigns. He predicted that he was winning by a landslide.

"My opposition has tried every means known to norse traders to buy, beg, borrow or steal public support but the public knows the main issue of this race. The Ohio Jim Cox press worked for three and a half years to create a mirage of good government to hide their race mixing program, but the public sees through it all. Then, they put the Governor on the air but the public already knew where he stood. They tried to subsidize some of the newspapers of the State to mold public opinion but they found that Georgians can think for themselves. My opposition tried to trade roads for votes and have relied on the Negro vote but they found that this won't win the election for them. Now they are

Talmadge recounted the other planks of his platform, a great system of rural postroads, better schools and more REA lines, maintenance of the pay raise for teachers, expanded farmers' markets.

"Our heroes who fought on foreign soils and underwent the grueling test of basic training in the states," he continued, "have not got their just due under the GI bill of rights. I shall establish a strong veterans department to cut through red tape and help our fighting men own their own homes and farms and businesses. I shall appoint from their number half of the state appointments I shall make. I shall give them free drivers licenses for life and free business licenses.

"While looking after our veterans, you may be sure that I shall not forget the sick and the old. I shall ask the General Assembly to appropriate a million dollars every year to assist communities without adequate medical facilities to own their own hospitals so that the sick will not die or children born without benefit of a hospital. I shall put more old folks on the pension rolls and raise pensions from a pittance to a sum adequate for their needs."

TALMADGE LAMBASTS ATLANTA DAILY WORLD AS "HATE SHEET"

The Black Dispatch
Oklahoma City, Okla

Negro Politicians Seek to Split Black Vote in Red Hot Race

CANDIDATES DOESN'T WANT NEGRO VOTE

ATLANTA, — (ANP) — The Georgia political scene reached red hot proportions last week with race-bating Eugene Talmadge continuing his "white supremacy" campaign and Negro supporters of candidate ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers, attacking the Atlanta Daily World for supporting a liberal candidate in the race.

The World was subjected to a blistering attack by James O. Slade, former college professon, and the Rev. D. T. Babcock, both of whom are stumping the state in an effort to turn back the swelling tide of resentment among Negro voters over the reported affiliation of E. D. Rivers, with the Ku Klux Klan, and thus deliver the Negro vote to his banner in the gubernatorial campaign.

The attacks upon the World were made near the close of a meeting held at Hanley's Ashby Street Funeral home, and attended by Mr. Rixers and a statewide strategy group of Negro workers in behalf of Mr. Rivers' candidacy.

Appearing tired from the rigors of a stiff speaking scheduled and a failure of his Negro workers to make any noticeable headway among Georgians of color, Mr. Rivers called upon the Negro workers to get out among Negroes in the rural counties like Worth, Sumter, Decatur, Grady, Early and others where the three major candidates have an even chance to tip the scale in his favor.

Oklahoma City Okla

The Rev. Mr. Babcock, pastor of famed big Bethel AME church, and a reported candidate for the bishopric in his church, assured Rivers that Fulton county was safe and that "our real work" now is outside of Atlanta, in the small counties. "We must get out in these counties as I am doing and touch the Negroes," Rev. Bobcock said.

Jan. 7-6-46

The Rev. Roland Smith, statistician of the National, recognizing the presence of a press representative, intrposd to injuire of the chairman if the press would be premitted to remain. The group moved that no effort should be made to oust the press.

Nevertheless, Slade, assuming the role of campaign manager for Ex-Gov. Rivers, castigated the World for not giving full coverage to Rivers' campaign speeches in the same way it supports Jimmie Carmichael. He expressed resentment over th fact that th World "trid. to tell me what to think" and challenged anyone disagreeing with him to a public debate on the relative merits in the campaign. He rebuked, without calling his name, James W. Dobbs, president of the Atlanta Civic and Political league and head of Georgia's Prince Hall Masons, for dominance of meetings of political nature. Boasting of how much education he possessed, Slade said he was highly capable to od his own thinking without the help of the World and its staff.

The Rev. C. N. Ellis, pastor of Reed Street Baptist church, assured candidate Rivers that he could "influence 90 per cent of my 2,000 members to vote for you."

A comment at the meeting was made by J. H. Hanley, president of the Henley funeral establish-

future of the white race in Amer- ica depends to a great extent on the outcome of the gubernatorial campaign in Georgia.

mnts, who told the conference that J. Davis, and Dr. J. W. Holley, in his campaign they met at my Rivers' man. he was a Talmadge man for many deposed president of Albany State Funeral home and I years, that he was one of the Bell Street In public Talmadge has said that because of the that he does not want the Negro stand Talmadge has vote, only that of white Georgians. he Negro, I cannot go Speaking in Fitzerald, Ga., last Negroes Talmadge had given jobs said, "when Talmadge sent notorious stand him. —the other two being the late B. Philadelphia for Holley to work taken on the N along with him. So now I am a week Talmadge declared that the

RALPH McGILL

The Plot To Control Georgia

Primaries began in Georgia in the 1870's.

The party officials of each county were in charge.

There was immediate corruption. Counties held primaries when they wished

Persons voted who were not registered, since each county did as it pleased. The State party organization had rules, but since there was no law about it, the county groups paid not the slightest attention.

By 1890 it was obvious that primaries in Georgia were a farce insofar as honesty was concerned.

The first law was therefore enacted.

It required managers to take an oath fairly and impartially to conduct the primaries. It also imposed other duties on the managers, looking toward honesty in the primaries.

This soon was seen not to be enough.

By 1908 other legislation was enacted.

It required the primaries be held on the same date. It required an oath of clerks and assistants. It also provided no one might vote in a primary unless his name appeared on the registration lists. It provided for an official ballot.

Unit System During this time the county unit system was sometimes used and sometimes not. It was entirely up to the party managers to decide.

It generally was recognized that the will of the people was being ignored by political bosses who ruled the State. After long struggle the Neill Primary Law finally was adopted in 1917.

It covered all phases of voting and provided for run-offs and for the use of the unit system. All laws with reference to qualification of voters and their registration were applied to primaries.

This was the solemn judgment of the State conventions from 1914 to 1916 and the bosses were finally overruled and the necessary legislation enacted.

THEY BROKE THE POWER OF ANY ONE MAN OR GROUP OF MEN TO RULE STATE POLITICS.

THEY MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR ANY CITY OR GROUP OF CITY MACHINES TO CONTROL STATE POLITICS.

There was need for such a law.

There had been some raw occurrences.

Causes In 1914 there had been three candidates for the nomination to the United States Senate. There were not enough primary laws. The unit system was not in use, the Neill primary law not having been adopted. There was no plurality for any one candidate. The State convention, in charge of a few men, gave the nomination to one who had not carried the most counties.

Had there been in existence the laws of today there would have had to be a run-off.

In 1916 the personnel of the Court of Appeals of Georgia was increased from three to six.

Three leaders led in the popular vote in a majority of counties.

The party convention, controlled, ignored the three judges given the most votes and selected its own nominee.

They were not given, as the law now requires, the unit votes of the counties they carried.

Since the adoption of the Neill Primary Law there have been other amendments.

The strongest of these was sought by Eugene Talmadge after his defeat in 1938 by Sen. Walter George. Mr. Talmadge claimed he was robbed and the law did not give him the right of recount. He sought such a law and obtained it.

Plot Now Mr. Talmadge seeks to destroy all laws and turn the primary back to the uncontrolled whim of the county politicians.

He seeks to make enough people afraid of the Negro to accomplish this.

It is impossible to believe he will fool enough people.

The people surely want to retain the protection of their laws. The people surely have enough faith in themselves to believe that with an average of almost 10 white persons voting to every Negro, with the county-unit system wiping out the influence of big city votes, their primary still would be white and in their hands. It is silly to charge that any one of the three candidates is "pro-Negro."

It is no more true of James V. Carmichael and E. D. Rivers than it is of Mr. Talmadge himself. This he knows. He is aiming for State control. So he deals in smears.

Why? It is proper to ask why Mr. Talmadge wishes to abolish all laws and substitute a Talmadge and Roy Harris primary. Certainly, Mr. Talmadge isn't worried himself. But why is he trying to make others afraid?

Mr. Talmadge plans to move on to the U. S. Senate in the event there is a vacancy—as his headquarters openly hopes for. His candidate for the special election, in such an event, is already picked.

With the State primaries removed from the protection of law and delivered into the hands of Mr. Eugene Talmadge and his party, with the unit system abolished if they so desire to attain their ends.

Shall we tear down our laws; turn over our primaries to one man; create a Georgia full of fears, tensions and bitterness while other States in the South keep their laws and primaries and attain the prosperity headed South—just because Mr. Talmadge wants to set up a State and big city machine—with no controlling laws?

Shall we be fooled by fear that one Negro voter can outvote 10 white voters in a primary in which State law requires the unit vote.

Do we really want to destroy government and elections by law—and give the State over to ruin and rule by a few men?

More and more Georgians must decide this for themselves and their children—that is the decision and not the false one of "niggers in your schools."

Southerners Talk Treason

Poor old Gene Talmadge, yelping down in the wilderness of Georgia, announces that if elected governor, he will stop trains at the state boundary and force Negroes to purchase tickets, thus converting them into intrastate passengers, and subject to the laws of Georgia. Apparently, this "white supremacy" advocate has not used his eyeglasses when reading the recent Supreme Court decision in the Irene Morgan case. In that case the Supreme Court in unmistakable language said "... no state law can ... bar transportation of passengers across its boundaries." The interstate commerce act was passed for the purpose of knocking sense into the heads of just such dumbbells as Talmadge, and the underlying principle of the act was reaffirmed in the Irene Morgan case.

Congress has the power to regulate commerce, and not the states. The Supreme Court in its decision last week felt that Negroes should have equality with hogs, which under the commerce act are granted "uniformity" in accommodation when crossing state lines.

Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in concurring in the majority opinion, struck the bullseye, and incidentally repudiated the sacred cow, known as state rights, when he referred to "the imposition upon national systems of transportation by a crazy-quilt of state laws." Mr. Frankfurter was undoubtedly thinking of other instances when the interstate commerce commission had to intervene in the interest of common sense to safeguard property rights of carriers.

Before the commerce commission went into action state government sought to examine the license of train engineers and to give engineers vision tests. Other states sought to pass full crew bills and require trains to stop at county seat towns. One state decided that all trains must stop at cities having a population of 3,000, and still another sought to regulate schedules so that people arriving on one carrier could make connections with another. It can be readily seen that if the interstate commerce commission had not entered to give uniformity to such chaos and confusion unwise state regulation would completely destroy and confiscate America's transportation system.

Candidate James V. Carmichael, who is campaigning against Talmade down in Georgia, poses a fine question for his opponent when he said last week, "I don't know whether you are ready to secede or not. When you start stopping trains and buses at state lines we have got to make up our minds that our national guard will be matched against federal troops."

What candidate Carmichael means is that Gene Talmadge in 1946 is talking the same treason as John C. Calhoun before nullification in South Carolina prior to the civil war. Carmichael might also have said that Talmadge is attempting to effect nullification, sedition and treason through the unlawful instrumentality of the Ku Klux Klan. Those who would play along and pamper such vile thrusts at organic union of the states are trifling with the same sort of fire that burst into unholy conflagration in 1860 and followed with four years of bloody internicine strife.

John Rankin of Mississippi, Governor Starks of Alabama and many other prominent Southerners, since the decision of the Supreme Court, are talking open rebellion against constituted federal authority. Rankin wants to impeach the Supreme Court, while the Alabama governor ...rs a threat almost unbelievable. When the governor of ...reat state says that a Supreme Court decision "is fertiliz-

...uits of Talmadgeism

...and his acts, as fully and indelibly re-...vealed by his past, to be harmful to the ...State and its future.

We have said there is no reason for this ...thereby illustrates the issue.

...e Constitution opposes Mr. Eugene ...State to be plunged into racial troubles ...dge only because we believe him and tensions as the people of Georgia are

Fruits ...A Negro ...church was burned by ...perton Monday night.

quite capable of handling their own affairs without having disorder deliberately created. Mr. Talmadge's speeches and inflammatory statements will, if not checked, plunge Georgia into a state of friction which will drive from it new industries and investments; which will cause the good Negro people to leave the State as, indeed, no one could blame them.

There are affidavits that Talmadge "interests," not Mr. Talmadge himself, of course, have offered bribes to Negroes to sit by white persons and to create other disorders.

Now comes another evidence of what "Talmadgeism" means to Georgia.

In Soperton, Georgia, the Cross Roads school, three miles from Soperton, was abandoned and consolidated with the school at Soperton. The land reverted to the owner, under terms of the deed. He informed the county authorities he would turn the empty and abandoned school building over to the Negroes of that section for use as a church and a school.

The first church services were held last Sunday.

Monday night, about 10:15, the church was burned to the ground by persons aroused to fury against Negroes by the Talmadge speeches and writings.

Must Georgia plunge into four years of church burnings, killings, floggings and other brutalities created by this man just to satisfy his ambitions to be Governor of Georgia for a fourth time?

Gene Talmadge Enters Governor Race, Waving 'White-Supremacy' Banner

Atlanta, April 6 (AP)—Waving this old banner of "white supremacy," Gene Talmadge, thrice Governor of Georgia, announced today he would run for the office again this year.

Retention of the State's Democratic white primary was made the principal plank in 61-year-old beaten for the first time in a Governor's race four years ago by young Ellis Arnall.

Arnall, youngest Chief Executive in the United States, is prevented, under the State Constitution, from seeking a second term.

Twice in the last year the State Legislature refused to remove the ban.

Arnall has indicated that he would give his blessing and support to some "dark-horse" candidate who would carry on reforms of his Administration.

So far, however, no such candidate has appeared.

Talmadge has been clamoring for a special session of the Legislature to retain the white primary.

This would be done by removing all primary laws from the statute books and leaving them unregulated. Arnall has intimated that if the Legislature convenes itself, he would veto such legislation.

Legal experts have held that if Georgia repeals its primary laws, the county unit system of before having the Legislature repeal all primary laws.

"I shall see that the people of this state have a Democratic white primary unfettered and unhampered by radical, communist and alien influences," Talmadge said in his platform announcement.

Arnall in his four years in office led successful fights to repeal the poll tax and lower the voting age to 18. This has been followed by an unprecedented drive to register voters.

No date has been set for the primary, winning of which is tantamount to election in Georgia.

voting, which gives Georgia's many small rural counties political dominance, and has been a Talmadge fort, would have to go too.

Talmadge proposes to have the State Democratic Executive Committee incorporate the county unit system, similar to the U. S. electoral system, into its rules Talmadge's platform—in a race in which the U. S. Supreme Court said last week Negroes could vote.

Talmadge, whose 20-year career in Georgia politics has been filled with ups and downs, was

Calls Her Brother Bum

Editor Constitution: Talmadge called my brother a bum and loafer as he was a CCC boy in 1939. Today he lies somewhere in the Pacific. I'm proud of such a brother. He died fighting for people just like "Gene" Talmadge. I often wonder was it worth it. He died fighting for the way of Government we cherish so much, but to Talmadge in 1936 he was just a bum. He also criticised the President of the United States for being a cripple. He should have a little thought for the disabled.

JACK TARVER

A Campaign Poem For Eugene Talmadge

A Valdosta gent writes in to ask that we reprint a piece I did four years ago when the same Eugene Talmadge was running the same losing race on the same phony issue.

It is with some hesitancy I comply inasmuch as it's allegedly in rhyme and Ollie Reeves and I have an agreement whereunder I do no verse and he sells no razor blades.

But it's a hot day and so—with assurances to Ollie it won't happen again—here it is:

Go down and git the musket, bud,
And fetch the pick-axe, too.
'Twixt now and time the sun goes down
We'uns got killin' to do.

We's gonna git them aliens,
Their name is naught but mud.
We gotta lynch them furriners
Who ain't got Georgy blood.

We got to shoot ole Gran'ma fust.
I hates to do it, kin'er.
She's been a good ole Gran'ma, BUT . . .
She'uz born in Carolina.

Fluridy folks and Alabams?
They too is only heathen.
Less'n a man's born in Georgy, bud,
He's got no business breathin'.

And don't fergit them Yankees, bud,
(God rest the soul of Lee)
We mustn't miss them Nawthuners
Who hail from Tennessee.

You heerd the war wuz over, bud?
Shucks, son, you must be jesting.
Us Georgy boys don't never quit . . .
We only been a'resting.

"He's got no color."

"No color?" says I.

"No color," says she. "He doesn't wear red suspenders or a black bow tie or a 10-gallon hat. He doesn't carry a string quartet or a jug band around with him wherever he goes. He doesn't have gravy on his vest, tobacco juice on his chin and sen-sen on his breath. He doesn't whoop and holler and rant and rave. He doesn't cuss the Government and defy the courts. He's only running against his opponents and not Henry Wallace, Premier Stalin, Jim Cox and Old Black Joe. Why, he hasn't even promised to pave every road in the state, much less build a hospital and junior college in every county."

"Oh," says I. "No color."

"Yes," says she. "No color. He's just a plain, ordinary businessman. He isn't surrounded with a lot of bootleggers and numbers racket men and medicine show doctors. When night comes he goes home to his wife and family. He never threw off on President Roosevelt's affliction or called the CCC boys bums and loafers. Chances are he doesn't even know Gerald L. K. Smith. You see what I mean?"

JACK TARVER

If This Be Color, Talmadge Can Have It

"There's just one thing I don't like about Carmichael," says this lady on the telephone.

JACK TARVER

Brother Harris And the Tar-Baby

Georgia elects a Governor Wednesday—and not an ex-one.

The contest, if there is one, is between James V. Carmichael and Eugene Talmadge, between democracy and dictatorship, between a clean-cut businessman and a tin-horn tyrant.

Ed Rivers' name will also be on the ballot, but I will not mention him here, it not being good taste to disturb the dead.

Talmadge supporters once were legion—now they are legend. The only reason he hasn't been deserted by more people this time than in 1942 is that he didn't have as many to start with.

About the only persons his "Nigger, Nigger" platform appeals to are those whose sole claim to distinction lies in the pigmentation of their skins.

And even they have begun to wonder: "If Gene saves Georgia from the Negro, who's gonna save it from Gene?"

Of course, there are those who think Talmadge has reformed. He's promised not to fire the President of the State University without a hearing. That's quite a concession from him. Talmadge hasn't much use for education. He learned long ago that as soon as people learn to read, they go off and vote for somebody else.

RALPH McGILL

As Ridiculous As Hoover's Prophecies

Constitution

It is possible to go back much further for similar foolishness, but Mr. Herbert Hoover will be far enough.

It was he who, as a candidate, went up and down the land saying that if the people did not elect him grass would grow in the streets of the cities of this nation.

Mr. Hoover was not re-elected.

Grass continued to grow in pastures, on lawns and in other accustomed places.

Our Mr. Talmadge has made lots of statements equally ridiculous. When the young men of the country could not get jobs during the depression, he spoke of them, in CCC camps, as loafers and bums. A few years later they were to fight a war in quite a different manner, demonstrating they were the finest young American generation we have ever had. During the depression, also a candidate, Mr. Talmadge advanced the theory that no man was worth more than a dollar a day. He proposed a relief set-up which would have paid skilled labor 10 cents an hour and unskilled five cents.

Wednesday 6-12-46

Hated FDR

Hating Roosevelt then as now, he called in the notorious Gerald L. Smith for a "grass roots" convention at Macon. The Rev. Smith announced, with his typical brand of Christianity, that he and Mr. Talmadge were going to run "that cripple" (Mr. Roosevelt) out of the White House.

Well, that didn't come off.

Now comes Mr. Talmadge saying that if he is not elected, candidates will have to kiss colored babies for votes. Maybe Mr. Talmadge will, if he so desires, but it certainly won't be necessary, as he knows full well. This is even more preposterous than Mr. Hoover's threat to have grass growing in all our streets.

Not a great many Negroes will ever vote in Georgia, especially in the rural counties. Their greatest voting number always will be confined to the cities. So long as the county unit system is retained the Negro vote, even in the cities, will have very little meaning. This is what makes so surprising the candidate's urging that the unit system be abolished by law and given over to the care of a committee appointed at the whim of all the Governors to come. South Carolina, which tried the idea of abolishing all its primary laws, already is worried and admitting the action was hasty and that some other plan, probably a return to law, plus strict qualifications for voters, must be found. Thoughtful Georgians will surely think a long time before they abolish laws guarding their primary elections and turn them over to a politically-appointed committee.

Dual System

Believing now, as always, in separation of the races as the best and only workable system, it is possible to make a few comments.

Surely no intelligent American, of Christian faith, can believe that some people were born with saddles on their backs and others born booted and spurred to ride them.

Atlanta, Ga.

Thousands of good Christian men and women in Georgia, with whom Protestant, Catholic and Jewish ministers and bishops have taken their stand, believe just as firmly as Mr. Talmadge in separation of races. But they part with him there. They do not go on with hate and violence. They believe there may be separation of races and still equal justice before the law; equal opportunity to use one's skills and still not have to mix with other workers; equal opportunity for education, without mixing in schools. Surely a Christian people cannot adopt the anti-Christ philosophy of Hitler and say of other men they are dogs and must come crawling to their superiors on their knees.

Yet it is the custom of those who do believe they came into the world booted and spurred to ride the backs of others, to smear and damn those who do believe in separation of the races, but in equal justice, to cry "nigger lover" and "social equality." It is incredible that any person not blinded with passion and hate could believe such an argument. We do not believe the people of Georgia will be deceived.

Buses

A great deal has been made of the recent Supreme Court bus line decision. It, too, has been used to deceive. It will not make the slightest difference in the deep South, where separation is understood and quite necessary. It does not interfere with State transportation. It applies only when such transportation begins in a State having no laws requiring separation. With almost all traffic on buses originating in adjoining States having laws similar to Georgia's, the problem is almost nullified. In those cases where it occurs, only the occasional person lacking in common sense will cause any trouble. That these kind will appear is probable. But they will be the exception. Certainly there is no reason for alarm. While regretting the decision, most Southerners will realize it is not likely in any way to disturb their travel. Despite the social reformers, most Negroes, as well as whites, would feel uncomfortable is forced to sit beside one another. This might well be true of one who would insist on the Negro's right to vote because he is a citizen. Old customs are not easily changed and more often than not there is no desire to change them. What is deplorable is that the issue should be falsified for votes.

The South faces its greatest opportunity in history. Industry and progress are coming. They will pass up a State which is filled with racial tensions, violence and hate—none of which is necessary. Surely, the great common sense of the people will see through the smoke screen of falsehood and exaggeration and not be led away from the South's first real chance. Shall we be led into hate, tensions and violence merely to gratify a man's ambition? Or should we go on with Alabama, Tennessee, Florida and our other sister States?

THE MACON TELEGRAPH

Of Leopards and Their Spots

Editors Note: Ralph T. Jones is on vacation.

Constitution

Georgia's political perennials, Eugene Talmadge and Ed Rivers, are doing a lot of sweet-sounding talk about keeping promises, paving roads, raising the pay of teachers and building junior colleges and hospitals.

It is imperative that the people of Georgia look behind this sweet talk. It is urgent that each voter cast his ballot according to the dictates of his own judgement, rather than at the behest of some candidate whose emotional appeals may have produced a mild form of hypnosis.

6-13-46 Thurs.

Our belief that Talmadge is "bad medicine" for the State of Georgia is based upon his record.

Give Talmadge credit for keeping his promises, if you will, but don't overlook the fact that he kept this State down on a level so low that diplomas from our State schools became worthless scraps of paper.

Atlanta, Ga.

You may want to recall how he fired a professor with whom he disagreed. Mr. Talmadge, gathering himself for a dictatorial explosion, attempted to get the professor discharged by the Board of Regents. This body, still attempting to deal with such matters justly, failed to follow the behest of the little dictator.

Then our junior Napoleon, determined to have his own way, fired the offending members of the board and packed it with men who could be depended upon to do as he directed.

Regardless of the merits of the professor's case—he was accused of advocating co-education for Negroes and whites—he deserved a fair hearing and he should not have been convicted and removed in a proceeding dominated by a dictatorial little man who was determined to carry his point regardless of how he might override constitutional privileges or rights.

Same Old Eugene

There is no indication that Talmadge has reformed. He has injected unnecessarily into the current gubernatorial campaign the racial issue. He has stirred the pot of prejudice and bigotry and from it has ladeled a witch's brew of hatred and fear. He is spooning his vile stuff to all who will partake so that under the intoxication of his particular brand of venom they will cast a vote for Talmadge.

Just a short time ago he became enraged at two Atlanta newspaper reporters and stated publicly that the men should be thrown out of his headquarters if they should appear there. He has a perfect right to make such a decision, to make such a statement, and to have his threat executed. It was the old Talmadge speaking.

This was the same man who wrecked our University System; this was the Talmadge who attempted to close the journalism school at the University of Georgia. The leopard hasn't changed his spots.

Eurith, Too

6-13-46 Thurs.

Rivers, too, is a dangerous man. Many charitably consider him the Warren Harding of Georgia politics—a man who means well but who is most unfortunate in selecting close associates; a man who finds it hard to deny anything to a political friend.

Atlanta, Ga.

Take the subject of pardons—and that was only one of the scandals connected with the Rivers administration.

During Rivers' last term as Governor, he handed out 1,915 pardons. The pardon mill ground faster and faster as the Rivers term neared an end. From Sept. 16 to Jan. 14 of his last months executive pardons were given to 717 criminals. During his last two weeks in office, Rivers pardoned 229 persons and during his final day as Governor, he signed his name to 68 such pieces of paper.

Have we any promises from these men that, if they should be elected, they would not again engage in such disgraceful conduct in office?

The remedy, of course, lies in making certain they do not have another chance to ruin this State. Our hope lies with James V. Carmichael. He is a businessman, whose ability was proved in the marvelous record made by the Marietta B-29 plant under his direction.

Carmichael wants to be governor because he believes he can help the State; because he believes the majority of our pople want good, clean, progressive government free from dictatorial and bayonet rule, free from pardon racketeering and other graft.

Carmichael wants to be governor because it will be an opportunity to serve. He wants to give something, not take away.

And why do Talmadge and Rivers want to be governor? Well, look at their records.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Harsh Language

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: In your leading editorial of May 9, you called Mr. Talmadge a liar. Isn't that pretty harsh language to be using about a man that the people of Georgia saw fit to elect Governor three times? At the very best, your accusation was in extremely bad taste for a large metropolitan newspaper. 5-31-46-Fri

Mr. Talmadge is the greatest man that Georgia has ever produced with the possible exception of the late Tom Watson. Far from being a reactionary as his enemies claim, Talmadge is the only true liberal in the Governor's race. Carmichael is the real reactionary in the race, as was Arnall in 1942. He represents the economic aristocracy and the silk-stocking snobs that have for so long dominated Georgia's economic and political life. He represents the goody-goody church groups and women's organizations that are messing around in politics. If Carmichael is elected, then it's good-bye to the White Primary and white supremacy in Georgia. Talmadge alone can save them.

JOHN H. WATSON.

LaGrange.

(Editor's Note: Neither Mr. Talmadge nor any of his followers have yet pointed out how the White Primary can be retained without jeopardizing the County Unit system.)

No One Fooled

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: Your editorial, "The CIO Will Indorse No One," will fool no one.

They have not forgotten the fact that the CIO came out with half-page notices in both Atlanta papers the day before the recent Congressional election and denied emphatically that they were supporting the new representative of the CIO in Congress, Helen Mankin.

Then immediately after the election they claimed that they had supported and elected Helen Mankin. This organization which is bragging about the millions they have to spend in politics has declared war on all our Representatives in Washington who will not bow down to them, and you fall for their line.

D. B. HUNT.

Atlanta.

Talmadge and Long

Editor Constitution: It is gratifying to note more and more letters favoring Talmadge are appearing. Some semblance of a square deal.

Talmadge has been called a demagogue, a rabble-rouser and all sorts of a disturber. One man said to me some time ago, "Talmadge is another Huey Long." I asked him "In what way?" He didn't know. Pressed for an answer, he admitted he didn't know,

heard somebody else say it. There you are.

Talmadge is not a demagogue or rabble-rouser. He is an extra good public speaker, entertaining and convincing.

As a disturber—he disturbs nothing that is right. I will grant he makes a good deal of efffort to "disturb" what is wrong.

The opposition also "harps" on their false claim that he is a Negro-hater, and a Negro-baiter, whatever that is. Talmadge is not a foe to the Negro, but indeed one of his best friends, and if elected Governor, the Negro will at once find that this is true.

Mr. Talmadge will appreciate your kindly consideration, and your vote. CLARA ROBBINS.
1134 Lucile Ave., S. W.

Talmadge Kept Promises

Editor Constitution: I want to state here and now that Eugene Talmadge has always carried out his promises, no one can deny that. I have no grounds whatsoever to disbelieve what Eugene Talmadge says he will do. He has promised to pay our schoolteachers each month and on time. This one promise of Talmadge has put me right up his alley. I do believe so very, very much that the free public schools is the cornerstone of good government and above all Christian religion. We cannot have good schools without good teachers and good pay for them. You put Eugene Talmadge in office and the money will come and when Gene gets to the bridge the money will be there, he will cross on time.

ARTHUR A. SHINALL.
Cartersville.

THE UPPER SOUTH

Georgia's Vote on Governor Will Break All Records

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, June 29—With the vote in the Georgia Governorship primary on July 17 certain to break all records, forecasters there are hesitant to make predictions on the outcome.

It is generally believed that either James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old industrialist backed by Gov. Ellis Arnall, or former Gov. Eugene Talmadge will win, but the enormous registration has the prophets baffled. To former Gov. E. D. Rivers, the third candidate, not much chance is given.

Registration already has passed 800,000, almost double the previous record, and it may go to 900,000. Whereas the biggest vote up to now in a Governorship contest in Georgia totaled 360,000, this one is expected to reach from 600,000 to 650,000. Hence the reluctance of most observers to predict the winner.

Mr. Talmadge continues to stress the race issue, especially the recent Supreme Court ruling that segregation on interstate buses is illegal. Indeed, this is described as "the only issue" in the campaign by one competent Georgia observer. All agree that the Supreme Court's ruling came at just the time to do Mr. Talmadge the maximum amount of good.

ning on exactly the same platform on which he was soundly repudiated four years ago.

He is blowing up the same fake issue, trying to excite the same baseless fears.

It was not a successful appeal four years ago and—because his dire predictions of that campaign have not materialized—is proving no more successful as a vote-catcher this time.

KKK

For weeks now, about two months, in fact, Mr. Sam Green, the Grand Dragon of the KKK, has been saying he had a bombshell.

This morning The Constitution reveals it.

It seems that Dr. James V. Colescott, who has gone to Miami to doctor cats and dogs and other dumb animals after treating the Klan members in Georgia for a few years, has said that Gov. Ellis Arnall once took a gold card from the good dog doctor.

Now, he doesn't say the Governor ever joined.

The Governor says the cat doctor was introduced to him by former Gov. E. D. Rivers when he, Arnall, was Attorney General and investigating un-American activities in Georgia. He said Doc Colescott wanted to help.

But he says the doctor simply didn't tell the truth.

There wasn't any "honorary card."

It was even feebler about James V. Carmichael. Doc Colescott didn't even claim he had sent or mailed a honorary card to Carmichael. He said that he had consulted with Attorney Carmichael. I know that story. They did send an honorary card. It was not accepted. Doc Colescott called to plead. He was refused.

The plan was to spring this "bombshell" after the Governor's talk tonight.

Political minds, when they want to think up a smear, sometimes stoop to queer and feeble stunts.

Sen. George

As a matter of fact, the smears in the present campaign have reached a new low of downright dullness and stupidity.

I always liked what Sen. George said about mud-throwing.

He said his mother once told him that when people threw mud on you, never try and wipe it off. It just spreads it the more. The thing to do, she told him, was to let it alone. Pretty soon it would dry up and drop off of its own accord.

So it is with these smears. The quality of their mud isn't very good anyhow.

COLUMBUS LEDGER-ENQUIRER

RALPH McGILL

A Very Poor Quality of Mud

The "smear" is an acepted feature of American politics. The fact that Georgia politics sees more of it than most States is a commentary on the type of men who make up the majority of our candidates.

Thet most absurd charge is made by Mr. Eugene Talmadge. He charges that his opponents, Mr. James V. Carmichael and Mr. E. D. Rivers, favor the "nigger" and want to turn the State over to "niggers." It is not possible to believe that a State with the unit system and about 10 white voters to every Negro voter will believe such a statement.

Mr. Talmadge wants to be elected.

It will be recalled he made the same charges against present Gov. Arnall.

Indeed, he said that if Mr. Arnall were elected, Negroes would be attending Georgia schools. This was something like Mr. Hoover's statement that if he were not elected grass would grow in the streets of American cities. They are Georgia schools, not Federal. So long as Georgia provides other facilities there cannot be any such occurrence.

Only the most childish and easily alarmed sort of mind would believe otherwise. Neither of Mr. Talmadge's opponents would stand for any mixing of the races any sooner than he. They both are native Georgians and certainly are just as good Georgians.

It is ridiculous for Mr. Talmadge to attempt to frighten the people with such smears. Certainly no calm person will pay any attention to them. The people have no reason to be afraid.

The truth of the matter is, of course, that Mr. Talmadge is run-

Race Issue Is Strictly Phony

(Editor's Note: Ralph Jones is on vacation.)

Upon the assumption that the average white Georgian is reasonably sane and intelligent, The Sunday Ledger-Enquirer suggests that Eugene Talmadge's "white supremacy" issue is pure caterwauling designed to appeal to the basest human instincts.

In other words—it's strictly a phony!

Mr. Talmadge would have you believe that Jimmy Carmichael and those who support the Carmichael candidacy, are all "scalawags," bound and determined to give all Negroes "40 acres and a mule," and then see to it that they are elected to office in order to govern white people.

He would have you believe, further, that the simple act of letting a few of them vote will mean their total domination of Georgia's political machinery; that they will over-run the State Legislature, elect themselves to City and County Commissions, and in general have things completely their own way—just overnight!

Of course it's all a lie. And the best way to prove it a lie is to look soberly at the Georgia scene, and see what's happened.

What is "white supremacy" anyway? It is simply the control of politics, and indeed of the whole Deep South economy and the Deep South social order, by white men and women.

The Editor of this newspaper is a Georgian born and bred; the idea of white supremacy has been inculcated into him since earliest childhood, and he believes in it. He knows it is ethnologically sound, and if the day should ever come when other than white men rule Georgia, he would no longer care to live here.

This sense of prejudice—unadulterated racial prejudice—does not extend, however, to denying some voice in Government to that small minority of Negroes who are legally qualified to vote, and who, as taxpayers living in a democracy, are morally entitled to make their minority voice articulate.

How could the fact of Negroes voting ever threaten "white supremacy" in Georgia?

The only conceivable condition under which such a thing could happen would be for Negroes to outnumber white people at the polls, and there is no remotest chance of any such cataclysmic change. And if they should ever really out-number us, the existence of white primary" would be no protection, anyway, because they would simply put up their candidates in the general elections—where they have the undisputed right of suffrage—and outvote us.

The arithmetic of the Georgia picture is that our population comprises about 35 percent Negroes; 65 percent whites. But in the voting lists, the preponderance of whites is, and will remain, far more impressive, because a greater proportion of whites will always be able to qualify, even under the most elementary literacy tests.

We repeat—How can 35 percent of the population "threaten" the supremacy of 65 percent, particularly since so few of the 35 percent can possibly qualify?

It can't be done, and that's why Mr. Talmadge's "white supremacy" issue is pure phony.

No, "white supremacy" isn't an issue in Georgia this year, because the real basis of white supremacy is superior numbers, superior breeding, superior traditions, superior mental capacity, and, if you please, a superior sense of personal fastidiousness!

The Negro, at his best, will have only a small voice in Georgia politics. If we believe in the democratic concept—which means, among many other things, that even minorities are permitted to help shape their own destinies—we can do no less than make his small voice articulate, and in so doing we imperil nothing that affects the security of Southern white men.

The Deep South's "white supremacy" is thoroughly respectable; it has the dignity of tradition, and the strength of sincere conviction.

Because it is honest, it can afford to be tolerant, always fair, and perhaps even compassionate toward lesser men.

It is not a "master race" concept such as Hitler's, but rather the practical—and we hope humane—application to everyday life of

pledges that he will restore the white primary despite a recent federal course decision opening Georgia primaries to Negroes.

The other candidates have contended that Negro voting is not an issue—that the courts have spoken and that the question has been settled.

Vote totals are expected to set a record. More than 1,100,000 have registered, including 135,000 Negroes. The primary is the first since repeal of the poll tax, the decision allowing Negroes to vote and the lowering of the voters' age from 21 to 18.

Arnall, Talmadge is opposed in the governor's race this time by James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old lawyer, former Governor E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelly, veteran of both World wars. Talmadge has thrice served as governor.

Georgians will vote with the department of justice keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings. FBI Agent John T. Trost said he had been instructed to investigate the election. His announcement came after Talmadge said in a speech that "wise" Negroes would not try to vote.

Georgia to Vote Today

Atlanta, July 16—(AP)—Red-galused Gene Talmadge tries a comeback tomorrow on the "white supremacy" issue in a Georgia Democratic primary election at which Talmadge, who sheds his coat and snaps his red suspenders to the delight of his followers in campaign speeches, has made Negro voting his principal issue. He

Defeated four years ago by Ellis Arnall, prevented from running himself by a 1941 constitutional prohibition against a governor serving two successive four years' terms, is supporting Carmichael. Arnall, Talmadge is opposed in the governor's race this time by James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old lawyer, former Governor E. D. Rivers and Hoke O'Kelly, veteran of both World wars. Talmadge has thrice served as governor.

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Talmadge Wants Race Riots Before Election---Carmichael

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

QUITMAN, June 6—Jimmie Carmichael warnedd Georgians Thursday that Eugene Talmadge "and his henchmen" are going to try to start a race riot before election day in a move to elect Talmadge.

"Gene Talmadge has been trying to create racial prejudice for a long time," Carmichael charged. "If he and his henchmen can do it, there's going to be race trouble in Georgia before election day. If and when there is, you can look under the bedsheets and you'll find Talmadge henchmen."

Carmichael has charged repeatedly that the Ku Klux Klan is backing Talmadge, and that Talmadge would welcome support of the Klan.

The candidate also charged that by offering to place sheriffs of the various counties on the Georgia Bureau of Investigation payroll, Talmadge is attempting to bribe the sheriffs into supporting his candidacy.

INTRODUCED BY VET

Carmichael was introduced at Quitman by Rufus Jennings, Navy veteran. Jennings, speaking in this section which had been Ed Rivers' territory, said: "If Jimmie Carmichael is Governor, he will not turn the Governor's office into a pardon racket, and he will not be egotistical enough to put his own pictures in school textbooks."

A crowd that overflowed the Brooks County Courthouse vigorously applauded Carmichael when he said he was making the race because no one would challenge the combination of Rivers and Talmadge.

Before coming to Quitman, Carmichael stopped briefly at Cairo. He chatted with many friends, including Tax Commissioner Frank Proctor, Mrs. Ebb Willis, Ordinary; L. A. Whittle; City Attorney Edwin Carlisle, W. O. McManeus, Robert Van Landingham, Rep. James Barwick, "Judge "Ira" Carlisle, and T. J. Mills, Chairman of the Grady County Democratic Executive Committee.

Carmichael told his South Georgia audience his "bribe" would cost the taxpeyers of Georgia nearly one million dollars.

BEWARE OF BRIBE

The candidate predicted the law enforcement officers would not fall for this "wild attempt" of Talmadge to get a $125 monthly bribe from the State Treasury."

Carmichael declared: "The Sheriffs are just as smart as Talmadge, and they are not going to be fooled by any such ridiculous scheme.

"Talmadge has been trying to bribe the veterans with a free drivers' license," Carmichael added. "Now he is trying to bribe the Sheriffs with a rake-off on the taxpayers' money. I wonder when he is going to offer the taxpayers something for their vote?"

Carmichael has added Adel to his speaking tour. He will speak there at 11 a. m. Friday, and then go to Waycross for an address at 4:30 p. m.

SEES SHERIFFS' VOTE

"He thinks the Sheriffs will line up votes for him," he said.

"They know," Carmichael added "that Georgia does not need any such elaborate system of GBI agents.

"Talmadge has promised the Sheriffs he would have the State pay each of them, or a deputy, $125 a month," Carmichael continued. "At $125 a month, the 159 Sheriffs could get $19,875 on the first of each month, or $238,500 a year—in four years, Talmadge would pay $954,000."

The speaker contended that Talmadge is not so much interested in providing every citizen of Georgia with a private investigator, as he is in catching some unsuspecting voters.

Having Good Time?

Editor Constitution: "Ain't we having a good time" in Georgia prior to July 17? This present, most farceful gubernatorial race in the history of Georgia, coupled with the splendid, forceful and factual radio address by our "retiring" competent Governor, Hon. Ellis G. Arnall, sets a stage very comical for the populace of the Gate City of the South and the Empire State to marvel over.

Do you notice one "tried-but-lacking" orator, repeatedly lambasting the editors of two of our most respected dailies and his closing witty and baseless but favorite expostulations of "Nigger" this and "Nigger" that—? Whew! Don't that aid the fun? Have you noticed the other "tried-but-wanting" (more) demagogue always has "in his hands" records, etc., to prove the shortcomings, etc., of our present Governor—but never says anything of his fortunate "administrative luck" from Uncle Sam, and his obvious administrative tactics?

Can anyone condemn James V. Carmichael for resorting to mud-slinging, too?

Do these demagogues make you angry, or think, or tickle you? Now ain't us having a good time in Georgia?

CHARLES ZEPTHA BOYD.
1274 Simpson Road.
Atlanta

Ills Shelve Talmadge; Attorneys Take Stump

By JOHN COURIC,
Constitution Staff Writer.

QUITMAN, June 8—Illness knocked Eugene Talmadge from the political stump Saturday morning, but substitute speakers appeared to prevent his gubernatorial campaign rally from being called off.

The former Governor remained in his Valdosta hotel room under physicians' orders while he combatted the effects of a head cold nad sore throat.

Meanwhile, here J. W. "Taxi" Smith, Albany attorney, and Robert B. Short, Newton lawyer, hit in the pinch for the red-gallused candidate in a rally here at the Brooks County Courehouse. Herman Talmadge took over the afternoon rally at Cairo.

Talmadge supporters said that the candidate's son, Herman, was scheduled to make the afternoon Talmadge address at Cairo, in Grady County.

Smith, in his speech, reviewed the Talmadge platform and carried on, Talmadge manner, by attacking the Atlanta newspapers and gubernatorial candidate Carmichael. He also levelled some criticism at former Gov. Eurith D. Rivers and other candidates.

Smith ,a World War II veteran with three years' service, blasted at Gov. Arnall's program, which he charged did not help veterans. He mentioned Gov. Arnall's age several times as being 34.

Smith was followed on the program by Short, who gave a legal discussion on methods of preventing Negroes from participating in white primaries. He attacked the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and said :"You hear about abolishing the Ku Klux Klan, but you don't hear about abolishing the NAACP." Short hastened to add that he had not been a Klansman and had never been one.

Elder W. E. Price, Brooks County Primitive Baptist preacher, and Superintendent of Barwick Consolidated Schools, introduced the speaker. H. A. Williams, local feed dealer, introduced Elder Price.

Talmadge Offers Voters Dinner on Mansion Lawn

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

ROCHELLE, May 31—Ex-Gov. Talmadge, who recently promised young people gondolas in the moonlight, Friday held out a new vote enticement to meet hungry Georgians:

A free dinner on the Executive Mansion lawn at State expense if he is elected.

Hitting at the exclusive manner which he and ex-Gov. Rivers charged Gov. Arnall was operating the mansion today, Talmadge told a Wilcox County audience:

"When I ran for Governor before, I invited you people to come up to Atlanta and bring me a ham. Some of you did. Ham is mighty scarce these days. This time I want you to come to the mansion and have dinner on the lawn. We'll trample down the grass and eat, if I have to send down to Tattnall Prison and get the hogs."

In another part of his address, Talmadge charged that most of the old-age pensions are going to young people. The State is raising salaries of young administrators and inspectors, and the old folks are not getting their pension money.

He added that if he were elected he would match Federal funds for pensions to the limit.

Talmadge, looking at Atlanta newsmen whom he had invited to sit on the stage behind him, predicted that the papers wouldn't say between 600 and 700 persons stood in the hot sun to hear him Friday. He again threatened to start a daily paper himself.

Walter Stone, Wilcox County School Superintendent, introduced Talmadge. He praised the ex-Governor for paying the schoolteachers after ex-Gov. Rivers had defaulted, and he lauded Talmadge for "smoking out" Gov. Arnall on the 50 percent pay raise for teachers. Talmadge declared that he, and not Rivers, actually bought Georgia's first free textbooks. He said that Rivers provided the State with its first "free schoolteachers."

Talmadge asked Wilcox County to purge from the voters' lists some 550 Negroes.

Earlier in the day at Perry, Talmadge divided his time between addressing a small Houston County audience in front of him and talking to newspaper reporters seated on the stage behind him.

Sam Nunn, of Perry, leader of the Independent Democratic Party that supported Talmadge over Roosevelt in 1940, introduced Talmadge.

Nunn called to the stage Cooper Etheridge, editor of the Houston Home Journal, which this week said editorially "the Home Journal has nothing good to say for Mr. Talmadge, so we will say nothing"; M. L. St. John, of The Atlanta Constitution, object of an extended editorial campaign of criticism from Talmadge's Statesman, and L. P. Patterson, of the Atlanta Journal.

Talmadge charged that the Atlanta papers are controlled by Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace and declared we will take the ink from their pens on July 17. The candidate challenged The Constitution to print his claims that Henry Grady, its famed editor during Reconstruction Days, led the the Ku Klux Klan that chased the Negroes and carpetbaggers from the Georgia State Capitol.

Talmadge promised Georgians they would have a white primary for at least four years if he is elected. He said his position on the racial issue is that "the Nigger" should come to the back door with his hat in his hand.

Houston County, which alternated its support between Talmadge and Rivers, went for Talmadge over Arnall in 1942. Its registration has tripled recently.

Resurrected Kluxers Big Issue In Georgia Gubernatorial Race

BY HENRY LESESNE

ATLANTA, May 31—(AP)—The resurgent Ku Klux Klan, faced with a fight to retain its charter and a $700,000 bill from the tax collector, has become a primary issue in Georgia's torrid governor's race.

Gov. Ellis Arnall, who announced he would seek through judicial and possibly legislative channels to "dehood" the order, contends the Klan's chief political preoccupation is the governor's race.

For days the Arnall-backed candidate, James V. Carmichael, young business man, and ex-legislator, has been attributing Klan sympathies to his opponents, ex-Govs. Gene Talmadge and E. D. Rivers.

The admitted aim of the Klan is retention of the traditional "white Democratic primary" of Georgia, which the U. S. Supreme Court has said must go.

Talmadge, who is campaigning on a program of "white supremacy," has said he would welcome votes from the Klan or anyone else favoring circumvention of the Supreme Court's order through legislative act.

Rivers has not made Negro voting an issue, and has had nothing to say about the Klan. Carmichael, however, has accused him of close affiliation with the Klan in his administrations.

CARMICHAEL, MANAGER OF Bell Aircraft's vast bomber plant in wartime, operates a small furniture factory at Marietta. It was closed recently, Carmichael says, for lack of materials. The CIO-affiliated union charged a lockout.

Carmichael says the PAC is out to defeat him and is supporting his opponents. Charles Gilman, state CIO director, says the PAC hasn't taken a stand for any candidate.

Negroes have registered in large numbers to vote for the first time in the Democratic primary July 17. In Fulton (Atlanta) County, Negro registration is about 25,000 out of a total registration of 125,000.

Arnall has ordered the state legal department to try to revoke the Klan's charter. If that fails, he says he may call a special session of the Legislature to restrict its activities.

The U. S. government has filed tax lien for alleged back taxes in the early 20s when the Klan was in its heyday. The Georgia grand dragon, Dr. Samuel Green, says today's Klan isn't the same organization.

Poll Tax Abolishment

Constitution State News Service

ALBANY, July 26—"The abolishment of the poll tax was the real reason Eugene Talmadge was nominated as Democratic candidate for Governor," declared J. W. (Taxi) Smith, President of the Dougherty County Talmadge Club, who appeared here as principal speaker at the Albany Kiwanis Club luncheon.

M. L. ST. JOHN

'New' Type Crowd Hears Carmichael

There is a trend in South Georgia toward good State government, with a new type citizenship taking the leadership in the heretofore scorned field of politics. Jimmie Carmichael surprised even his close advisers when he daringly invaded the stronghold of Eugene Talmadge and faced down Talmadge's own bogus race issue . . . with resounding applause from audiences in the "Black Belt." Some had advised the new candidate to concentrate on North Georgia, admitting that he was not well known in South Georgia—and to leave South Georgia to be split between the two South Georgia candidates, Eurith Rivers and Talmadge. But Carmichael made a swing through South Georgia last week, got a surprisingly good reception, and has determined to work this section thoroughly for votes between now and July 17. His talks are clicking with South Georgians . . . talks that declare Carmichael is "just as steeped in Southern tradition as Talmadge," but that Carmichael will abide by the law, while Talmadge promises to lead Georgia in virtually another secession from the union . . . talks that have the crowd laughing at Talmadge's and Rivers' pet platform promise of building $860,000,000 worth of highways in four years on an annual income of $77,000,000. Carmichael is picking up counties in South Georgia. Talmadge is being shaken in his own back yard. Rivers already in third place, is losing strength rapidly.

The Crowds Carmichael is a powerful orator. Even his bitterest critics admit this. He has caused doubtful farmers to start nodding their heads affirmatively as he spoke, and mutter under their breath: "That's so." He has caused more fervent supporters to shout "amen." He has brought tears to the eyes of women as he closed his address with a soft-spoken vow to "do nothing in my public life or my private life to make you ashamed that you voted for Jimmie Carmichael for Governor." He is a powerful orator. After listening to Carmichael sway the crowd in one South Georgia town the other day, a leader supporting another candidate turned to us and said: "Well, I never did say Jimmie wasn't a good speaker. He is a good fellow, too."

Carmichael drew a lot of people who were not supporters at Blakely. They came to hear his argument. They listened attentively. Obviously, many were impressed. He tore down many buggar bears that some had tried to sell the people. They were convinced of Carmichael's sincerity and honesty. Carmichael changed some votes in Blakely.

The crowd at Dawson was virtually 100 percent a Carmichael crowd—and it overflowed the courtroom, just as crowds at many other South Georgia towns did to hear this candidate. It was a new kind of political crowd. It was predominantly veterans, young people and women. Prominent business and professional men and farmers were present. There was an absence of the "wool hat boys," however, so Carmichael could not try his hand at trying to convince them. The significant thing about the Dawson meeting, however, was the size of the crowd—a new crowd. Claimed by Talmadge, Terrell County may have enough of these new voters to win the county.

New Type Meeting It was a strange political meeting that occurred in Cuthbert. A quiet little lady went up to the platform. "It is an unusual thing, for me to find myself presiding over a political gathering," Mrs. Annette Suarez told the crowd that overflowed the Randolph County courtroom. She said it was time the women took a hand to assure good government in Georgia. She was followed by a prominent businessman, Bob Burgin, who introduced Carmichael. Prior to these two speakers, however, political followers saw a new type program for politics. A farmer-preacher offered a prayer for divine guidance for Georgians in choosing the right type man for their leader. Then a quartet sang a selection of folk songs, and the meeting was underway.

Indications of Carmichael's strength in several South Georgia counties were seen in his introduction by judges . . . Judge Will Smith, of Nashville, who turned down an offer of an Appellate Court post, presented Carmichael at Adel . . . Judge R. Eve, veteran jurist, sat on the stage at Tifton.

Talmadge Attacks Negroes Carmichael Lashes KKK

ATLANTA, Ga.—While James V. Carmichael this week lashed out against the Ku Klux Klan for the second time in his campaign for governor, his opponent, former Gov. Gene Talmadge warned that Negro voters would wreck the lily-white Democratic primary in Georgia.

"Negroes are going to vote in a bloc," declared the race-baiting ex-governor. "We don't know how many, but we do know that they will vote solidly for Carmichael."

Carmichael, a native of Marietta, seems assured of the vote of Georgia's Negroes who were enfranchised by the recent U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals' decision. His attack on the KKK came as Gov. Ellis Arnall asked the state's attorney general to launch an investigation of the hooded Klan.

Hits Race Clashes

"Georgia cannot have prosperity when race is arrayed against race and class against class," Carmichael said.

Speaking in Vienna, the candidate added, "You in Dooly county never had any racial and class trouble before. And you won't have it now unless gubernatorial candidates succeed in stirring it up.

"Your sons went to foreign soil to fight a dictator in Europe—a dictator whose power was built on fears. A gubernatorial candidate in Georgia has the Ku Klux Klan trying to stir up such fears as those upon which the European dictatorship was built," Carmichael charged.

Real Issue Stated

The only real issue in the campaign, he said, is whether the people want a continuation of good government or a return to the rule of red suspenders and the Ku Klux Klan.

On the racial issue, Carmichael stated, "It is a shame for any man to try to stir up strife between the races in this state. They would like to see some race riots break out just to prove their points."

Meanwhile Gene Talmadge called on the white voters in Georgia to elect him again and outlined a plan to circumvent the supreme court ruling that Negroes be allowed to vote.

Outlines Tactics

"All Georgia needs to do is exactly the same thing South Carolina has done," he told an audience in Lyons. "There is nothing whatever to prevent the laws that make the primary an instrumentality of the state from being changed and handle our primaries through party rules, which then will remove them from the jurisdiction of the federal courts.

"Now here is what will happen if our Democratic white primary is not restored and preserved," the red - gallused ex - governor explained. "The Negroes are going to vote in a bloc. The very purpose of the white primary is for the white people to vote in a bloc in the general election.

"Why should Negroes butt in and tell the white people who should be elected? The white people will not vote in a bloc in a white primary. That is what the white primary is for; it is to select the candidate for whom the white people will vote in the general election. If the Negroes want a primary to see who they will vote for, why don't they hold a separate Negro primary?" he asked.

Raps "Carpetbaggers"

Stressing the racial theme, Talmadge ended his tirade with the appeal, "Let's have a solid march of white people who will go to the polls and save good old Georgia from the carpetbaggers who have invaded this state as strong, or stronger, than they did in the period of the '60's."

At the same time, the lawyer who lost the fight against ballots for Negroes in Georgia advised Talmadge's followers to drop plans to invalidate the Supreme Court ruling in the Primus E. King case.

"There's no way in the world Gene Talmadge or anyone else can preserve the white primary in Georgia without stirring up more snakes than they'd kill," declared Charles J. Bloch, former head of the Georgia Bar Association.

Talmadge Plan "Useless"

The statement was interpreted as a move to offset the disappointment the followers of Talmadge would feel at his failure to make good his promise to repeal the primary.

"You can't have a white primary in Georgia without jeopardizing the county unit system, encouraging machine politics of the worst kind and inviting election irregularities on an unprecedented scale," Bloch said.

Over Ten To One

The white daily and weekly newspapers which are a safe and accurate index to the sentiment of the voters of the state are overwhelmingly on one side in the approaching gubernatorial contest. They are on the side of the candidate who is pledged to protect the primary laws and not be a scheme to attempt to deprive the Negro of his right to vote.

With the recent declaration of the Donaldsonville News and The Baxley News-Banner, two rural Georgia newspapers, and the Brunswick News, an urban publication, advocating the election of Candidate James V. Carmichael as governor, the stand of the white papers in connection of the gubernatorial contest is as follows:

FOR CARMICHAEL, 112
FOR RIVERS, 10
FOR TALMADGE, 7

These are significant figures and they are encouraging when the influence of the press in Georgia politics is fully realized. However, we must not become over-confident and complacent. We must throw our full and concentrated political strength with the forces that are on the side of law and order and against the Nazi-like Ku Klux Klan. We must encourage every eligible Negro to get registered to vote. We know our race is being refused in a few places and their names are being purged from the registration lists in others. But we must not become discouraged. Attempts at least should be made to get on the voters' lists.

When law and order are for a cause it can't be lost.

Then too, there is this reason why every Negro especially should attempt to get registered: The World believes if a sufficiently large number of Negroes are denied registration or are purged from the lists of voters, a legal foundation could be made for challenging the result of the primary when it comes to inserting the name of the nominee on the ballot for the November election.

Remember, power may be expressed either positively or negatively. By virtue of our numbers alone, we have at least some negative power in this important election for governor.

In order to be able to help save our state and our race if need be, we suggest that civic and political organizations of our group redouble their efforts to get Negroes registered now and July 5th. If Negroes are refused registration get the names and addresses of all those persons and turn a copy of them over to the nearest Federal District Attorney. The local organization should also retain a copy. This same procedure should be followed in the case of those taken off the voters' lists.

RALPH McGILL

Let Us Reason Together

Atlanta Constitution

Let's talk a little politics, reasoning together. Some statements by Mr. Eugene Talmadge are interesting at the moment because, as have others before, they backfired. Mr. Talmadge sent out a letter saying the CIO was spending "millions" to elect James V. Carmichael.

This was preposterous on its face, as the CIO was even then having a difficult time raising one million for its Southern organizing campaign. The truth at the time was that the CIO was not for Carmichael.

5-31-46- Fri

A day ago, the CIO filed complaints against Carmichael because, for lack of materials, his small furniture plant had been closed down.

Rarely has the CIO so rawly entered politics against a candidate. It was done simply to embarrass Carmichael, the candidate, as Carmichael, the businessman, can't operate his small plant without necessary materials no matter how many complaints the CIO files against him. Many large, long established plants are closed for the same reason. Friday

This also does to death another of Mr. Talmadge's claims—that Carmichael was acting with the CIO so as to have a delegation for Henry Wallace in the next Presidential campaign . . . that Ellis Arnall had gone to Sidney Hillman and had him "order" the CIO to support Carmichael for that purpose. That was a fantastic lie at best.

Even as Mr. Talmadge's minions spread that story the CIO killed it by coming out against Carmichael in a tricky political maneuver in which they used their Union machinery to do the bidding of the CIO's Political Action Committee. All this to the surprise and disappointment of many who had heretofore ascribed integrity to their political actions.

Nevertheless, the CIO is not for Carmichael.

On the contrary, it officially is doing all it can to defeat him.

It Follows Now, if all these claims and rantings by Mr. Talmadge are proved entirely false, what about his others? If he was deliberately trying to deceive with them he must be with others.

What about his attempt to deceive and frighten the people with "the nigger"? Atlanta, Ga.

First, since he tries to damn all who dare oppose him, let me say that as one Southern-born, reared, and educated, I have a Southern attitude. I have always opposed so-called social equality or mixing of the races. I don't now, and never have in the past, advocated it, directly or indirectly. 4-31-46

The good white people on Crew Street don't practice social equality with the good people on Tuxedo Road. The good people who dwell in the Fulton Bag mill village don't practice social equality with members of the Piedmont Driving Club. As far as I know they don't want to.

It is just silly to say you can compel social equality. Yet, it is surprising how many unthinking and ignorant people fall for it.

Atlanta, Ga.

The Facts Mr. Talmadge, for whom I bear not the slightest ill will, but who has demonstrated by his historic emotional instability that he is not fitted for an important public office, says that because the Supreme Court of the United States and three Georgia judges before them, have given qualified Negroes —not all Negroes by any means—the right to vote in our primary—that natural segregation will be ended, that "the niggers" will take over politics, and that social equality will be at hand.

Let's look at Virginia. Qualified Negroes have been voting in Virginia's primary for more than 50 years. Social equality hasn't come to Virginia. The same division and separation of the races is maintained. North Carolina opened its primary voluntarily more than 25 years ago. Not even Mr. Talmadge will say the Negroes have taken it over or changed it in any way. The same is true of Tennessee. Their voting in Texas, Florida and Arkansas hasn't upset anything at all. How honest, then, is he? And how right is he? Obviously he is entirely false and deliberately seeks to frighten and deceive the people. Friday 4-31-46

The Law It isn't a matter of what you or I think. Let us say we don't like it at all. That isn't the point. We can't destroy law and any subterfuge seeking to destroy it could not last beyond two or three years, two elections at best. It would soon disintegrate into being "Talmadge's primary," should he win, and its nominees would be discounted. The real candidates would run in the general election and receive popular support.

Whatever we do, let's don't fool ourselves. We can't turn our elections over to the whim of political bosses, unprotected by any law at all. Boxes could be stuffed in public and the law would be powerless. 4-31-46 Friday

Let us see to it that only qualified persons vote. We cannot afford to destroy law or the protection of the ballot. We will destroy ourselves.

Especially can we not afford to do so at the behest of one whose charges have been proved to be cut from the whole cloth of falsehood.

Talmadge Again Cries Peril To White Supremacy in Vote

Constitution State News Service.

SUMMERVILLE, June 15—Speaking just a few mountain ridges away from his opponent, James V. Carmichael, who had a rally scheduled at Rome in adjoining Floyd County, former Gov. Eugene Talmadge brought his gubernatorial campaign Saturday to this Northwest Georgia county of Chattooga to wind up a strenuous week of stump-speaking.

In an address prepared for delivery here, Talmadge promised that if he is returned to the Governor's chair he will inaugurate a program to benefit all citizens of the State and especially farmers, veterans and school teachers.

The red-gallused campaigner harped again on the racial issue, his favorite theme, and warned of "the threat to white supremacy if Georgia elects a candidate selected by Ellis Arnall," as he branded the present Governor an ..agent in the South for Henry Wallace."

"The choice of such a man" Talmadge said, "would give impetus to the nationwide radical movement for wilder and wilder experiments with the American organization of society.

ON RACE QUESTION

"Why should Negroes," he continued, "inspired by white carpetbaggers and renegades, participate in a white primary and vote as a bloc according to the dictates of an agitator? We have colored Baptists and colored Methodists and colored lodges, but they have their own churches and lodge halls and are happy and contented.

"We cannot cast away Georgia's time-honored traditions for the benefit of politicians grasping at straws to keep from sinking into obscurity because they couldn't perpetuate themselves in office."

Talmadge promised a great rural postroad system so farmers could get their products to market on all-weather roads. He pledged to expand farmers' markets and to seek extension of REA lines; to help rural communities finance their own hospitals; to build better schools in country areas. He morass of red tape was also pledged by the ex-Governor who said he would establish a strong veterans' department to assist the veteran to own his own home and obtain free business licenses and honorary life driver's licenses.

"But the great issue," he concluded, "the issue that affects the future of the whole white race, is the restoration of the white primary. Let that go, and you will find in a few short years that corrupt black proletariat wielding tremendous influence In every Southern capital and that its present power in Washington will grow a thousand fold."

In Atlanta, Talmadge's headquarters announced another strenuous week's schedule of campaigning ahead of him in a tour that will take him to Douglasville, Cleveland, Franklin, Manchester, Savannah, Royston, Thomson and Lawrenceville.

Gene Would Mix Races In Schools---Carmichael

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer. Constitution

STATESBORO, June 8—Jimmie Carmichael Saturday labeled ex-Gov. Rivers as the "Great Debt Builder" and declared that ex-Gov. Talmadge is the only person in Georgia who wants Negroes and whites to go to school together.

Welcomed by a motorcade and parade to this town where Talmade ousted President Marvin Pittman of Georgia Teachers' College in a "trumped-up" racial issue feud four years ago, Carmichael said that Talmadge would like to see a mixing of the races "so he would have an issue to run on." Sunday 6-9-46

The gubernatorial candidate reminded Georgians that Talmadge told them four years ago that "If you don't re-elect old Gene, Dr. Pittman will be back here and Negroes and whites will be going to school together."

"Well," Carmichael continued, "you didn't elect Gene. Dr. Pittman was returned. And there aren't any Negroes and whites going to school together. There won't be. The truth of the matter is that the whites don't want it, te Negroes don't want it, nobody in Georgia wants it, except Gene Talmadge. He'd like to see Negroes and whites going to school together so he would have an issue to run on. Now he just has to make up an issue. Atlanta

BLAST AT RIVERS

Ridiculing River's claims to being Georgia's greatest builder, Carmichael said that the ex-Governor has no right to claim personal credit for what WPA, PWA, taxes, and debt did in Georgia during the years 1937 through 1940. Atlanta Georgia

"Mr. Eurith Dickinson Rivers parades as the Great Builder," the candidate said. "He talks constantly of what he gave to Georgia in the way of schools, state buildings, roads and other projects during his administration.

"During his administration, the State collected $175,000,000 in revenue. In addition to this, he sold the W. & A. rentals by discount for nearly $4,000,000, sold highway refunding bonds for over $5,000,000, borrowed another $3,500,000 disguised as a school loan, and received from PWA and WPA, which were Federally financed projects, the sums of $147,000,000.

LEFT STATE IN DEBT

After spending all this money he went out of office leaving the State $27,347,000 in debt. He did all this without paying the teachers for five long months. He might have had a real building program had the money been spent honestly and wisely and you taxpayers been given your money's

lessly squandering money to pay off profiteers instead of really giving the people one dollar's worth of service for every tax dollar. My position has been justified since that time because of a proper business administration has paid off Georgia's debt." Sun 6-9-46

TEACHERS WITHOUT PAY

Carmichael invited his listeners to check Federal and State records and they would see how much Federal money built Georgia and how much debt Rivers built for Georgia while teachers went without pay.

"I admit Rivers was a great builder. He was a great debt builder," the speaker asserted. "If he will make such false claims for the past, where we can check up on him, what can we believe of the claims he makes for what he will do in the future? We can check him there, too. You can check him off the list on July 17."

Turning back to Talmadge, whom he has blasted on the "smokescreen" racial issue on the "Black Belt" all this week, Carmichael said Georgia would have

to secede from the Union to carry out Gene's promises.

A BIG CHEW 6-9-46-Sun.

"Now old Gene Talmadge has bitten off for himself a mighty big chew," he said. "He says he is going to put the National Guard all around the borders of Georgia wherever a train or a highway enters the State so he can defy the United States Supreme Court. Why everybody knows he isn't going to do that. That's just poppycock. He knows that if he tries to carry this out he will have to secede from the Union. He will have to build up a large enough National Guard to keep the United States Army out of Georgia.

Gene has no idea of doing this. He's just trying to fool you about it until after July 17.

"Talmadge is going all over Georgia telling folks in one breath that he will obey the Supreme Court and get rid of all the primary laws so there can be a White Primary without violating the court's decision and in the other breath telling them he

doesn't care what the Supreme Court does about buses. This is just as ridiculous as his position on the County Unit System," Carmichael observed.

The candidate quoted Talmadge as urging the repeal of all laws protecting Georgia Primary Election Laws in order to get around the Supreme Court's decision on Negro voting. Talmadge said the County Unit System could be protected by the Democratic Executive Committee. Carmichael pointed out that the Executive Committee would be hand-picked Talmadge henchmen if Talmadge were elected and recalled that the "party" ignored the County Unit System and seated Tom Hardwick as United States Senator despite the fact that John Slaton received the most County unit votes. Then Talmadge ran an advertisement saying he would protect the County Unit System by putting it into the State Constitution.

"What kind of double talk is this?" Carmichael asked. "If he puts the County Unit Law into the Constition he is putting it into the very heart of Georgia Law and there right back under the jurisdiction of the United State Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes can vote. Gene is a lawyer. He knows that he can't have the County Unit System in the Constitution and have a White Primary too. He just hopes you won't find that out."

Despite all the impossible promises made by Tadmadge and Rivers and all the "smoke screen" issues seeking to divert the public's attention from the past records of these two ex-Governors. Carmichael said the only issue in this election is: "Will Georgia have decency and honesty in State Government or will it return to diceatorship demagoguery and extravagance?"

Carmichael Record

Editor Constitution: I have never voted in my life, but this year I am going to the polls and vote for Mr. Carmichael. I am proud of the opportunity to vote for such a fine person.

I feel certain that the thousands of peoples that worked under him at Bell Aircraft, in Marietta, will quickly recognize all of these false statements that have been made about Mr. Carmichael.

I am glad to know that my income tax was used to help build a B-29. Our pride at seeing a B-29 on her maiden flight was reward enough for the long hours spent producing it.

What some people don't stop to realize, is the fact that Bell Aircraft mushroomed up practically overnight. Personnel had to be hired and trained regardless of the cost. We cannot count the cost of noble American boys' lives in dollars and cents, and the planes had to be built quickly in order that their lives be spared on the fighting front. The production of the B-29 did hasten the end of the war. Sure, it cost money, and barrels of it, but it was spent for a good cause.

After V-E Day there was a little tension among workers at Bell. That is only natural, due to the fact that men and women who worked there were breadwinners at home. Mr. Carmichael sensed this, and knew the time had come for him to talk to us, so a meeting was called. It was his speech at this particular meeting that made us so very proud of him.

He didn't fill us with false hopes or promises, but told us very frankly that if war should end in Japan that very moment that he, as well as we, would be out of a job so far as he knew. But—if the war would only hasten to an end he would be glad to walk the streets with us, shoulder to shoulder, seeking employment.

That is the sort of fellow we need as Governor. One that will be frank and not afraid to speak the truth. One able to meet any emergency at any time, and know how to cope with the situation.

Mr. Carmichael reduced the production cost of the B-29 by half, and I am sure that if possible for any Governor to reduce the costs of the State of Georgia, Mr. Carmichael is the man who can do it.

MRS. J. D. QUARLES.
1047 Lee St., S. W.

people are running for Governor.

I don't believe that the white people of Georgia will let a bunch of high-paid Negro-loving newspapers tell them how to vote.

It's the people with lots of money who are trying to mix the white and black folks together.

If we are going to give this country away, let's give it back to the Indians, not to a bunch of Negroes.

As for these little two by four weekly newspapers that have gone against our Southern traditions, we won't worry about them. You can walk out of their circulation in 15 minutes.

A white man will vote the white way. JACK GREGORY.
629 N. Highland Ave., N. E.

Would Leave State

Editor Constitution: I read the statement made by Ole Red Gallus at Athens to the effect that he would not allow the Negro veterans of World War II to vote if he was elected Governor of Georgia.

By uttering these words, Talmadge removed all doubt as to how small and narrow-minded he actually is!

I have been in 27 States. Of these I dislike Illinois the most. However, I promise you one thing—if Ole Red Gallus is elected Governor of Georgia, I will move to Illinois—live there the rest of my life, and, furthermore, I will consider the State a paradise! JAMES I. LUNSFORD.

Bonnie Banks of the Sugar

Editor Constitution: Hod-dogy, Gene, you have the Knights of the Flaming Sword with you, leaving little Eddie, Evans and Brack out in the cold. I don't know whether you are fortunate or not, but Georgia, my dear Gene, will be fortunate because you will still be on the bonnie, bonnie banks of The Sugar, casting a wistful eye to the Capitol!

Gene, you've been in many respects a pretty good old wagon, but you have had your day, you have broken down and there isn't but one thing for you to do—take it now as a gentleman, on the chin, because you are going to take it on the chin. J. M. ELLIS.
Fayetteville.

911 Williams Mill Road, N. E.

Slogan for Jimmie

Editor Constitution: Every campaign needs a snappy slogan. My suggestion is "You've tried the rest, now try the best—vote for Jimmie Carmichael."
E. L. CARTER.
Albany.

Snake Bite

Editor Constitution: I would like to add another heartbeat to the Pulse of the Public by saying that I think it would be a great calamity if either Talmadge or Rivers should be elected as Governor of Georgia. It would be like going back to be bitten by the same snake again.

I am for Carmichael because I don't know what kind of a Governor he will make. I'm against Talmadge and Rivers because I do know the kind of Governor they would make.
MOTT A. RUSSELL.
Macon.

Knew Jimmie as Boy

Editor Constitution: I am tired of some people trying to cast a shadow on Jimmie Carmichael.

I have known Carmichael from childhood; know his parents and grandparents intimately, and am sure there are no finer people to be found; and as to an unkind word about Jimmie—well, it is another dirty falsehood.
A. C. CANTRELL.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Broke Up Playhouse

Editor Constitution: Mr. Hiram Dunn, in his recent letter, had very little to do to pass judgment on what Mr. Carmichael did at Bell Bomber plant. I'll admit it was just a playhouse for some who were put there by the Army and stayed there until it was turned over to Bell and Mr. Carmichael became manager.

He really did a fine job, especially in the breaking up of the playhouse permitted to exist there, even though he had no co-operation from a few foremen and general foremen who didn't care about anything but getting by.

Mr. Carmichael had the plant running very efficiently when it closed and I congratulated him for his part in turning out the B-29 that undoubtedly played a major part in winning the war.

In regards to Mr. Talmadge, he had his chance to write his little piece when he was Governor and he didn't, so why help a man who won't help himself?

A former Bell employe.
GORDON L. FINCHER.
Rome.

Matter of Courtesy

Editor Constitution: I am 43 years old and have been voting ever since I was 21. I think we have had enough of Red Gallus Gene and Eurith D. Rivers. As for Jimmie Carmichael, I was glad when he entered the race. My wife and I read his announcement and looked at his picture and decided he was our choice. But the Atlanta newspapers and Mr. Carmichael's supporters at the University of Georgia have disgusted us with him. I think it a disgrace to the University of Georgia for its students to treat any speaker that is invited there like M. L. St. John says they did, and especially one who has been three times honored with the highest office in our State, and to think those young men are, or should be, the most intelligent and refined of our State. Am afraid we won't ever be hearing any more about that Southern hospitality in Georgia. If I could not listen attentively to any speaker, even though I did not like him, I would have the decency to keep quiet and give the fellow a chance who did want to hear him.

I will vote for Hoke O'Kelly. Why not give this crippled veteran a little publicity?

W. H. STREETMAN.
Thomaston.

Knocked and Knocked

Editor Constitution: I'm 51 years old and never voted, but I'm voting this time to try to help get a good Governor.

It says in the Bible, "Woe unto the man that is spoke well of." That's the reason I'm for Gene Talmadge. He has been knocked and knocked. I think he is the best Governor Georgia has ever had.

Mr. Talmadge always speaks what he thinks is right and holds fast to his promises. I admire a man of his fine character.

There is always a little good in a man no matter what people say about him, so come on all you ladies, let's vote for Gene Talmadge. MRS. A. C. BRASILL.
Smyrna.

Storm Trooper Action

Editor Constitution: Equally un-American as the Ku Klux Klan is the action of young hoodlums from Georgia Tech in attempting to break up a Talmadge meeting.

As an overseas Navy veteran I strongly protest the wearing of Naval uniforms in this disgraceful Storm Trooper action. These Naval ROTC members were guilty of conduct unbecoming future Naval Reserve officers. Unfortunately during this war there were far too many Reserve officers who also had no regard for the rights of others. NAVY VETERAN.
Columbus.

He Has Got To See It

Editor Constitution: I dislike Talmadge so much I just gotta see it in print. BILL KEITH.
Newnan.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

St. John Story

Editor Constitution: Reference is made to an article written by M. L. St. John in your May 18 edition. This article purports to describe the appearance of Mr. Talmadge as a guest of the Student Veterans' Organization at the University of Georgia.

While a recent straw vote on the campus indicates that James V. Carmichael is an overwhelming favorite for Governor, in the spirit of fair play, the Student Veterans' Organization thinks the above mentioned article was overdrawn and colored to show Mr. Talmadge in an unfavorable light.

The purpose of our organization in bringing candidates for Governor to the campus is so that students may decide issues for themselves and not have decisions made for them by highly colored journalistic stories or other misleading information.

Also, in the above stated article our organization is referred to as the Student Voters League and I am listed as President of the Student Voters League. The Student Voters League is the Carmichael Club on the campus. We are the Student Veterans' Organization and we are maintaining a nonpartisan status in this election.

We would like to reiterate that this organization is not backing Talmadge or any other candidate, but we can not stand idly by without raising a voice in protest.

J. FRANK MYERS,
President, Student Veterans' Organization.
Athens.

(Editor's Note: Mr. Myers, a new member, was excused from part of the Gridiron Club's initiation so he could help keep down anticipated trouble at the Talmadge speaking. In view of what he, faculty members, and student leaders said they were expecting, Myers did a good job. Even the effigy—which DID swing from the second-story window of the Joe Brown dormitory—was cut down and hidden before a photographer could be summoned. The Constitution regrets referring to Mr. Myers as President of the Student Voters' League instead of the Student Veterans' Organization.)

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: The white people of Georgia are going to vote for or against social equality. They are either going to uphold or do away with our Jim Crow laws.

Eugene Talmadge is the only man in the race for white supremacy. His opponents are for Negroes voting in our white primary. You know there are a lot of Negroes in Georgia with their face painted white. Some of these

doesn't care what the Supreme Court does about buses. This is just as ridiculous as his position on the County Unit System," Carmichael observed.

The candidate quoted Talmadge as urging the repeal of all laws protecting Georgia Primary Election Laws in order to get around the Supreme Court's decision on Negro voting. Talmadge said the County Unit System could be protected by the Democratic Executive Committee. Carmichael pointed out that the Executive Committee would be hand-picked Talmadge henchmen if Talmadge were elected and recalled that the "party" ignored the County Unit System and seated Tom Hardwick as United States Senator despite the fact that John Slaton received the most County unit votes. Then Talmadge ran an advertisement saying he would protect the County Unit System by putting it into the State Constitution.

"What kind of double talk is this?" Carmichael asked. "If he puts the County Unit Law into the Constition he is putting it into the very heart of Georgia Law and there right back under the jurisdiction of the United State Supreme Court decision holding that Negroes can vote. Gene is a lawyer. He knows that he can't have the County Unit System in the Constitution and have a White Primary too. He just hopes you won't find that out."

Despite all the impossible promises made by Tadmadge and Rivers and all the "smoke screen" issues seeking to divert the public's attention from the past records of these two ex-Governors. Carmichael said the only issue in this election is: "Will Georgia have decency and honesty in State Government or will it return to diceatorship demagoguery and extravagance?"

Carmichael Record

Editor Constitution: I have never voted in my life, but this year I am going to the polls and vote for Mr. Carmichael. I am proud of the opportunity to vote for such a fine person.

I feel certain that the thousands of peoples that worked under him at Bell Aircraft, in Marietta, will quickly recognize all of these false statements that have been made about Mr. Carmichael.

I am glad to know that my income tax was used to help build a B-29. Our pride at seeing a B-29 on her maiden flight was reward enough for the long hours spent producing it.

What some people don't stop to realize, is the fact that Bell Aircraft mushroomed up practically overnight. Personnel had to be hired and trained regardless of the cost. We cannot count the cost of noble American boys' lives in dollars and cents, and the planes had to be built quickly in order that their lives be spared on the fighting front. The production of the B-29 did hasten the end of the war. Sure, it cost money, and barrels of it, but it was spent for a good cause.

After V-E Day there was a little tension among workers at Bell. That is only natural, due to the fact that men and women who worked there were breadwinners at home. Mr. Carmichael sensed this, and knew the time had come for him to talk to us, so a meeting was called. It was his speech at this particular meeting that made us so very proud of him.

He didn't fill us with false hopes or promises, but told us very frankly that if war should end in Japan that very moment that he, as well as we, would be out of a job so far as he knew. But—if the war would only hasten to an end he would be glad to walk the streets with us, shoulder to shoulder, seeking employment.

That is the sort of fellow we need as Governor. One that will be frank and not afraid to speak the truth. One able to meet any emergency at any time, and know how to cope with the situation.

Mr. Carmichael reduced the production cost of the B-29 by half, and I am sure that if possible for any Governor to reduce the costs of the State of Georgia, Mr. Carmichael is the man who can do it.

MRS. J. D. QUARLES.
1047 Lee St., S. W.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Broke Up Playhouse

Editor Constitution: Mr. Hiram Dunn, in his recent letter, had very little to do to pass judgment on what Mr. Carmichael did at Bell Bomber plant. I'll admit it was just a playhouse for some who were put there by the Army and stayed there until it was turned over to Bell and Mr. Carmichael became manager.

He really did a fine job, especially in the breaking up of the playhouse permitted to exist there, even though he had no co-operation from a few foremen and general foremen who didn't care about anything but getting by.

Mr. Carmichael had the plant running very efficiently when it closed and I congratulated him for his part in turning out the B-29 that undoubtedly played a major part in winning the war.

In regards to Mr. Talmadge, he had his chance to write his little piece when he was Governor and he didn't, so why help a man who won't help himself?

A former Bell employe.
GORDON L. FINCHER.
Rome.

Matter of Courtesy

Editor Constitution: I am 43 years old and have been voting ever since I was 21. I think we have had enough of Red Gallus Gene and Eurith D. Rivers. As for Jimmie Carmichael, I was glad when he entered the race. My wife and I read his announcement and looked at his picture and decided he was our choice. But the Atlanta newspapers and Mr. Carmichael's supporters at the University of Georgia have disgusted us with him. I think it a disgrace to the University of Georgia for its students to treat any speaker that is invited there like M. L. St. John says they did, and especially one who has been three times honored with the highest office in our State, and to think those young men are, or should be, the most intelligent and refined of our State. Am afraid we won't ever be hearing any more about that Southern hospitality in Georgia. If I could not listen attentively to any speaker, even though I did not like him, I would have the decency to keep quiet and give the fellow a chance who did want to hear him.

I will vote for Hoke O'Kelly. Why not give this crippled veteran a little publicity?

W. H. STREETMAN.
Thomaston.

Knocked and Knocked

Editor Constitution: I'm 51 years old and never voted, but I'm voting this time to try to help get a good Governor.

It says in the Bible, "Woe unto the man that is spoke well of." That's the reason I'm for Gene Talmadge. He has been knocked and knocked. I think he is the best Governor Georgia has ever had.

Mr. Talmadge always speaks what he thinks is right and holds fast to his promises. I admire a man of his fine character.

There is always a little good in a man no matter what people say about him, so come on all you ladies, let's vote for Gene Talmadge.

MRS. A. C. BRASILL.
Smyrna.

Storm Trooper Action

Editor Constitution: Equally un-American as the Ku Klux Klan is the action of young hoodlums from Georgia Tech in attempting to break up a Talmadge meeting.

As an overseas Navy veteran I strongly protest the wearing of Naval uniforms in this disgraceful Storm Trooper action. These Naval ROTC members were guilty of conduct unbecoming future Naval Reserve officers. Unfortunately during this war there were far too many Reserve officers who also had no regard for the rights of others.

NAVY VETERAN.
Columbus.

He Has Got To See It

Editor Constitution: I dislike Talmadge so much I just gotta see it in print.

BILL KEITH.
Newnan.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

St. John Story

Editor Constitution: Reference is made to an article written by M. L. St. John in your May 18 edition. This article purports to describe the appearance of Mr. Talmadge as a guest of the Student Veterans' Organization at the University of Georgia.

While a recent straw vote on the campus indicates that James V. Carmichael is an overwhelming favorite for Governor, in the spirit of fair play, the Student Veterans' Organization thinks the above mentioned article was overdrawn and colored to show Mr. Talmadge in an unfavorable light.

The purpose of our organization in bringing candidates for Governor to the campus is so that students may decide issues for themselves and not have decisions made for them by highly colored journalistic stories or other misleading information.

Also, in the above stated article our organization is referred to as the Student Voters League and I am listed as President of the Student Voters League. The Student Voters League is the Carmichael Club on the campus. We are the Student Veterans' Organization and we are maintaining a nonpartisan status in this election.

We would like to reiterate that this organization is not backing Talmadge or any other candidate, but we can not stand idly by without raising a voice in protest.

J. FRANK MYERS,
President, Student Veterans' Organization.
Athens.

(Editor's Note: Mr. Myers, a new member, was excused from part of the Gridiron Club's initiation so he could help keep down anticipated trouble at the Talmadge speaking. In view of what he, faculty members, and student leaders said they were expecting, Myers did a good job. Even the effigy—which DID swing from the second-story window of the Joe Brown dormitory—was cut down and hidden before a photographer could be summoned. The Constitution regrets referring to Mr. Myers as President of the Student Voters' League instead of the Student Veterans' Organization.)

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: The white people of Georgia are going to vote for or against social equality. They are either going to uphold or do away with our Jim Crow laws.

Eugene Talmadge is the only man in the race for white supremacy. His opponents are for Negroes voting in our white primary. You know there are a lot of Negroes in Georgia with their face painted white. Some of these

people are running for Governor.

I don't believe that the white people of Georgia will let a bunch of high-paid Negro-loving newspapers tell them how to vote.

It's the people with lots of money who are trying to mix the white and black folks together.

If we are going to give this country away, let's give it back to the Indians, not to a bunch of Negroes.

As for these little two by four weekly newspapers that have gone against our Southern traditions, we won't worry about them. You can walk out of their circulation in 15 minutes.

A white man will vote the white way.

JACK GREGORY.
629 N. Highland Ave., N. E.

Would Leave State

Editor Constitution: I read the statement made by Ole Red Gallus at Athens to the effect that he would not allow the Negro veterans of World War II to vote if he was elected Governor of Georgia.

By uttering these words, Talmadge removed all doubt as to how small and narrow-minded he actually is!

I have been in 27 States. Of these I dislike Illinois the most. However, I promise you one thing—if Ole Red Gallus is elected Governor of Georgia, I will move to Illinois—live there the rest of my life, and, furthermore, I will consider the State a paradise!

JAMES I. LUNSFORD.
911 Williams Mill Road, N. E.

Bonnie Banks of the Sugar

Editor Constitution: Hod-dogy, Gene, you have the Knights of the Flaming Sword with you, leaving little Eddie, Evans and Brack out in the cold. I don't know whether you are fortunate or not, but Georgia, my dear Gene, will be fortunate because you will still be on the bonnie, bonnie banks of The Sugar, casting a wistful eye to the Capitol!

Gene, you've been in many respects a pretty good old wagon, but you have had your day, you have broken down and there isn't but one thing for you to do—take it now as a gentleman, on the chin, because you are going to take it on the chin.

J. M. ELLIS.
Fayetteville.

Snake Bite

Editor Constitution: I would like to add another heartbeat to the Pulse of the Public by saying that I think it would be a great calamity if either Talmadge or Rivers should be elected as Governor of Georgia. It would be like going back to be bitten by the same snake again.

I am for Carmichael because I don't know what kind of a Governor he will make. I'm against Talmadge and Rivers because I do know the kind of Governor they would make.

MOTT A. RUSSELL.
Macon.

Knew Jimmie as Boy

Editor Constitution: I am tired of some people trying to cast a shadow on Jimmie Carmichael.

I have known Carmichael from childhood; know his parents and grandparents intimately, and am sure there are no finer people to be found; and as to an unkind word about Jimmie—well, it is another dirty falsehood.

A. C. CANTRELL.

Slogan for Jimmie

Editor Constitution: Every campaign needs a snappy slogan. My suggestion is "You've tried the rest, now try the best—vote for Jimmie Carmichael."

E. L. CARTER.
Albany.

Carmichael Again Flays Klan; Roundly Condemns Race Prejudice

VIENNA, Ga.—For the second time in his major campaign speeches, Gubernatorial Candidate, James V. Carmichael of Marietta vigorously attacked the Ku Klux Klan when he addressed several hundred citizens in the town square here Saturday.

Lashing at the Klan's influence in the two administrations of Former Governor E. D. Rivers, and hitting at Former Governor Talmadge for the race and class prejudice that marked his administration, Atty. Carmichael said: "Georgia cannot have prosperity if the governor uses tax money to endow the imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan. Georgia cannot have prosperity when race is ar-

Good Government Is Only Issue Declares Mr. Carmichael

rayed against race and class against class. You in Dooly Country never had any racial and class trouble before. And you won't have now unless gubernatorial candidates succeed in stirring it up."

He hit his rivals in the race for governor for their attempts to raise false issues and stir up racial and class prejudice.

"Your sons went to foreign soil to fight a dictator in Europe—a dictator whose power was built on fears" Carmichael said. "A gubernatorial candidate in Georgia has the Ku Klux Klan trying to stir up such fears as those upon which the European dictatorship was built."

THE REAL ISSUE

The only real issue in the campaign Carmichael said is whether the people want a continuation of good government or turn back to the rule of red suspenders and the Ku Klux Klan. "The only issue is whether we are to have good government or bad government, honest government, or dishonest government. Other issues being raised are just smoke screens. Two former governors are trying to confuse you in the hope that you will forget their records.

"I assure you when I am governor, the State Highway Department will not be made a temple of graft as it was under one previous

THE UPPER SOUTH

Augusta Defeat of Race Issue May Hit Talmadge

By VIRGINIUS DABNEY

RICHMOND, April 27—A victory for good government, perhaps even more significant than the overthrow of the Maestri machine in New Orleans, has just been won in Augusta, Ga.

That city is far smaller than New Orleans, but the issues raised there were bigger. They were demagogic issues involving the race problem which might have been raised similarly in any Southern city or State. The fact that the voters of Augusta and of surrounding Richmond County in the State of Eugene Talmadge thumpingly repudiated such political methods is highly significant. It probably means that James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old protégé of Governor Ellis Arnall, will be Georgia's next Governor.

Georgians who value the good name of their State had almost abandoned hope of defeating Mr. Talmadge for Governor in this summer's primary when the startling repudiation of the long-entrenched Cracker party in Augusta changed the outlook overnight.

Roy V. Harris, Speaker of the Georgia House, and for many years a powerful figure in State politics, was the leader of the Augusta machine.

Mr. Harris, who was ousted from his seat in the House by the voters of his own district, lost to William S. Morris, publisher of The Augusta Chronicle, a young, aggressive business man who made the issue of the election "good government." Mr. Harris sought to make the race issue paramount by proclaiming his devotion to white supremacy.

The downfall of Mr. Harris and his ticket came when Augusta and Richmond County voters turned out in unprecedented numbers. The Junior Chamber of Commerce put on an intensive registration campaign and the citizens were aroused as seldom before. They actually quadrupled the normal vote for the city and county, and sent the Crackers down to defeat by a margin of nearly two to one.

The test was significant, not only because the white citizens of this Georgia district refused to be misled by the cry of "white supremacy," but also because Negro voters took part substantially in the contest. It was the first time they had voted thus freely in Georgia.

News Notes: Senator Claghorn, of radio fame, has become a favorite topic of letters to the editor of The Richmond Times-Dispatch, following publication of an editorial there pronouncing him extremely funny, but expressing the hope that Northerners would not get the idea that all Southerners are like that

Trouble Makers

Editor Constitution: In response to the letter published Monday, April 15, by Mrs. J. Moore, concerning Eugene Talmadge and the Negroes of Georgia. It is quite obvious that she is a staunch believer in Talmadgeism, and every one is entitled to his own belief, but why use the Negroes as a means for slinging mud. In fairness to 105,103 Negroes in Fulton County, I do think they are considered as Georgians, and should have the rights and privileges of not only Georgians, but American citizens. For at least 40 years we have lived without a riot, so how could any clear-minded, peace-loving citizen think of such after all this country has gone through for liberty and justice for all. I, too, like that saying, "If you can't say anything nice, don't say anything at all."

WALTER WEAVER.

Atlanta.

Governors and B-29s

Editor Constitution: In regard to the Walker girl letter. (Ed. Note—Miss Walker wrote that Mr. Talmadge would make a good Governor and also a good President.) I work beside her at the Union Manufacturing Company. Frankly, she knows as much about a good Governor as I do a B-29 and I've never seen one except in the air.

So, dear readers, don't let such letters as hers influence you. For I know Mr. Talmadge very well. We are both from South Georgia. He is a man who will spit in your face and make you believe it's raining, if possible.

If you are not a good r a b b i t hunter, you had better keep Talmadge out.

L. R. JARRILL.

Union Point.

Mud Slinging Begins

Editor Constitution: I notice the people have started to slinging mud at Talmadge like they did before the other governor's race. It is a disgrace for a fine man and as good a governor as he was to be talked about like he has been.

All the rural sections will stand behind him. He is trying to keep our white race clean. He is the only one running that is trying to keep the colored race in its place. What is the matter with our Georgia people? No one wants our race mixed like it is up North. Ask any soldier who has trained up North how it is. I had three sons who went through a Northern training camp.

Miss Ruth Walker is using good judgment in her piece. Just keep it up for Gene. Yes, it looks like we will have to get us some more newspapers published since they have all dropped Gene. So everybody stop this mud slinging about Gene and put him back where he ought to be—in the Governor's chair. Hurrah for Talmadge.

E. E. BUFORD,

Cartersville, Route No. 1.

Switches to Talmadge

Editor Constitution: I have never been for Gene Talmadge, but I am now and will continue to be. It makes me sick to read where so many people think that one man is so invincible as they do Arnall. People with any brains at all are supposed to know how to cast their ballot, instead of having some puppet tell them. Gov. Arnall's blunders have never been brought to light and never will, but as soon as Gene Talmadge announced, everything was already set to pounce on him with the verbal slander so many of the opposition can handle so well.

I never have heard of Gene trying to dodge the draft. Have you? His son, Herman, was in this war, and that is more than the opposition can boast. I hope Gene goes back by the biggest majority he has ever received. He will help the veterans also. Right now the veterans from this state receive less than those of all other states.

GEORGE T. PIERCE, JR.

Atlanta.

Vote by Mail

Editor Constitution: Carmichael does seem to be the man to follow Gov. Arnall. Please do all in your power to keep that man Talmadge from every trying to represent our State.

We spend a lot of time in neighboring states where business keeps us, and our state is about to live down the reputation Talmadge and Rivers built up.

May not be there for election. but hope to vote for Jimmy Carmichael, by mail, if necessary.

MRS. J. L. FHIPPEN.

Decatur.

God and Mammon

Editor Constitution: During election year there are Christian candidates who use issues which are un-Democratic, un-American and un-Christian for the purpose of gaining votes. But as a child acts in public, people look upon his parents as being responsible. So do true Christians look upon the church as being responsible for the acts of its members in public. If a candidate for office desires to use un-Christian issues, he should let the church go. You can't serve God and Mammon.

BERRY L. MITCHELL.

Talmadge First

Editor, Constitution: So Talmadge and the reactionaries are on the march again! The Klu Klux Klan is in full cry, old members rejoining to see the causes they hold dear put back in office. Yes, it's "preservation of the white primary," that old rallying cry that's being used again, a cry whose prejudice and irony is heard around the world.

"Why the 'white primary?' Oh, the Negro doesn't deserve to vote because the white man is 'better.' Well, maybe not mentally or physically, but spiritually. Absolutely! The Bible says the Negro is a descendant of the accursed Ham, or maybe it was Jasper. Anyway, God says the Negro is to be a servant of servants and come Hell or d a m y a n k e e s, we're going to 'keep the Negro in his place.' What? Oh, no, it makes no difference whether they fought in Germany or Japan or not."

Such seems the general attitude of those "Talmadge First" reactionaries. The way of life they back is largely responsible for the overall poverty-stricken, illiterate condition of the South. Keep a large population under the heel and the South will always be a drag on the country.

It makes no difference what progress Arnall made or any progressive governor might make. Talmadge, with a platform of nothing but prejudice, hate and disunity, is carried by that mass of Georgians who want to inclose themselves within the ivory tower of inforced racial supremacy, refusing to believe that that same tower collapsed on its rotten foundations in 1864.

Bring back Talmadge and we bring back his decayed society with him.

J. M. WARD.

Atlanta.

Her Dad's For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: Hon. Eugene Talmadge is a Christian man. He has done more for Georgia than

we deserve.

I am a junior in the Union Point High School. I can't vote but my parents are strictly for Eugene Talmadge. I've heard my Dad say this statement lots of times: "I would rather do without my trousers than the Statesman."

Will a Christian use such language over radio stations that

"Shimmy" Carmichael used at Moultrie about Talmadge?

If Georgia chooses good government over bigotry, buffoonery, waste and criminal extravagance, Hon. Eugene Talmadge will be our next Governor.

Talmadge promises and fulfills his promises.

Seventy-six weeklies seem to be

for Carmichael. These votes won't count any more than a high school vote.

Talmadge supporters may be ignorant, but they aren't tied to a Yankee's coattail.

If "Shimmy" Carmichael wins it won't be from the votes of the honest people, but intoxicated drinkers, money and women.

Dear friends, if you want a Governor to be proud of and to make Georgia a better State in which to live "vote for Eugene Talmadge."

BETTY GREESON.

Union Point.

Love Is Funny

Editor Constitution: I love all

Talmadge people. I even love Gene. But to hell with him for a Governor.

L. R. JARRILL.

Union Point.

Let World Know Georgia To Stay White Man's State, Talmadge Urges

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun 5-19-46

By JACK TARYER
Constitution Associate Editor.

LYONS, May 18—Former Gov Eugene Talmadge came here Saturday formally to open his gubernatorial campaign with a plea that voters set "an example of fairness, justice and at the same time, let the white people of this world know that Georgia is still a white man's state and is that to stay."

Declaring the White Primary the one issue upon which he and his opponents differ, Talmadge devoted the majority of his speech to castigating the "alien influences" which he sees trying to tear down White Supremacy in Georgia.

"The other candidates are trying to get the Negro votes but they are making a sad mistake," said Talmadge. "The influences that are controlling the Negro vote this year are far removed from Georgia. They emanate from Moscow, Harlem, New York, and Chicago."

Moreover, continued Talmadge, warming to his work, a Talmadge victory will in reality be a good thing for the Negroes themselves.

"My election this year will be the greatest help on earth, not only to the white people of Georgia and this nation but to the Negro race," he declared. "They are being used as tools by alien influences that care nothing about them. The white men of Georgia are their only protection."

In his speech, much of which was a direct pickup from one used last week by his son, Herman, over an Atlanta radio station, Talmadge for the first time made an obvious appeal for heretofore Rivers supporters. Sun 5-19-46

Admitting that Jimmie Carmichael is the man to beat, the red-suspendered veteran who has previously been considered strongest in a three-man race, warned his listeners that a split vote is dangerous, "especially if split too much."

Thus he called upon his supporters "to forget factions in your county, stretch out your arms to newcomers, to the white people who want to join us, lay aside the petty differences and let's have a solid march of white people who will go to the polls and save good old Georgia from the carpetbaggers."

Talmadge claimed the White Primary can be retained without jeopardizing the county unit system by writing both into the rules of the State Democratic Executive Committee and providing that such rules cannot be changed except by a four-fifths vote of the delegates assembled at the Democratic State Convention.

Then, he said, the legislature could remove all references to primary regulation from the statutes.

He did not explain how, having been removed from state surveyance, the primaries would be protected from chicanery and fraud.

In addition to preserving the White Primary, Talmadge promised: Sun 5-19-46

1. To continue the 50 percent teacher salary increase recently granted by Governor Arnall.

2. To pay the State's old people pensions "substantial enough to support themselves and their families."

3. To hard-surface "all roads on which rural mail is carried and school buses must travel."

He did not mention the hospitals for every county in the State which he had previously promised.

In opening his speech, Talmadge reviewed his 20 years in and out of Georgia public office, beginning with 1926 when he was first elected Commissioner of Agriculture.

He recalled his first term as governor, when he instigated the three dollar tag, reduced advalorem taxes and paid all current indebtedness.

"In 1940, during the administration of Governor Rivers, your State administration was overwhelmingly in debt," he said. "The school teachers were being paid in script—or not at all. Schools throughout the state were forced to close. Contractors, merchants and others who had extended credit to the State were on the verge of bankruptcy because of the financial condition of this state. You again, as whenever Georgia faces an emergency, elected me governor. I was pledged to see that all the teachers were paid by March 1, 1941. The teachers were paid. The schools were reopened. The chaotic financial condition of the State of Georgia was restored despite the fact it was more heavily in debt than at any time in the State's history."

Here, Talmadge launched into an explanation of the discrepancy between the State Auditor's report and his claims to have left a surplus in the treasury at the end of his 1940 term. What he left was termed an "operating surplus" and did not take into consideration the millions of dollars of bonded indebtedness which have since been paid off by the Arnall administration. Sun 5-19-46

Talmadge was introduced by T. Ross Sharpe, Lyons attorney. Dennis Moore presided as master of ceremonies.

Arnall Looks North?

Editor Constitution: I admit that Mr. Arnall is capable and ambitious, qualified to be Governor of any State in the Union.

I do not like, however, the way he and his associates are now trying to make the people of Georgia believe that, until he took over, Georgia was just a Tobacco Road, a mudhole in the South. He wants us to believe that he has put us BACK in the Union. We have been in the Union, 100 percent, since the end of the War Between the States.

In his first speech, on the March of Time program, before he even took office, he said that "Georgia is now in the Union."

If Georgia was so much beneath the rest of the States in the Union, why did the Northern interests spend so much money, sending their men down here to buy our newspapers and to put their man in office? I'll tell you why. It was to defeat a man who wouldn't sell out Georgia, even to the President. I met Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Hugh Howell during the first campaign of the two candidates. They were the best of friends. But later, rather than let outsiders dictate to the people of Georgia, Mr. Talmadge sacrificed the friendship of one of the greatest men who ever lived, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

I want the next Governor of Georgia to be a man who will look after Georgia. Not to use it as a stepping stone to go up North. Sat. 5-4-46

This is not a reflection on the people of the North; they are as good as we are, in every way. But do you think that for one minute they would appreciate us, down here, coming up there and telling them who to put in office?

And we don't want to elect a mouthpiece to carry on for the same system that is now in operation. Let's elect the man who will run Georgia for Georgians.

J. W. MASHBURN.
267 Rockyford Rd., N. E.

Voters By The Million

Birmingham Age-Herald

Gov. Arnall, according to *The Atlanta Constitution*, is predicting that Georgia will have a registration of a million voters by Summer, which will "enable the majority rather than the minority to elect their candidates in the coming primary."

That prediction, coming from a state which in the 1944 presidential election counted only 328,000 votes, is somewhat startling. It makes Alabamians wonder about their own state.

Birmingham, Ala.

In 1940, Alabama had 2,832,961 population and Georgia 3,123,723. The Negro population in that census was: Alabama, 983,290; Georgia, 1,084,927.

In potential voting population, Georgia shows up slightly better, using 1944 estimates, because Georgia figures include voters down to 18 years of age, while Alabama sticks to 21. In potential voters, in 1944, the two states ranked: Alabama, 1,616,000; Georgia, 2,012,000. A million registered voters for Georgia, therefore, would represent less than half of the potential voters; in Alabama it would represent something more than 60 per cent. Even that, of course, would be far lower than the voting record in most states. In 1944, more than 60 per cent of the potential voters were qualified and cast a ballot for president in 25 of the states. Sat. 4-13-46

Alabama's highest registration up to this year came in 1942, when the election of a governor and other state officials, including all members of the State Legislature, aroused considerable voting interest. In that year Alabama had a total registration of 440,000 out of which 279,000 voted for governor in the Democratic primary. Presumably, with non-polltax-paying veterans registering in considerable numbers, the number of qualified voters in Alabama this year will be much ahead of the 1942 figure. But it is doubtful if it will pass the 500,000 mark.

We have a long ways to go to equal the predicted Georgia figure—if we want to do it. Sat. 4-13-46

A Successor For Arnall

Birmingham News

Georgians seem destined to receive a good deal of bombardment as their gubernatorial race warms up—though that is a mild phrase; actually, Georgia politics seem ready to bust loose in the manner of a steam-boiler explosion. There now are four hopefuls entered in the race:

Eugene Talmadge, governor of Georgia from 1933 to 1937, and again from 1940 to 1943. Birmingham Ala.

Eurith Dickinson Rivers, governor of Georgia from 1937 to 1940.

Marvin S. Griffin, adjutant general of Georgia.

James V. Carmichael, former Georgia legislator and manager of the Marietta, Ga., plant of the Bell Aircraft Corporation.

The lineup provides two newcomers to "big time" Georgia politics and two old-timers—very old-timers, it may be said.

Already the political broth has been provided with plenty of pepper. Considerable interest may be developed as efforts are continued to gain a special session of the Georgia Legislature to alter primary laws. This would involve an attempt to circumvent Supreme Court rulings which make it possible for Negroes to vote in primary elections. Thur. 4-18-46

The work of former Govs. Talmadge and Rivers is well known. Both, serving over a total period of 10 years, contrived to give the state of Georgia an administration which was thunderously disapproved in the election of Ellis Arnall. It took the people of Georgia some time to "catch on." Exactly how completely they have caught on will be evidenced in this year's election.

Promptly upon the announcement of the candidacy of 35-year-old James Carmichael, both *The Atlanta Constitution* and *The Atlanta Journal* endorsed him. This got from Candidate Marvin Griffin—a World War II veteran whose unveiled intention seems to be to ride his service record far and wide—the statement that young Carmichael was "the superman the two Atlanta newspapers and outside special interest have euchered into the governor's race."

It seems a good guess to suggest that Gov. Arnall, if he announces support for any candidate, will line up behind Carmichael. Both Atlanta newspapers—now in Carmichael's column—have been energetic champions of the Arnall effort to provide Georgia with an efficient and progressive administration.

The effect of Marvin Griffin's entrance into the race on the candidacy of Carmichael will be interesting to watch. Carmichael is not a veteran, but was a factor, it is claimed, in the laudable record of B-29 production attained at the Marietta aircraft plant. Carmichael could not serve in the armed forces due to an injury received at the age of 16 when an automobile struck him. He was confined to his bed with a broken back for a year, then went through high school in a wheel chair, through Emory University on crutches. This is a record of courage which may stand up against any other. Thur. 4-18

Georgians have it all laid out before them. The nation at large will be watching, for, as a result of the vigorous and energetic activities of Ellis Arnall, Georgia is under the brilliant spotlight of national interest.

The Unavoidable Choice

Were the circumstances not unusual The News and Courier would not declare support for Eugene Talmadge Esq., for governor of Georgia. He has had the office one term, and other men in Georgia are worthy of it. We set him up as no paragon in politics. The declaration of the C. I. O. and its Political Action Committee forces the choice. That outfit is of origin foreign to Georgia, and it invades the Southern states armed with dollars, millions of them. Its proposal to "organize the South" with $6,000,000 is much the same as a proposal to buy it for its favorites. Foreign boodle injected into the South by a new breed of carpetbaggers and "Reconstructionists" is more dangerous than invasion by soldiers. The C. I. O.-P.A.C. is undertaking to dope the Georgians with its money and then to take them into captivity, to coop them. The hope for Georgia is in its common people, its working people, who won't sell themselves and their state to foreigners. The invaders of course are looking to the negroes as necessary recruits in the defeat of Talmadge, even as the carpetbaggers and scalawags used the poor negroes to crush decency in South Carolina in 1868.

Charleston, S.C.

Stick to the Record, Mr. Talmadge

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge is a stickler for truth . . . in other people. He is forever berating "them lying newspapers" and hollering "foul" most indignantly whenever one of his political opponents uses Gene's own figures to show he left the State—not out of debt, as claimed—but very far in the red. Thurs. 5-9-46

Mr. Talmadge's great regard for the truth, however, is notably lacking in many of the charges which emanate from his own political headquarters.

This week, for instance, Mr. Talmadge got out a form letter to a carefully selected list of Georgians, a letter calculated to elicit their support and contributions. In it, Mr. Talmadge made the charge that the Atlanta newspapers and "Communistic CIO" had promised Jimmy Carmichael two hundred thousand dollars to make the Governor's race.

That, of course, is a lie.

The Atlanta Constitution has not promised anybody anything and does not intend to do so.

As for the CIO, Mr. Talmadge's son, Herman, has reportedly been around CIO Headquarters seeking help enough to know that organization has not yet pledged support to anybody. And that all indications now are the CIO will support the candidacy of Eurith Dickinson Rivers, the most recent issue of the CIO News-Digest having gone out of its way to present Mr. Carmichael's candidacy in an unfavorable light. Atlanta 5-9-46

One understands, of course, that Mr. Talmadge is a worried man. But one would advise him, even in his desper tion, to stick a little closer to the truth.

As we said on yesterday, The Constitution, pursuing an independent course, intends to call the record on each and every candidate.

What Stinks

Constitution

Editor Constitution: All this bunk about the stink of Talmadgeism—and its reaching even as far as the Philippines! What stinks? Is it the $3 and $1.50 auto tags? Of the 25% reduction in utility rates? Or the guano inspection law with teeth in it? Is it the failure of the Northern interests to educate our colored citizens with our whites which Talmadge stopped? Atlanta, Ga.

Yours for Gene.

JONATHAN JEFFERSON.

Route 2.

6/4/46

Race Attitude

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Editor Constitution: I don't think Mr. Talmadge is the man for Governor, because of his attitude toward the different races in Georgia. I think we should elect a man who believes in the rights of each citizen, regardless of color.

6-6-46 GLADYS L. YOUNG.

Booker T. Washington School.

Negro Enters Georgia Race, Then Withdraws

Montgomery Advertiser

Tifton, Ga.

ATLANTA, GA., May 26.—(AP)—A Negro qualified as a candidate for membership on the Fulton (Atlanta) County Democratic executive committee today but withdrew a few hours later.

The candidate, Nell Hall Jackson, from a Negro ward, explained in a letter to the committee secretary:

"Two men, one white and one colored, came to my home . . . and stated that if a colored person was elected by the voters for that office, there would be no question thereafter about the legality of colored people serving at the polls. Mon. 5-27-46

"Later I found that the leaders of colored people who are most familiar with what is best for the Negro people had already decided that it would be unwise for Negroes to run for public office." Mon-5-27-46

Talmadge Fighting Race Issue Alone

Birmingham, Ala. News

BY BENNETT DELOACH

ATLANTA, May 13 — (AP) — It looked like a sure bet today that, among the gubernatorial candidates, Eugene Talmadge would have the field to himself in advocating a white Democratic primary.

Talmadge, carrying the torch of white supremacy, says the white primary question is the prime issue in the campaign. He promises to restore primaries in which only white Democrats would vote. He says there are legal ways to do this.

All the other qualified candidates except Hoke O'Kelley have had something to say on the white primary issue. Tues 5-14-46

E. D. Rivers, of Lakeland, who is seeking another term, has gone on record simply with this statement: "It is the law. Negroes will vote."

James V. Carmichael, of Marietta, has come out with this stand:

"The question of who shall vote in the primary has been decided by the Supreme Court of the United States. I have no power to reverse that decision—nor does any person in Georgia.

S. E. (Doc) Everritt, of Waycross, laid down this assertion:

"There is no Negro or white issue in this campaign, but instead, the issue is whether we want a 100 per cent democracy, or part democracy and a part of the totalitarian form of government."

Talmadge declared: "I welcome the support of all white Georgians" in maintaining the white Democratic primary. His son, Herman, has advocated that, if necessary, two different party primaries be held—one for white voters and the other for Negroes.

CIO-PAC TO SHUN GEORGIA RACES

Birmingham Age Herald

ATLANTA, May 16—(AP)—The question of whom the CIO's Political Action Committee would give its blessing in the Georgia governor's race was decided today. No one will get it.

That was the flat assertion made by Charles H. Gillman, regional head of the CIO-PAC. The no-support move takes in all candidates, including congressional aspirants, Gillman said.

CIO-PAC officials say now they are more concerned with getting as big a registration as possible than in anything else of a political nature. 5-18-46

Speculation Is Ended

Gillman's terse report ended much speculation as to which candidate would be dubbed as its man by the CIO. And this also overshadowed the appearances of three major candidates in Athens tonight.

Eugene Talmadge spoke before the Student Veterans Organization, outlining what he proposed to do towards getting full benefits for former service men and women under the GI Bill of Rights.

James V. Carmichael, Marietta Candidate, was inducted into the University of Georgia's Gridiron Club. On hand at the Gridiron Club doings was former Gov. E. D. Rivers, an honorary member of the school organization.

Forecast Proves Wrong

Some observers had forecast for some time that Rivers was the candidate who was to be dubbed "our man" by the CIO-PAC. These political onlookers had figured it this way: 5-18-46

Rivers is known to be on friendly terms with Robert Hannegan, chairman of the National Democratic Committee. Hannegan prophesied these observers, would be able to swing the CIO-PAC support in Georgia to Rivers.

Another group, however, has maintained that Rivers had been supported by the Ku Klux Klan in the past. And since the klan and the CIO don't see eye-to-eye, any sponsorship of Rivers was unlikely.

Talmadge Bases Fight On Race Issue

Richmond Time-Dispatch Richmond, Va. Thurs. 4-18-46

ATLANTA, April 17—(UP)—Former Governor Eugene Talmadge tonight based his comeback campaign on white supremacy—the same issue chosen by Georgia House Speaker Roy V. Harris, who was defeated in his battle for re-election.

Harris admitted defeat today in the Richmond County primary and blamed his loss on "5,000 Negroes who were instructed by an Atlanta Negro lawyer just how to vote." After serving 24 years in the Legislature, he was beaten by Publisher William S. Morris, of the Augusta Chronicle, in an independent landslide that swept the whole "Cracker party" out of office. Besides Harris, two other Representatives were beaten, as were three county commissioners.

It was the first test at the polls on whether Negroes should be allowed to vote in traditionally "white" Democratic primaries, with the Negroes themselves voting. Following Harris' admission of defeat, Talmadge called on him to support him in his race for a fourth term as Governor.

Talmadge told his opponents: "You are either white or black on this issue. I choose the white side." Thurs. 4-18-46

TALMADGE RUNS AGAIN, IGNORING HIGH COURT

New York Times, N.Y.

ATLANTA, April 6 (AP)—Wavin the banner of "white supremacy" Gene Talmadge, thrice Governor of Georgia, announced today that he would run for that office again this year. In basing his campaign on retention of the Georgia law barring Negroes from the primaries of the Democratic party, Talmadge defies the Supreme Court of the United States, which has ruled that Negroes have the right to vote in such primaries.

Four years ago Talmadge was beaten in the race for the governorship by Ellis Arnall. Governor Arnall, under the Georgia Constitution, cannot have a second term.

Talmadge has been calling for a special session of the Legislature and the deletion from the statutes of all laws affecting primary elections, thus leaving them unregulated. Governor Arnall has indicated he would veto any such measure. Sun. 4-7-46

Legal experts have held that if Georgia repeals its primary laws, the county unit system of voting, which gives the State's many small rural counties political dominance and has been a Talmadge fort would have to go too.

Talmadge proposes to have the Democratic Executive Committee incorporate the county unit system into its rules before asking the Legislature to repeal all primary laws.

Governor Arnall has led successful fights to repeal the poll tax and lower the voting age to eighteen.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

JIMMY CARMICHAEL

(Blue Ridge Summit-Post.)

The entry into the race for Governor of James V. Carmichael, of Cobb County, not only provides a candidate for whom Georgians who are interested in the future welfare of the State can vote with assurance that progressive policies will be maintained, but it affords to the people of North Georgia hills their first opportunity in more than a generation to vote for one of their own.

Mr. Carmichael is an honest man, a capable man, an able man, and a man who sees Georgia's futures as something more than "taking the leavings" of other sections. He envisions a Georgia that will have industry to supplement its agriculture and bring true prosperity. Thurs 5-9-46

Independent in politics, he is a straight thinker and a straight talker. He knows the language, the ideals and the aspirations of the people of this State. He recognizes their disgust with the old-line politicians. He is the kind of man to carry on the policies that Governor Arnall has advocated. The Governor has promised his support to a man of that kind; it is time for him to speak out on behalf of Jimmy Carmichael.

Talmadge Raps Foes On Home Ground

Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sun 6-9-46

BY JOHN COURIC.

BLACKSHEAR, June 7 — Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge resumed his South Georgia speaking tour here Friday, after a day's layoff with an appeal to voters to elect him over his two major opponents, one of whom spoke

only nine miles away at a similar rally.

Talmadge chose strong opposition territory when he picked this site near Waycross, where Jimmie Carmichael spoke on the same day and where former Gov. Eurith D. Rivers opened his campaign earlier this year.

The red-gallused candidate continued to bid for the veteran vote here with an explanation of his proposed program for the former servicemen. He also appealed to school teachers and bus drivers with a promise to continue the 50 percent pay raise.

His promises to place every Georgia sheriff on the rolls of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and to establish a veterinary school in South Georgia also were repeated here.

The former Governor was critical of his opponents who would permit Negro participation in Democratic primaries, accusing them of being indirect advocates of social equality. 6-8-46

Joins Fracas

Editor Constitution: I have tried with great efforts to view this issue concerning the coming Democratic primary from a grandstand seat, but since so many of our state laymen and leaders are tossing in their bludgeons, I cannot help but jump right into the middle of the fracas.

First, I shall try to lift the veil of ignorance from Messrs. Talmadge, Harris, and their colleagues. In recapitulating the results of the last election, in which Mrs. Mankin was sent to Congress, it was stated that the Negro bloc vote was responsible for her election. Thurs 4-11-46

In one sense, yes; yet in another sense, it was sheer stupidity that caused the tide to turn in that direction. Every Tom, Dick and Harry who had been smitten with one paragraph from the preamble of the Federal Constitution decided within himself that he was the man which Georgia and the rest of America needed to solve their problems. Consequently, we had 20 candidates running for the one position. This stupid political act thus split what might have been the majority of the votes cast.

It is not the idea of any registered Negro voter to deal in rank politics or to participate in any bloc movement for any one candidate. The Negro will vote for fair and square Constitutional legislation. As far as a special session is concerned, it will only mean that those persons who are trying to disfranchise the Negro vote will meet shameful defeat and be erased from our political picture forever. Thurs 4-11-46

It is quite embarrassing for citizens of Georgia to be forced to face undue criticisms because of some few so-called leaders. Talmadge used the Negro as a political stepping stone for a decade, but new positions are gained through qualifications and merit. If we allow ourselves to lose the good name and the accomplishments which our state has gained and enjoyed under the present administration, we might as well join Talmadge in his red galluses and blue overalls and make Cotton King again.

ROBERT ST. CLAIR.

Atlanta.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

CARMICHAEL IS THE MAN

(Vidalia Advance)

The Advance would like to see maintained in Georgia, an honest, deecnt and respectable State government, one of which the people of this State can be proud, and the Advance believes this will be possible with James V. Carmichael as Governor.

The Advance believes that the vast majority of Georgians agree with the above, and that they are grateful for the opportunity to support and elect a man, who will be an able successor to Gov. Ellis Arnall; a man who is courageous and above reproach; a man who will give Georgia a progressive administration, that Georgia might continue to develop, and its citizens prosper, and at the same time, administer the State's affairs in an economical, businesslike manner. 5-29-46-Thurs-

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Constitution Atlanta Ga.

DIRTY POLITICS

(Moultrie Observer)

Since the speech was delivered Moultrie people have been talking favorably of Carmichael and discussing the unfortunate incident of the distribution of fake circulars during Friday night. Enemies sought to embarrass the speaker by putting out a circular in his name announcing a barbecue for Negroes and inviting them all to come. It has been pretty well established that these circulars originated nowhere close to Moultrie and that they were put out by the enemies of Carmichael to injure his candidacy. Wed. 5-14-46

BALANCE TEETERS

Three-Sided Judge Race In Chatham

Atlanta Ga. Constitution

By BILL HARRIS

Constitution State News Service.

SAVANNAH, June 6—The state of Chatham, where public jobs have long been passed out so as to keep a well-defined political balance between Crackers, Irish and Jews, is in a stew-all because of a $4,000-a-year Municipal Court judgeship. 6-6-46

Seeking the court vacancy in the July 17 primary are representatives of all three factions What's more there is a woman in the race along with a blind attorney. 6-6-46

Victor H. Mulling, 29-year-old blind lawyer, who holds degrees from Mercer and the University of Georgia, pitched his hat into the ring to start the ball rolling. He quickly won the support of the anti-administration Citizens Progressive League which pitted three legislative candidates against the political machine.

Col. James F. Glass, World War II veteran and practicing attorney here for 20 years, speedily followed suit. Glass, who falls in the Irish category, immediately gained the support of the various veteran organizations.

A few hours later Miss Phyllis Kravitch, first woman to offer for an elective position in Chatham County, made the race for the judgeship three-sided when she plunked down $350 entry fee with John J. Bouhan, Democratic committee chairman. Thurs

The administration has not yet announced its choice between Glass and Miss Kravitch, but will most certainly have to between now and the primary.

Miss Kravitch, graduate of Goucher College and the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, has long been active in the affairs of the Savannah League of Women Voters. She is almost certain to get the great bulk of Jewish votes plus hundreds of the fairer sex interested in seeing one of their number don judicial robes. 6/7/46

Attorney Aaron Kravitch, her father, is counting heavily on support from the Negroes. Only a few weeks ago he took Tax Collector John L. Cabell into federal court for allegedly hindering the mass registration of Negroes.

The race is taking the spotlight from the real fight for power—the legislative fight. Mulling is pulling big sympathetic support, based on the belief that a man who despite blindness goes on to earn a master's degree and pass the bar examination deserves credit. CPL officials say that every stroll he takes down Bull Street with his "seeing-eye" dog "Alba" is worth a hundred votes. Victor is a good lawyer along with it.

Gene Pledges White Primary To 'Black Belt'

Atlanta Constitution

By JOHN COURIC

Constitution Staff Writer.

MILLEN, June 5—Election of Gubernatorial Candidate Eugene Talmadge will mean the restoration of the white primary no matter "how rough I have to be," the former Governor declared Wednesday afternoon.

Speaking from the front of Jenkins County Courthouse, in the heart of Georgia's Black Belt, Talmadge asserted Negro political participation would result in the abolition of Georgia's segregation laws and the eventual passage of the Fair Employment Practices Act. Constitution

"I believe in treating the Negro right, but I want to deal with them with their hats in their hands, saying 'yessir' and 'nosir'," the candidate shouted.

SLAMS AT WALLACE

He dwelled on the preponderance of Negroes in this County and declared one of the leaders wishing the abolition of segregation laws in "Henry Agard Wallace," who "looks through blue glass at the sun to tell how to run the Government. The man is just plain crazy." Thurs

Besides drumming home his main contention that Georgia is headed for Negro domination if he is not elected, Talmadge repeated his promise to continue the 50 percent raise for schoolteachers. He also declared that, if elected, he planned to advocate to the General Assembly the placing of all elections in Georgia under the County unit system. 6/6/46

ATLANTA PICKPOCKETS

Talmadge interrupted his speech to warn the crowd of approximately 1,500 to beware of pickpockets "from Atlanta and other big cities" who, he said, victimized listeners Monday in Greensboro. Using this for an openeing, the former Governor told of the "crime wave which follows every war" and said he would give the sheriffs funds to investigate crime.

He did not specify the monthly salary he planned for the sheriffs, whom he termed the "poorest paid" of all officers in rural counties. Atlanta

He also repeated his pledge to establish a veterinary school in South Georgia and to give the State the "largest road building program it has ever seen."

GENE DOFFS COAT

Talmadge thanked the crowd of supporters "for standing in the sun" during the speech, and his routine of removing his coat, after a cry from a supporter, brought vigorous applause. Other issues touched upon included aid to counties for hospitals and proposed increases in the number of persons receiving old age pensions.

Talmadge forgot to make his usual appeal to veterans and had concluded his speech before a supporter reminded him. He returned to the microphone to start his plan for former servicemen and to bid for the veteran vote. The former Governor was introduced by Edgar Lane, Millen attorney, who declared, "We must elect the man who will keep the faith of our fathers." Constn

Talmadge Rips Ga. Negro Vote

Chicago Defender Ill.

Will Campaign To Keep White Primary

4-13-46

ATLANTA, Ga.—One of the nation's most notorious Negro-haters—Eugene Talmadge, former Georgia governor — this week planned to void Negro vote rights, recently recognized by the U. S. Supreme Court and the Department of Justice.

One of the few politicians with a "white supremist" rating equal to those of Mississippi's Senators Bilbo and Eastland and Rep. John Rankin, Talmadge, three-time Georgia governor, announced that he would run for that office again this year, basing his campaign on retention of the Georgia law barring Negroes from the primary of the Democratic party.

Four years ago Talmadge was beaten in the race for the governorship by Ellis Arnall. Governor Arnall, under the Georgia constitution, cannot have a second term.

Talmadge has been calling for a special session of the legislature and the deletion from the statutes of all laws affecting primary elections, thus leaving them unregulated. Governor Arnall has indicated he would veto any such measure. 4-13-46

Local experts have held that if Georgia repeals its primary laws, the county unit system of voting, which gives the state's many small rural counties political dominance, and has been a Talmadge fort, would have to go too.

Talmadge proposes to have the Democratic executive committee incorporate the county unit system into its rules before asking the legislature to repeal all primary laws. Sat.

Governor Arnall has led successfully fights to repeal the poll tax and lower the voting age to 18 in the State of Georgia.

No Need

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

Editor Constitution: I read J. M. Ward's letter praising Talmadge in April 13 Constitution and somehow this letter interested me.

Speaking of Talmadge I really think Georgia does not need a man of his type, or either Talmadge for governor. "No we don't need him!" Probably there would be fewer of Georgia's worst criminals set free if we would try to keep Talmadge out of the governor's seat. Talmadge should be last instead of being first, and as for the Bible speaking about Negroes, I have never been able to find it yet in scripture and I am a daily Bible reader, too.

P. MARION JACKSON.

Canton, Ga.

Committee here, withdrew a few hours later, according to reports.

In a letter to the committee secretary, she explained that two men, one white and one colored, came to her home and discussed his candidacy, and the advantages of the election of a colored person to that office.

She said they pointed out that Unwise to Seek Office

Ralph McGill, editor of the Atlanta Constitution, white daily, said in a signed editorial that "a Ku Klux Klan committee here is

Later, C. A. Scott, president of the Citizens' Democratic Club of Fulton County, termed the nomination of colored people "part of a scheme to frighten the white voters and probably influence decisions, to vote in the Democratic primary for the first time

Offering Colored $5,000 to Run

Ga. Candidate Withdraws Bid

ATLANTA—Mrs. Nell H. Jackson, prominent Atlanta social worker, who qualified as a candidate for membership on the Fulton County Democratic Executive

Exploiting Scheme

if one was elected by the voters

Talmadge, Reported Spurned by CIO, Charges PAC Financing Carmichael

Atlanta, Ga. Constitution

By M. L. ST. JOHN.

Reportedly having sought and failed to obtain the support of the CIO and PAC, ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge has begun flooding the State with letters charging that these "Communistic" organizations are financing the gubernatorial campaign of Jimmie Carmichael.

This charge was branded false immediately by Charles Gillman, head of the CIO and PAC in Georgia, and indications were the labor unions were leaning toward ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers in his come-back effort. Thur. 5-9-46

"Herman Talmadge has made two or three attempts to have us indorse his father," Gillman said yesterday. "We told him that we are not taking any action for any gubernatorial candidate at the present time. We are confining our activities at the present purely to registering voters."

About a week before the Democratic Primary, representatives of each local in the State will meet and decide which candidate has the best qualifications, Gillman said. Then they will ask their members to vote for him. Until that time, the PAC will not indorse any candidate.

Gillman predicted, however, that neither the CIO nor any other labor organization could support Talmadge because of his previous attitude toward labor.

Writing to mill operators and others in Georgia, Talmadge charged that "this crowd of Communists, working through The Atlanta Constitution and the Atlanta Journal, have raised a campaign fund of $200,000 for Jimmie Carmichael." He said that "Communism is coming into Georgia backed by big money." 5-9-46

"Its agent is the PAC and they are working primarily with the Negroes of this State," Talmadge wrote. "This PAC and Communistic activity is designed to elect Congressmen, Senators and a Governor who will pass the FEPC laws," Talmadge contended.

Gillman, a life-long resident of Georgia and head of the PAC in this State, said he had never been accused of being a Communist. He declared the PAC is not tied up with any gubernatorial candidate nor any newspaper.

Indications that the leadership of the CIO is leaning toward Rivers at the present time was seen in the amount of Rivers literature on display at a recent CIO meeting. While Gillman, himself, stuck to his contention that the PAC has made no choice, some CIO members were displeased with a recent speech by Carmichael to employes of the Carmichael Manufacturing Company at Marietta. 5-9-46

The CIO newspaper, the Atlanta News Digest, published Carmichael's speech and said that "despite a last-minute speech to the employes of the Company by the President of the plant, the workers of the Carmichael Manufacturing Company voted 47 to 25 to be represented by the United Furniture Workers of America—CIO."

In his talk, as quoted by the newspaper, Carmichael told the workers: "You should ask yourself, what is the interest of the union? Is it selfish or unselfish? How much will it cost you, and is it worth it? Can it really benefit you, or can you get as much for yourself by handling your own dealings with the management? These are the questions that you only can answer. I believe we can handle our problems better by individual dealings than by a bargaining committee of a union.

"We will pay just as high wages as our prices will permit. If you vote in favor of the union, I will work with it to the best of my ability, and no employe will be discriminated against because of union activity. If you vote against the union, our present policies will continue and we will work together as in the past." Thur. 5-9-46

Meanwhile, the leadership in the American Federation of Labor—which usually supports a different candidate from the one indorsed by its rival labor organization—showed a friendship to Rivers. One leader said that the ex-Governor had been friendly to labor unions during his two terms and that the AFL would probably feel obligated to support him.

Political Analysis

Editor Constitution. Talmadge has the farmer vote and that of the anti-Negro faction.

Rivers has the powerful unions behind him. 5-8-46

Carmichael has only the comparatively small student and Negro vote.

So the person with anti-Talmadge sentiments is faced with this problem. Vote Carmichael (probably the best man) and give Talmadge a better chance, or settle for a more sure thing on a second-rate governor and climb on River's band wagon.

STEVE FRIEDLANDER.
U. S. Naval Air Station,
Atlanta, Ga.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

Atlanta Constitution

THE U. S. SUPREME COURT HAS FINAL WORD

Macon Telegraph 6-6-46

The United States Supreme Court has rendered a decision in favor of Negroes voting in State primaries. This body being the highest court in the nation, the decision is final and conclusive. Certainly no politician in Georgia or any other State can alter it. No one knows this better than Eugene Talmadge. Yet this is the chief issue in every speech he makes in his race for Governor of the State of Georgia.

"I can't tell now and I don't think I could tell a month from now, who'd win the Governor's race. Like I said, everything's all mixed up. Some people are making an awful lot of noise now," he added, "but I can't see that it amounts to much. There are a lot of people in this state—and I don't mean the college kids—who never voted before in an election who are going to take part in this one—and I figure that the group that's going to swing this election. Only they aren't saying anything. 6-6-46

"As near as I can figure," he concluded, "the guys who are in are going to have a time staying in. The folks just seem to want a change of some kind."

Meanwhile, James V. Carmichael, the Arnall-backed gubernatorial candidate from Cobb County, was speaking at Cuthbert, where he charged that Eugene Talmadge, an opponent, "is not really interested in a white primary, but a Talmadge primary." He said Talmadge wanted to repeal the county unit system and leave the Democratic primary unregulated to circumvent the Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in a "white primary."

"If he can get all the laws repealed as he advocates," said Carmichael, "then he can have a Talmadge primary when the people of the state can have no way to protect themselves."

Emotions, Not Reason, Guide Voters, One Politician Thinks

Macon Telegraph Editorial Page 6-6-46

ATLANTA, June 5.—(AP)—While the state's gubernatorial candidates continued their bush-shaking expeditions, a candidate for one of the lesser offices returned to Atlanta from a tour of 50 counties with some glum observations on the temperament these days of John Q. Public.

"I can't get mixed up in the Governor's race," he said in a don't-quote-me interview, "so all I know is what folks told me. Mostly I found people were restless and confused about the governor's race.

"In one county, they'd be all for Talmadge, then right across the line they'd be all for Carmichael, while the county adjoining the other two would be for Rivers," he said.

"So far as I could find out," he continued, "the folks aren't doing much reasoning. Everything's being decided so far on emotion. It's just like it was after the last war. The real issues didn't matter much, it was the candidate with the most emotional appeal who won. 6-6-46

Mr. Talmadge Is Due Courtesy

Atlanta Constitution

"One of the principles of a democracy is free speech and a candidate is entitled to be heard." Sun.

With that statement of former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, The Constitution finds itself in complete agreement. Thurs.

We sincerely regret that Mr. Talmadge has been subjected to boos, catcalls and other heckling calculated to harass and embarrass him. 5-23-46

While we disagree wholeheartedly with the most of what Mr. Talmadge has been saying, he is a qualified candidate for Governor and certainly should be accorded the courteous attention of any audience which chooses to attend his rallies.

No More Talmadgeism

age Herald

An Editorial in The Atlanta Journal

In announcing his candidacy for governor, Eugene Talmadge attempts to fix the issues on which he will run. Unfortunately for him, however, the major issues have been fixed by his own record in that office for three terms of two years each. It is the record on which he was repudiated by the people of Georgia in 1942 and by which he will be judged in 1946. It is a record of evils and abuses which he has done nothing to atone for and which would make his return to power a disaster to the state. Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. Talmadge says that the chief issue of the forthcoming campaign is the preservation of the Democratic white primary and the county unit system. What he really means is that he hopes to ride into office on a tail-wind of racial antagonism. This was his last desperate resort in 1942 when he found the tides of public opinion running fatally against him. Then he attempted to disguise the farcical "issue" by hopes to divert attention from his own self-damning record.

Talmadge and Christianity

Editor Constitution: Last week someone wrote to you describing Mr. Talmadge as a Christian. Well, if he is a Christian I'm through with religion. Christ didn't travel the overthrow of that costly, ufferable regime in 1942 by the of Ellis Arnall as governor, has made grand history and has earned an honored place among the states of the Union. Shall we now cancel the gains of what is the brightest and richest era in our state's history by a return to

C. L. HARDEN

RALPH McGILL

Which One Will We Believe?

In October of 1938 Eugene Talmadge said publicly and in news agency dispatches:

"We need laws to govern primaries more closely. . . . There are not enough laws governing primaries in Georgia. The recent primary in Georgia has been a challenge to the people that we need laws. . . . We must wake up the ballot box. I have always fought for this and shall continue to do so."

Is this the same Eugene Talmadge who now, as a worried candidate for office, says primary laws are not important and should all be repealed so that he may set up a Talmadge primary without any legal control whatsoever?

It is. One and the same.

In October, 1938, he was not a candidate and he was speaking as a thoughtful citizen interested in fair elections.

Which Eugene Talmadge are we to believe—

Calm, Private Citizen Talmadge?

Or shouting Candidate Talmadge, willing to swap his honest convictions for votes?

Well, let's go ahead, without rancor or any ill will.

Let's stick to the record.

Proud of Law On Oct. 2, 1940, he stood before the convention at Macon and said:

"We have election laws governing our general election. We have practically no laws governing a primary. . . . A citizen's ballot is a sacred thing. I am proud . . . this platform calls for legislation to guarantee a recount and to protect the sacredness of the ballot. . . ."

Is this the same Eugene Talmadge who now says we must repeal every single law protecting primaries and the sacredness of the ballot, and set up a Talmadge primary which any group can do with as they will—stuff ballots openly, burn them or vote dead or non-existent persons—without fear of penalty?

Yes, it is the same man.

Except, the man who came out for law and order and for honest primaries was not then running for office and trying to get badly needed votes.

Which man will we now believe?

Well, let's go on.

Talmadge Law During the last administration of Mr. Talmadge he had introduced and enacted into law an act to provide for a recount of ballots in all primary elections. (Georgia Laws, 1941, page 432 and after.)

This act was one he had campaigned for up and down the State. He said he "owed it to the people to protect their primary ballots by law." In an Associated Press dispatch he was quoted as saying:

"I owe it to the people. The primary (in which Sen. George was nominated) opened up possibilities of bought votes, double voting, voting the names of dead persons and tearing up ballots."

"If you don't contest a few elections it gives unscrupulous people a chance to get in control. THE ELECTION LAWS MUST BE UPHELD."

(Is there any connection between this statement and the fact that Mr. Talmadge and Mr. Harris, who so long managed the machine in Augusta, now demand that all laws be repealed and that they be allowed to set up a Talmadge primary?)

Let's go on—sticking to the record.

The Act What was the law Mr. Talmadge had enacted, and which now may be found on page 432 of Georgia Laws, 1941?

The first section of this act is: "That the legislative intent and purpose of this Act is to effectuate fair and honest primary elections for the nomination of candidates for public offices in this State."

Section 14 of the Act confers jurisdiction on the courts of the State to enforce the provisions of the Act.

Was this the same Talmadge who then wanted more laws to control primaries, so that unscrupulous persons might not do as they pleased with the ballot box, who now glibly says we must repeal all laws governing the primary and the ballot box?

It is—except that this is Candidate Talmadge.

In 1938 and 1941 he was speaking as a citizen—not as one desperate for votes.

Which one will we believe?

Record Let's go along with the record. Mr. Talmadge creates a lot of noise. He damns Atlanta papers for trying to ram a candidate down the throats of the people. There are more than 100 newspapers in Georgia indorsing the same candidate, including most of the State's dailies. If they were for Mr. Talmadge, he would be extolling their virtues. He throws up the same old "Nigger! Nigger!" smoke screen. He is full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

He says, perfectly truthfully, that there is no trouble about qualified Negro voters; that all the counties have to do is follow the already existing law. That is right.

Why, then, if he himself says that is all that is needed, must we abolish all the primary laws? Why must we set up a Talmadge primary in place of law?

That is a terrifying thing to propose.

If it were done, the managers of any election in any county could, in full view, stuff the box, take out votes, make a short or long count—and there would be no law to which the people might turn.

It would destroy the primary.

No self-respecting candidate would enter such a primary.

No thoughtful citizen would vote in such a primary.

Every honest citizen would, of necessity, wait for the general election.

Mr. Talmadge—the Talmadge who pleaded for more laws to govern and protect primaries—knows that full well.

M. L. ST. JOHN

Whom Will the Klan Elect Governor?

Ex-Gov. Talmadge is trying—and virtually succeeding—in stealing the Ku Klux Klan support from ex-Gov. Rivers as the two former Governors seek a comeback this Summer. Although so far as is known Talmadge is not a Klansman himself, he is speaking the language the hooded terrors like to hear as he tries to stir up racial hatred over the State. Rivers, himself a former if not a present officer in the shrouded Klan, is not as strong with the bunch as he was when he was Governor, because his position on Negro voting is not to the Klan's liking. When he was Governor, Rivers was the Klan's pal, and Imperial Wizard Hiram Evans helped run the State. Today, the new Grand Dragon of the Klan, which is trying to reorganize, is in the Talmadge camp.

As Georgia's political campaign attracts national attention, and America wonders whether the reform policies launched by Ellis Arnall will be continued or if Georgia will turn back to demagoguery and waste, national writers have come into Georgia to write of the gubernatorial campaign. Spencer R. McCulloch, of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, interviewed the present Grand Dragon, and here's how he quoted the Klansman:

"Dr. Samuel Green, of Atlanta, Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan which is attempting a revival throughout the State, told the writer that many of those in today's crowd (Talmadge crowd at Lyons) were members of the Klan. Although the Klan as a body will not indorse any candidate, Green said he personally was a consistent Talmadge supporter. He estimated that 99 percent of the Klan would vote for Talmadge."

Meanwhile, Candidate Jimmie Carmichael is telling his audiences that regardless of which one of the ex-Governors might be elected, the Klan would rule Georgia, since the Klan has indorsed "Red Suspenders," and "Black Bow Tie" admittedly was one of their leaders. Carmichael is fighting revival of the hooded terrors and is the only candidate to take a clear-cut stand against the Klan and all its stands for.

The Legislature Charlie Gowen, of Brunswick, President of the Georgia Bar Association and Representative of Glynn County, was talking about the confusion in the Georgia Legislature when he addressed the Bar Association in Savannah the other day. He related how the title, only, of a bill is read when it is introduced; how a few committee members gather around a desk and, amidst the hubbub of similar groups over the House Chamber, listen a few moments while the author tries to explain what's in his bill; how the title of the bill is read the second day; how the bill is opened for debate the third day, with the general membership of the House having little knowledge of what is in the measure; and how amendments are hastily tacked onto the bill, sometimes changing the bill's entire meaning before the author or House members realize what is done.

Listen to this. It is Charlie speaking from experience:

"In 1945, on the last day of the session, two past Presidents of the Georgia Bar Association and your present President were watching the completion of action on the bar's program. The bill regulating foreign corporations came back from the Senate with an amendment attached. There was no time within which to give the amendment careful thought, but we agreed that it seemed to do no harm, and I asked the House to agree to the Senate amendment, which it did. Imagine our embarrassment when we found the next day, after the Legislature stood adjourned, that the innocent amendment changed the bill so that instead of accomplishing its aim of authorizing suits to be brought against foreign corporations in the counties in this State where the subject matter of the suit was transacted, it would in effect have required all such actions to be brought in one county. Fortunately, this was discovered before it was approved by the Governor and at our request the bill was vetoed and was passed in its original form in 1946.

"If this could happen to persons with considerable experience in legislative draughtsmanship, have not the people the right to demand that our legislative machinery be overhauled and modernized?"

The move to reorganize the Legislature so as to end some of the confusion and give more study to bills seems to be growing. Senate President Frank Gross came out for reduction of committees and printing of bills and greater study by committees some time ago. Gowen advocated similar steps in both branches of the General Assembly.

We Still Need Honest Elections

State-regulated primaries so that never again would a convention be able to refuse a candidate the right of recount. The Constitution supported his idea.

Mr. Talmadge was elected. And a strong law was adopted providing, among other things, redress in the courts for any candidate who might be the victim of party chicanery.

Has Mr. Talmadge so soon forgotten his distress of 1940?

If the need for honest primaries was so obvious then, is it not equally imperative today?

What has happened meanwhile to convince Gene Talmadge that we no longer need honesty at the polls?

a bill was passed providing for honest,

M. L. ST. JOHN

Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Carmichael Fights Political Extremes

AMERICUS—Jimmie Carmichael couldn't have picked a better locale for launching his all-out war on the CIO's Political Action Committee than this home town of Rep. Steve Pace. The Congressman, who is idolized by followers of all gubernatorial candidates in the Third District, recently was marked for defeat by National PAC Director Sidney Hillman. The Third District's answer was a declaration of war on the PAC and return of Pace to Congress without opposition. Some here had taken seriously Talmadge's charge that the PAC was financing Carmichael's campaign. They were surprised when Carmichael started his attack on the PAC. As he got stronger and stronger in his denunciation of the dictatorship from the Eastern Labor leaders, the crowd in the Americus Baseball Park started applauding and cheering like they do when their ball team is scoring a run against Albany. Down here in this farming section, Jimmie's attack on the PAC clicked.

Carmichael didn't pick Steve Pace's home as the psychological place to start his attack on the PAC. It was just a coincidence. The PAC, which we reported several weeks ago was favoring Rivers despite its claim it would lay off the Governor's race this year, took a lick at Jimmie on the eve of his appearance here—and he nailed it in his first speech thereafter. His talk naturally would appeal to the farmers of this section. The Farm Bureau already has pledged itself to support all candidates who are targets of the PAC.

But Jimmie's speech also appealed to Labor Union members. His talk at Ellaville brought in a motorcade from Columbus. In it were Labor Union members. They were not radicals. They listened to Jimmie's explanation of how he worked with Labor Unions successfully during the war, and how this complaint against his furniture factory was filed after he became a gubernatorial candidate, and what he offered labor as compared with what Georgia would get from Talmadge and Rivers. They listened to this, liked it, and pledged him their vote.

The Choice Here's the choice, as Jimmie outlined it: Barbed-wire concentration camps for workers in Georgia under the Talmadge regime. (Talmadge actually put women with nursing babies behind barbed wire when textile mill workers sought to organize in the 30's.)

Rule of Georgia by Sidney Hillman's "yes man" if Rivers is elected.

A fair policy for labor and industry under the Carmichael administration. 6-2-46 Sunday

Carmichael is offering a "middle-of-the-road" policy for Georgia workers, as compared with persecution under Talmadge and domination by out-of-state labor leaders under Rivers. Another "middle-of-the-road" example is seen in Carmichael's denunciation of two extremes—the Ku Klux Klan of gangsters who wear masks and fight Communism and flog minority races and creeds—and the PAC, which quite a few people say is Communistic.

While Jimmie is following a "middle-of-the-road" policy, his speeches are clear-cut and he dodges no issues. Unlike others, he openly fights both the PAC and KKK and doesn't try to curry favors from them. Old-line Talmadgeites realize Gene is out of character this year when he offers a platform of promises costing millions of dollars, instead of economy. But Rivers' suaveness is attempting to catch all. We were amazed to hear some of Rivers' supporters boast that they were organizing River Clubs among the Negroes—and then find a South Georgia Sheriff, who brags that he is holding Negro registration to a minimum, trying to line up votes for Rivers. But this was no comparison to our astonishment when a Jew supporting Rivers criticized newspapers for opposing the ex-Governor because of his Klan friendship. Sunday

Sidelights Home rule, which dogged the steps of the past two Georgia legislatures, is in the Governor's race . . . Carmichael has come out for the right of cities and counties to have a greater voice in governing themselves . . . Many Legislators are pledging themselves to pass a Home Rule bill if they are elected . . . Colquitt county's two incumbents, Reps. Cheshire and Riddle-spurger, have come out for home rule. . . . When Hawkins Dykes, World War II veteran, sat on the Carmichael stage here the other night he created a bit of talk . . . the Dykes family always has been Talmadge followers. . . . Two prominent school leaders were on the Carmichael stage . . . they were J. E. Mathis, Superintendent Emeritus of the Americus City School System, and E. L. Bridges, Superintendent of Sumter County Schools. 6-2-46

M. L. ST. JOHN

'Unknown' Candidate Is Pretty Strong

Atlanta Constitution

Jimmie Carmichael's opponents previously had said that "Jimmie is a good boy, but nobody knows him below Macon." The people who heard him at Moultrie last week now know him. They liked the way he spoke. They liked the way he looked. They said Carmichael would carry Colquitt County. He has some powerful friends there in the Vereens, the Rays, and others. That is the situation in Moultrie, after Jimmie spoke.

But we made a spot check on a few Southwest Georgia counties before Jimmie spoke. We found, for the most part, that what Carmichael's enemies said of him was partially true—nobody knows him . . . but they know he is a good boy . . . and that seemed to count for a lot down there.

Before he spoke in Moultrie, and without visiting in the other sections, Carmichael was the figure Talmadge was having to fight in some Southwest Georgia counties, and Carmichael was the figure Rivers was trying to overcome in other Southwest Georgia counties. We do not mean to say that Carmichael is sweeping Southwest Georgia. Neither is Talmadge nor Rivers. But despite the efforts of Talmadge and Rivers to make you think that the race is between the two ex-Governors, the people are talking Carmichael in Southwest Georgia, and quite a few counties are ready to vote Carmichael.

We made spot interviews in Sumter, Terrell, Dougherty and Colquitt counties. Based on these interviews, we found very little talk of Rivers. We found Talmadge leading in one of the four counties . . . and in the others he "had his little bloc who always vote for him, but who are not sufficiently large enough to carry the county." Down there where "Carmichael is not known," we found him leading in three counties and pushing Talmadge in the fourth . . . and way ahead of Rivers. Rivers had a little strength in Colquitt.

5-15-46

Race Issue We did not find anyone actually an enemy of Carmichael, himself. Men who said they were going to vote for Talmadge told us they would "really like to vote for Carmichael." Many of them said they had no use for anything Talmadge stood for—except one thing. That was the fact that Gene was against Negroes and whites going to school together, and that Gene would keep the Negroes from voting. They are concerned over the race issue in the "Black Belt," where Negroes outnumber whites. Some people who are not even subscribers to Gene's Statesman are concerned lest the Negroes outvote them. They fear the Negroes will vote in a bloc. They have been told—well told—that Carmichael is for the Negroes voting and for a mixing of the races socially . . . only a few believed Talmadge's latter charge.

At Moultrie, Carmichael told his immediate audience and his statewide radio audience that "as long as I am Governor, there will be no mixing of the races . . . whites and blacks will not attend the same institutions . . . Southern racial traditions will be preserved." He declared that neither he nor anyone else could revoke the orders of the United States Supreme Court permitting Negroes to vote. He said—and the crowd cheered—that he would under no circumstances repeal the county unit system of elections or repeal the laws protecting the primary from fraud.

5-15-46 Wed

What effect Jimmie's statement had on those concerned over white supremacy in the "Black Belt" is not known now. But some said at Moultrie that they didn't see how they could ask for anything more. Talmadge is the only candidate pledged to a white primary. He admits the Legislature would have to repeal from the statute books all laws protecting the rural counties in the county unit vote system. He admits the Legislature would have to wipe out all laws protecting the primary ballot boxes from fraud. He asks that safeguarding of the county unit system and primary ballot boxes be left to the State Democratic Committee. Carmichael reminded his Moultrie listeners that this was left to the Democratic Committee back before World War I, and the Committee abolished the county unit system—"That was the reason the Neill primary law was passed," he said.

He added that even if the county unit system was abolished from State law, that the United States Supreme Court still would hold that the Negroes are entitled to vote in the primary, and that Georgia would be in worse shape than it is today, with machine political counties ruling the State.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Mr. Talmadge Writes

Dear Mr. McGill:

Your leading editorial on May 5 stated as follows:

"From both the political headquarters of Mr. Eugene Talmadge and Mr. E. D. Rivers have come public denunciations of the better element of Georgia."

You, as Editor of The Atlanta Constitution, know this statement to be completely and utterly false, insofar as Eugene Talmadge is concerned.

You wrote this editorial, or permitted it to be published in your paper knowing it to be false at the time. You did so in an effort to and wholly t... EUG... deceive the people of Georgia. ... in full or not at all—E. T

The newspapers that make any effort whatsoever to carry the news, carry the facts regarding both sides of any political question. Your paper has devoted numerous front-page stories to your favored candidate for governor while at the same time even failing to mention speeches that I have made over the radio and others on the stump. Carry in fu...

In the interest of journalistic fair practices, I am requesting that you carry this letter and let the people of Georgia know that your statement of May 5 was entirely

Editor's Note: Mr. Talmadge apparently has not read some of the tirades which have been appearing above his name in his personal paper, THE STATES-MAN. Wed 5-15-46

Drunk on Power

Editor Constitution: The Constitution has been in our home since 1905. . . .

I did not vote for Talmadge in his first race for governor, but re...

140 Pounds for Talmadge

Editor Constitution: I have been for Talmadge a number of years. The first time I registered I voted for Gene—just what I mean to do this coming election.

I am 50 years old, weigh 140 pounds and every ounce of it's for Talmadge.

Why fool with a little upstart like Carmichael?

Talmadge is the man we need, not wait for one to grow up and adjust himself to running our Government. We all know why

I heartily indorse Jimmy Carmichael for governor.

R. A. CLEM,
Coroner Troup County,
LaGrange. Wed 5-15-46

they try to keep Gene quiet and don't want him to speak. They all know he will tell them something they don't want to hear.

What does Carmichael know? He might have picked up some wisecracks at the Bell Bomber Plant but we don't need that kind of stuff, we need some square thinking and dealings—just what we will get when Gene is elected this Fall. I feel confident if we have honest men to handle the ballot boxes that Gene has nothing to worry about.

Come on all you honest people, help elect the man we need to run our Government.

One hundred percent for Talmadge.

MRS. WALTER JOHNSON.
College Park.

Start With Carmichael

Editor Constitution: Georgia is on the road to being one of the most progressive of Southern states. Partly because for a few years a good Governor represented the people. That man was Mr. Arnall.

Now a new Governor must take over. We need a man who will handle our affairs in such a manner that when our children proudly say, "I'm from Georgia," their listeners will think, "Georgia, that is the state with those good roads, the best education system in the South, and with opportunities for all." This can not be brought about overnight, we need not one but a series of good Governors starting with Mr. Carmichael.

JOHN L. MOORE.
1310 Stillwood Rd., N. E.

JACK TARVER

Ole Gene Running Under Wraps?

Personally, I have been a little disappointed with Gene Talmadge's uncharacteristically modest approach to the gubernatorial campaign.

Instead of pussyfooting around with promises to abolish all the primary laws, I mean, why doesn't he go ahead and propose that we do away with all elections of any sort, setting up a Talmadge dynasty? He could be Eugene The First and Herman could still take over in four years, as currently planned, and then Herman's boy . . . and so on ad infinitum, or at least until Georgia really gets ready for democracy.

And why, instead of some weak-kneed action like stopping all trains and buses at the State line, doesn't Ole Gene just outlaw them altogether? That way, we wouldn't be bothered with all these alien influences from Alabama and Tennessee and South Carolina. We wouldn't have to worry about freight rates any more, either.

And why, while he's about it, doesnt Talmadge lay bare his heart and recommend that we solve the Negro question once and for all by a general lynching? There are only about a million Negroes in Georgia. Hitler killed that many Jews a month in Germany and Gene is just as capable as Adolf.

I don't think his ex-excellency is playing fair with his followers, running on such a milk-and-water platform. He ought to throw them more raw meat along, take off his inhibtions along with his coat, and give the faithful the type stuff they really want to hear.

Come, come, Gene . . . Let's not be bashful. You've got a reputation to uphold.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: The common expression, "Once a Talmadge man always a Talmadge man, and if one of them fails to show up on election day and vote for Gene you may go to the family cemetery and find his name on a new marble slab," has a significance: For more than 40 years I have been a close observer, from the sidelines, of politics and around 20 of those years I have observed this man Talmadge—in campaigns and in office. To begin with he plans a program that he believes to be to the best interest of the common man and then takes his fight directly to him, appealing to and winning the friendship of the man who earns his living by the sweat of his face and they stick by him, come hell or high water.

In any campaign he can count on more than a hundred thousand loyal supporters who will go to bat for him and I have not the conceit and effrontery to say to those people: You are ignorant, unlearned and do not know what you are doing. It would do no good even if I did.

This fellow has all the fighting ability of a man in the prize ring, on the gridiron, on the diamond, and on the battlefield: He plans his fight and goes to it with all he's got and when he's elected the fight has only started. He leaves not a stone unturned until every pledge has been redeemed.

His manner of fight does not appeal to the "elite," the parlor-politician, the kidglove-silkstocking variety that help to make up the citizenship of our state and they can't refrain from giving him a fight every time he offers for any elective office. But the rank and file of our people make their living the hard way and get a real kick from seeing a fighter in action, and he never disappoints them.

J. N. FOREMAN.
Norman Park.

Hurrah for Gene

Editor Constitution: Could this world of people all have been Gene Talmadges what a different life we'd live and no letters to be written but as that was impossible here comes a letter from just a girl who gives Talmadge the greatest name on earth. Mr. Talmadge stands for all white or no white at all. He has been a great Governor and will be again, I hope. Everyone should be honored to have such a man in this State of Georgia. He has done more for us than we deserve. Who else would try to help now after these years? Only a true, faithful gentleman like Gene Talmadge. To have him serve as President of the United States would make me happy and I'm sure he'd make as good a President as he is going to make us Governor for the coming years. Hurrah for Gov. Eugene Talmadge.

MISS RUTH WALKER.
Union Point, Ga.

Likes Rivers

Editor Constitution: I am very much interested in the coming primary, for it will offer my first opportunity to vote for a Governor of Georgia. Leaving out the unimportant issues, I wish to tell you how the three main candidates appear to me now.

James V. Carmichatel is the most popular according to the newspapers. His previous actions have never benefited me in any way. He seems to me as an advocate of pultocracy rather than of democracy.

Eugene Talmadge seems to be the muddiest. Yet he is dearly beloved by over 200,000 old-time Georgians. He gave them low-cost automobile licenses. But I do not even know how to drive; nor, much more, do I own a Model T.

E. D. Rivers is a little unpopular, because he ran Georgia into debt. (I think that a debt-free Georgia is due more to the war-time inflation than to Gov. Ellis Arnall.) I could not have entered the seventh grade nor finished high school as a first honor student if he had not run the state into debt. He gave me free text-books. It is better for Georgia to be in debtt han to have illiterate children.

It will be the so-called trivial things that elect our next Governor. The blazing issues of white supremacy, parole racketeering, and liberalism are just dust in our eyes.

JERRY MABRY.
Toccoa, Ga.

Rural Poll

Editor Constitution: Since the lying newspapers have all abandoned Gene we hear that some of his followers are soliciting stock for a new daily paper to be Georgia-owned and Georgia-edited.

We have made a survey of the rural folks to get their opinions on what they think about us having another daily. We asked, "Do you think a daily would help Gene if it were possible to start it right now?"

19%—No opinion.

33%—Yes that we need one badly to get the truth to the people that their candidate was not getting a square deal.

48%—No. That Jimmy had soiled Gene's kitchen so badly they did not think any number of new dailies would help him now

BILL FLYNN, SR., Director
Institute of Rural Public Opinion.
Greenville, Ga.

Arnall's Employes

Editor Constitution: We heard what Mr. Rivers said of Gene. We also heard what he said of the Arnall and Carmichael crowd. Let me tell you that it is no joking matter for Carmichael to tell his workers he does not want them to form a legitimate organization as he does not want to pay unionized wage. It is not a joking matter that a man like Arnall is trying to fool the workers when the workers in the Arnall Mills in Coweta County are among the lowest paid in the United States.

WORKING MAN.
Atlanta.

Negro Voters Angering Georgia

"It is the first election in the history of Georgia where our young people can really speak out and have a voice in the government of Georgia," Arnoll remarked.

The governor, prevented by the state constitution from seeking a second consecutive term, declined to announce what candidate he will support. Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge, a race baiting gubernatorial candidate, has promised to maintain white supremacy if elected.

Chill On Negro Voters

ATLANTA (ANP)—Acceptance of demagogues."

Negro voting rights in Georgia primaries was urged here last week. Arnall pointed out, and there are unwilling to uphold the law as of Negro voters have registered in executive committee before. There are more women registered than those who men. Thousands unworthy of citizenship and pleaded the primary, which will be held on July 17, since federal court rulings for honesty.

"Let's not run from the quacks upheld their right to ballot in Democratic primaries. The issue," he said.

Funny Business in Atlanta

A colored candidate filed papers for membership on the Fulton County Georgia Democratic Executive Committee last week and then withdrew in a few hours.

Explanation given was that a colored and white man visited her home and advised her that she ought to run. So, she filed.

A short time later a colored citizens' committee convinced her that whites had planned to use her only as a tool, and that the business of getting colored people to run for office was part of a scheme to frighten white voters over the State and get whites to support the KKK candidates.

They told the candidates that since this was the first year that colored Georgians were voting freely, it would be better to take the situation by degrees and first organize colored voters into a solid organization, before any candidates for office were named.

That sounds like good sense and sound procedure.

The wonder is that anybody in Georgia or anywhere else would file as a candidate for public office after listening

Jimmie Calls Talmadge 'Bluff' On State's 'Racial Issue'

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

BLAKELY, June 5—Southwest Georgia audiences gave Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmie Carmichael a big hand when he called Eugene Talmadge's "bluff" on the so-called racial issue Wednesday.

Crowds at Cuthbert and Blakely applauded when Carmichael reaffirmed his belief in Southern traditions and declared neither he nor Talmadge nor anyone else could successfully violate Federal laws. Carmichael delivered his third speech of the day at Dawson Wednesday night as he waded into Talmadge territory and fought the ex-Governor on his own "smokescreen" issue.

A crowd that was bigger than the one drawn by Talmadge a week ago overran the Randolph County courtroom at Cuthbert and stopped Carmichael's speech every few minutes with loud applause and laughter as he unmasked what he termed Talmadge's "smokescreen" issue to divert your attention from his own sorry record as Governor."

In the same place where Talmadge had shouted the same warning he had voiced for 26 years that "the nigger will rule if you don't elect Gene Talmadge," Carmichael was vigorously applauded when he said, "I am just as steeped in Southern tradition as Tadmadge is."

"The only difference is that I propose to respect the law of the land and he promises to flaunt it. There will never be any mixing of races in Georgia as long as Jimmie Carmichael is Governor, because neither the white people nor the Negroes want it."

The crowd burst into laughter when Carmichael said what Talmadge really wanted was not so much a White Primary as a "Talmadge Primary."

The crowd at Cuthbert virtually went wild with laughter as Carmichael painted them a picture of what would happen if they abolished their County Unit Laws and turned over the State Government to Talmadge and Roy Harris and the Cracker Party.

"Talmadge has been asking Georgia to wipe out all its election laws so as to try to get around the United States Supreme Court ruling that Negroes can vote in a Democratic Primary," the candidate pointed out. "Now he is saying he can safeguard the County Unit System by placing it in the State Constitution. That would put it into the heart of Georgia's law and right under the Federal court ruling."

In Cuthbert, where Editor Sherwood Broome is being sued for criminal libel by Editor Fred New, of Harris County, in a newspaper dispute over Carmichael's record at the Bell Bomber Plant, Carmichael remarked, "Aside from a few people who couldn't get their snouts at the trough the most complaints we received about our work at the Bomber Plant came from the Japanese." Newspapers attacking Carmichael were circulated at the Talmadge rally recently.

Carmichael and Tadmadge are running a close race in Randolph County, local observers said.

In Early County, where the race is between Carmichael and Rivers, Carmichael reminded his audience that Rivers today is promising to pay Georgia schoolteachers a salary "equal to those in other States," but he left office owing Georgia schoolteachers six months' back salary."

R. E. Burgin introduced Carmichael at Cuthbert. Mrs. E. Suarez presided and Rev. J. W. Hunt opened the meeting with a prayer.

White Supremacy Issue

Editor Constitution: I am neither a politician nor a Georgian, but I am a Southerner and am interested in the forthcoming gubernatorial election in Georgia.

It appears that the main plank in one candidate's platform is simply one of "white supremacy." Never before have I known of a candidate to be so decidedly upset about an issue that is groundless if we are to still abide by the provisions as set forth by our forebears in the Constitution. At the same time he is overlooking major points that concern statewide advancement and sound government policies.

It seems probable that this candidate is trying to play upon emotions of the Georgia citizens (emotions that should have long been dead) and ride to victory unjustly atop that one point, which should not be an issue in a governor's election. I should think that by now the people of Georgia have become advanced and broad minded enough to realize that this election is not one to decide white supremacy at all. No one is contesting such so-called supremacy. Any group of people who have helped build our democracy, paid taxes and had members of their race die in battle, should be allowed a vote in an election.

If you want a man who, from all indications, will do his utmost to hinder the educational, religious, and economical development of the Negro; who will incite riots that will cause murders and create murderers; who will encourage hatred and degradation in a portion of the population and who in general will lower the standards of government by racial discrimination; then it is your privilege to vote this year for a man who advocates as his strongest campaign issue, "White Supremacy."

This year may see the beginning of a new and far greater future for Georgia.

FLETCHER HESTER, PhM
U. S. Naval Hospital, Dublin.

Georgia's Governor's Race Gains Verbosity

BY BENNETT DELOACH
Associated Press Staff Writer

There were signs around the political camps of Georgia's gubernatorial aspirants Saturday that the candidates are ready to let down the reins for the drive into the stretch.

Former Gov. E. D. Rivers gave the clearest indication of that as he laid plans for a heavy speaking schedule which will have him making two and three speeches daily. Rivers, formerly has been making comparatively few stumping appearances. But that apparently has been part of his general campaign strategy.

Eugene Talmadge and James V. Carmichael, will maintain their previous arrangement of speaking two times daily.

With the Democratic primary about four weeks away, the candidates appear to be striving to lay ing the groundwork for bandwagon drives, if they can muster them up.

This spruced up activity on the part of the candidates shared the news interest on the political scene with a statement by a federal attorney that investigations were under way to determine whether Negroes seeking to register have been disqualified illegally.

Charges that Negroes have been disfranchised have arisen recently since federal courts gave the Negroes the right to vote in the state's Democratic primary.

The coming week will provide Georgia voters with some more fuel for political chit chat when Gov. Arnall will tell next Saturday night how he feels about the governor's race.

Meanwhile, the entries in the governor's race kept up their program of calling each other names and reviewing their platforms.

Carmichael hurled accusations at both Rivers and Talmadge. He lashed Rivers for his "unpardonable pardon racket" and spoke of Talmadge's "past hatred of organized labor" and that he had "put working men in barbed wire concentration camps with the National Guard using bayonet force.

Rivers proclaimed that Carmichael is the "me too" candidate of Gov. Arnall and that "Carmichael's campaign is gone with the wind."

The former governor also took a whack at Talmadge in an assertion that "I want to remind the people that it was Gene Talmadge who was responsible for having the university taken off the accredited list."

Rivers continued his attack on Gov. Arnall for what he called "trading in highways for votes for Carmichael."

Talmadge warned of the treat to white supremacy if the state elected a candidate selected by Ellis Arnall, agent in the South for Henry Wallace.

"The choice of such a man," said Talmadge, "would give impetus to the nationwide radical movement for wilder and wilder experiments with the American organization of society."

Talmadge reviewed his campaign promises to benefit all Georgians especially farmers, veterans and school teachers.

Progressive South

Editor Constitution: Just what does Talmadge expect to do about the Negro situation in Georgia? Does he think he can be as the Gestapo was in Germany? Does he want to kill out all the Negroes? It seems so, to me.

Let me ask another question: If the position of the white people and the Negro people were reversed would the white race have had the patience and ambition to get education and knowledge in the face of opposition such as the South has given the Negro. They pay taxes on property they own, contribute to charities and they fought in the war. Yet they haven't been allowed a voice in the governing of their home State.

The problem that faces the farmer who seems to want Gene reelected is: where will we get Negroes to work in the fields, to pick cotton and do other farm labor that has been relegated to the Negro in the South since slavery days? Well, progress is here and machinery is being invented and has even been invented to lighten the burden on the farmer and his Negro helpers. They will just have to wake up to this fact sooner or later. As long as we contend with Gene Talmadges we will have no progress. Wake up, farmers, and realize that machinery is much more efficient than Negro help on the farm! Housewives are realizing that machinery and a little effort and thought on their part is taking the place of colored maid-service in the home.

The Negro does not want social equality with the white people, in fact, from my observation, it is abhorrent to them. They only want and deserve the right of franchise, by law, which is right. In the sight of God a Negro's heart is just as precious as the white man's. Let us, as Christians, try to remember this and act on a more broadminded scale than we have in the past. Let's let the South be a Progressive South!

MRS. JOHN R. FORD, SR.
Atlanta.

Tinder for Talmadge

The incident occurred in Cairo, Ga. A young Negro entered the Western Union office and asked the pretty girl behind the counter for a telegraph blank. The Negro, apparently preparing a message, scribbled a few words, then passed it back for her to read. Her eyes widened with an indescribable fear. "Why is it," he had written, "I can't have dates with white girls?"

Apprised of the encounter, the Cairo sheriff acted fast. He warned the youth that once word spread his life would not be worth a nickel. The Negro left town in an hour. Among themselves older Negroes talked of the happening in frightened whispers.

Last week, the story was serving another purpose—as added tinder for the highly inflammable voters of the key South Georgia counties and thus for the white-supremacy gubernatorial candidacy of drawling, red-gallused ex-Gov. Eugene Talmadge. As reports of the Cairo incident and similar tales of younger-generation Negro "arrogance" in the state circulated, Talmadge's chances against his two opponents in the forthcoming July 17 primary—ex-Gov. E. D. Rivers,

DEFUNCT WHITE PRIMARY TALMADGE CAMPAIGN ISSUE

ATLANTA—Red-suspendered "Gene" Talmadge, former governor of Georgia, launched his stump campaign for the gubernatorial nomination with a vicious attack on "carpet baggers."

What his accusations lacked in credence they made up in customary venom, as the "favorite son" of Jim Crow dusted off the worn-out issues of Communist influence and the white primary, which was recently killed by the Democratic Party here.

That he has completely lost sight of the changing political picture in Georgia was indicated by his boast of being the only candidate favoring the white primary. He attacked the Negro press for hailing a new era in the state. That the Negro vote has already elected some public servants in the state and defeated other office-holders is cause for alarm, said Talmadge. The Negro vote is controlled by influences from Moscow and Harlem, he admonished, and they are headed by Commerce Secretary Henry Wallace. Wallace, he declared, is campaigning for the presidency, and has promised Governor Arnall the nomination for Vice-President as the champion of Negro votes.

Carmichael Paints Talmadge As Paul Revere of Race Issue

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

TIFTON, June 4—Gubernatorial Candidate Jimmie Carmichael came into Georgia's "Black Belt" Tuesday and talked frankly about the racial issue, on which he said Ex-Gov. Talmadge is trying to ride into office. Crowds at Tifton and Douglas applauded Carmichael.

He traced the racial question back through 26 years of "Talmadge poppycock" and to the War Between the States, and then brought it up to date with this week's ruling by the United States Supreme Court holding that "Jim Crow" laws cannot be enforced on interstate bus transportation.

"Ever since I was 10 years old, Eugene Talmadge has been running for office in Georgia on the race issue," Carmichael told the laughing audiences. "He has played the role of a modern Paul Revere, hollering 'Wake up, wake up, the nigger is coming.' He has been trying to spread hatred for 26 years, purely to get into office.

"He has said each year that if you didn't elect Talmadge there would be a mixture of the races—but there has not been. He talks about a white primary, and says if he is not elected the Negroes will rule Georgia. The Negroes have been voting in Georgia's general elections since the War Between the States. The Negroes have been legally eligible to hold office in Georgia since that time. Yet, the Negroes have never ruled Georgia politics.

"The United States Supreme Court has ruled that segregation laws cannot be enforced on buses crossing the State lines. Talmadge already has pledged himself to stop vehicles at the State line and enforce the Jim Crow laws. If Georgia wants to do this, we have got to make up our minds to secede from the Union and match our National Guard against Federal troops.

"I will say that as long as I am Governor, Negroes will not attend white schools, there will be no interracial marriages, and there will be no mixing of the races in our institutions.

"I am just as steeped in Southern tdadition as Talmadge is. My grandfathers both fought for the Confederacy. But, if I take the oath as Governor to depend the laws and Constitutions of our Nation and our State, I will not perjure myself. And if Eugene Talmadge were honest, he would say the same thing. The United States Supreme Court has decided who will vote in Georgia, and there is nothing I, nor Talmadge, nor anyone else can do about it. We must either have law and order, or chaos and anarchy," Carmichael declared.

Observing that ex-Govs. Rivers and Talmadge contend he cannot win because he has no political machine, Carmichael said he could quickly build himself a machine of asphalt dealers, machinery dealers and text book dealers if he were willing to "make a deal."

"I do have a political machine that Red Suspenders and Black Bow Tie can't beat, however. My organization is composed of the thousands of young people of Georgia who will be voting for the first time; of the thousands of veterans who don't want to be insulted by the offer of a free driver's license for their vote; of the thousands of working people who don't want their tax money wasted, and of the thousands of people who ask for a decent State government of which they can be proud. The old-line political machines will never beat this group."

G. O. Bailey, Jr., City School Superintendent, presided over the Tifton meeting. Lt. Col. Steve F. Mitchell, Tifton Attorney and Veteran of two World Wars, introduced Carmichael.

Among those on the stage were: Superior Court Judge R. Eve, former Rep. T. E. Phillips, Sr.; Mrs. R. E. Jones, Mrs. Amos Tift, Mrs. John Pehler, George Wright, S. A. Martin and J. C. Williams, all of Tifton, and Jim Pate, of Ashburn.

The Tifton High School band gave a concert before the speaking.

Mitchell predicted that Carmichael would be an overwhelming favorite of Tift County, with Talmadge running a poor second and Rivers in third place.

Carmichael stopped at Fitzgerald to meet groups of friends before coming to Tifton from Douglas.

In his speech at Tifton, Carmichael said he would, as governor, insist upon efficiency in the operation of the State Department of Veterans' Service.

"I promise to see that every Georgia veteran receives speedy service in all dealings with both the State and Federal Veterans' Agencies," he continued. "If necessary, I will burn up the telephone to Washington to get rid of bureaucratic red tape in the handling of veterans' claims, insurance matters, housing problems, employment rights and education."

Carmichael favored forming a State Veterans' Council composed of representatives of all recognized veterans' organizations in the State.

A crowd that overflowed the Coffee County Courtroom and found a large number standing on the lawn heard Carmichael speak at Douglas. Rep. J. H. Williams introduced Carmichael. In Coffee County, which is between the home towns of Eugene Talmadge and Ed Rivers, the crowd applauded Carmichael's attack on what he termed the Talmadge-Rivers combination.

They laughed as Carmichael cited what he called the fantastic promises the two ex-Governors are making in their come-back attempts, and they applauded as the young candidate observed that Rivers and Talmadge have recognized he is in front by combining their attacks on him.

Carmichael made a particular hit when he advocated home rule in this county which a few years ago saw County officials legislated out of office.

Talmadge Says He'll Get Most Votes of CIO

By ROBERT H. McKEE
Journal Staff Writer

COVINGTON, Ga., June 15.—Eugene Talmadge, candidate for governor, told a large audience here Friday that "I will get nine-tenths of the C. I O. vote in Georgia, because the men who joined the C. I O. to get better working and living conditions will not follow Moscow and Henry Wallace in opposing me."

He characterized Wallace as a "crystal gazer," and predicted "the black face in the glass won't be so plain after next July 17." He said the C. I. O.'s boast of plans to spend $5,000,000 in the South was in a large measure directed toward championship of the F. E. P. C. bill. He has repeatedly said C. I. O. men are working in his headquarters.

Heckled Again

Mr. Talmadge had a single experience with a heckler while he was discussing Wallace. Someone in the audience shouted: "He was elected three times by the white people."

One of his friends put another question: "Why did you pick on the university system?"(It looked like a hostile question but the man applauded the answer.)

"That's water over the dam," replied Mr. Talmadge. "Some people thought I was wrong in that matter, but you know they had a little nigger trouble over there. It's pouring over the housetop now and we've got to stop it."

Heavy rain dampened prospects for one of the largest rallies of the campaign. Hundreds were assembled in the city square when the rain began falling. After an hour's delay the program was moved to the Newton County Courthouse, where every seat was taken and hundreds stood. Many couldn't get inside. Delegations were present from Porterdale, Mansfield, Starrsville, Social Circle and Oxford.

Names "Smart Negro"

"If the Negro agrees with me in my doctrines, he shouldn't try to vote in the white primary," said Mr. Talmadge as the crowd whooped approval. "The smartest Negro in the South is Dr. J. W. Holly, of Albany. He has repeatedly said the Negro is making a serious mistake in taking part in the white primary."

Paying hearty disrespect to "zoot-suited Negroes with feathers in their hats," Mr. Talmadge said the older Negroes approve of the Jim Crow law. "People have asked me how I'm going to get around the Supreme Court decision against segregation. There are plenty of ways to stop a law if you follow the law. Many a time I've seen a cow leaning over the fence to nip the grass—but she didn't leave the pasture!"

In the last election Mr. Talmadge carried Newton County over Ellis Arnall, and before that it was in the Rivers column.

Mr. Talmadge was introduced by R. M. Tuck, Covington attorney.

GEORGIA EDITORS SAY:

UNTRIED

(Pickens County Progress)

The question of preservation of a white primary should have been approached with the most careful consideration and not as a political vote-getting scheme. A good deal has been said about the South Carolina primary law, but so far it has not been tested by the Federal courts. **They expect a test case folling this year's primaries. It allows Negro primaries also, though one has never been held over there. If Negro primaries were held in Georgia, there are some** counties in the State where their nominees would have a good chance to beat the white nominees. It is not yet clear how much legal protection can be placed around a white primary and stay within the Federal law. We certainly do not wish to see a candidate have to contest a rotten election before the Committee that stole it with no chance to appeal to any court.

In Concentration Camp

Editor Constitution: We hear so much these days about Mr. Talmadge keeping his promises.

I remember and so do lots of other people in Georgia when Eugene Talmadge promised never to call out troops on Georgia workers.

I saw people thrown out of their homes and expectant mothers slapped by Talmadge's Storm Troopers, better known as the National Guard, soon after those promises were made.

I spent 16 days in a Talmadge concentration camp without a change of clothes or a chance to notify my family.

I was 16 years old.

In case you have forgotten Mr. Talmadge, that was the mills in LaGrange.

The people of Georgia haven't forgotten. I challenge you to deny these charges.

JAMES MO[...]
672 Stewart Ave.

Three Crows

Editor Constitution: In Jimmie's speech of June 1 he said that he was going to drive three crows out of Georgia, but he lied about what three crows it was. The crows that Jimmie was talking about were the white primary, separate seats on buses and separate schools for our children. Now he thinks that he is going places with two of them gone. But the white people are going to call these three crows back July 17 by electing Eugene Talmadge as Governor.

When the people look in those graves up in Harlem they will find Jim Crow, white supremacy and Eugene Talmadge flying all over Georgia with white people, and in those graves they will see Jim Cox, Ellis Arnall and Jimmie Carmichael.

Jimmie's been singing "KKK" so much for the last few weeks I think he has started spelling his name "Karmichael."

C. W. MAXEY.
Bishop.

10 Per Cent Voted

Editor Constitution: In our present system of government it is the duty of every eligible person to go to the polls and cast their ballots. Democracies have proved that this is the best way to pick, and put in power, the best qualified to fill the positions of trust, from that of Justice of the Peace to the President of our great nation.

In the last election in Gordon County, with the important matter of the revision of the Georgia Constitution up for consideration, less than 10 percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. How can a man have worth-while convictions in a matter about which the people as a whole are so indifferent? Ninety percent of the people bellyache about the kind of men we have in office, and as a matter of fact they should keep their mouths shut because they have done nothing to put better men in these places of trust.

We are facing the dawn of a new day in world history. Only unity and vision can save us in the coming atomic age. We should be on the alert, learn to think, and reason together. Then, we should go to the polls, fully informed and vote.

GUS HALL.
Calhoun.

Frothing

Editor Constitution: Have you heard about the Atlanta radio listener who mistook the sizzle of a seltzer tablet dropped into water in front of a microphone for a certain gubernatorial candidate frothing?

HENRY A. COURTNEY.
1028 Columbia Ave., N. E.

Solon Denies Race Is Political Problem; Lashes At Agitators

ATLANTA, May 18.—(AP)—There is no racial problem in the so-called "black belt" of Georgia, but agitators can stir up serious trouble there, Rep. Walter Harrison of Jenkins county said in an address over Radio Station WSB here today.

Harrison, mayor of Millen and president of the Georgia Rural Electric Association, made a plea for the election of James V. Carmichael as governor "to carry on the good work started by Governor Ellis Arnall."

"At the present moment," he said, "many of the negroes are registering for the first time . . . there is no problem that now exists or ever will exist that the right thinking white and negro citizens cannot discuss and settle in a peacetime manner."

"Strange to say," he added, "those counties which have a preponderance of negro population have no trouble between the races. We have risen above this in Georgia.

"Some of the opposition would have you believe that southern traditions are at stake . . . that we will soon be dictated to by some unknown outside influence . . . just a smokescreen to hide the real issues in this campaign.

"You cannot continue to run Georgia by bluff and buffoonery. We cannot continue to set

[...] Inside the Constitution of the United States and the decisions of our higher courts in the question of our negroes being permitted to vote."

The Bigots Are at It Again

We had hoped, after the people so resoundingly repudiated appeals to race prejudice in the last gubernatorial campaign, that the demagogues had learned their lesson.

Such, unfortunately, does not seem to have been the case. Currently being manifest in the race for Bob Ramspeck's congressional post is a vicious example of religious intolerance reminiscent of Naziism at its worst. And already there are indications that the same rabid factions discredited four years ago are assiduously preparing their venom for this summer's governor's race.

It is disheartening that having just suffered more than a million casualties in an effort to stamp out the self-assumed master race of Europe, we should be confronted with the same bigoted theories here at home.

It is discouraging to think that hundreds of thousands of American youths—of every color, race and creed—laid down their lives that irresponsible fanatics can create strife and dissension by stirring racial and religious bias.

We can only hope that those who have no more to offer than narrow-minded bigotry will receive such a lack of encouragement at the hands of an outraged electorate that sooner or later even their small minds will learn that campaigns based on prejudice do not make for victory at the polls.

For Talmadge

Editor Constitution: The coming Governor's election is going to be a hot one, indeed!

I have been watching the newspapers for editorials on candidates, and just as I figured, all editorials were against Eugene Talmadge. That seems to be a little one-sided, don't you think? It is obvious each knock for Talmadge is a boost. I've heard friends say: "It's funny how the newspapers never say anything good about Talmadge!" That doesn't seem fair. I like that saying, "If you can't say anything nice, don't say anything at all."

There is nothing Gene Talmadge has done that is a disgrace to the South. I think he is a great man and I'm not by myself in thinking this. Talmadge has a great many friends, regardless of what the newspapers say.

Newspapers help form people's opinions and why should the Atlanta papers want to turn everyone against Talmadge? Is it for personal reasons of the editors?

I'd like to see Talmadge get elected again for he has the interest of the people of Georgia at heart.

I hope I never see another editorial in your paper or any other Atlanta paper such as "Talmadgeism," or "Ole Gene." I don't think that looks nice.

I do not think Negroes should vote because it will start a riot sooner or later because there are too many Georgians who are against it. Why is it something has to be started up again when we are trying to have peace. What's wrong with Georgia like it is? Does it have to be changed to be like the North?

More Power to Eugene Talmadge! MRS. J. MOORE,

Atlanta.

TALMADGE FILES CANDIDATE PAPERS

ATLANTA, May 6—(AP)—Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge qualified for the governor's race today, bringing to three the number of men seeking the No. 1 state job.

Flanked by several veterans and former state officials under past Talmadge administrations, the fiery Gene looked on as supporters paid his $500 entrance fee to Miss Grace Cannington, secretary of the State Democratic Executive Committee.

Talmadge said his qualifying fee was paid by the former GIs who accompanied him.

Other gubernatorial candidates who have qualified are James V. Carmichael, Marietta, and E. D. Rivers, Lakeland.

Also qualifying for a state office today, Ben W. Fortson paid his entrance fee of $350 as a candidate for secretary of state. Fortson is seeking a full term to the post to which Gov. Arnall appointed him several weeks ago.

THE PULSE OF THE PUBLIC

Surprise

Editor Constitution: If Mr. Gregory thinks that the decent thinking people of Georgia are going to put Gene Talmadge back into office as governor then I'm sure he will be baffled to find that many Georgians overseas do not see "eye to eye" with him. It will also surprise him to know that a large number of the Negroes overseas are as true Georgians as he.

It is high time that all Georgians and especially all the "Jack Gregorys" woke up to the fact that this country was settled so that all men (and this includes Negroes) might have equal opportunity.

Perhaps it would do him good to go north or somewhere.

H. A. BOHANNON.

Atlanta.

The Constitution welcomes letters from its readers. They must be signed, should not exceed 200 words.

"Lot of Nonsense"

Editor Constitution: Jack Gregory's writeup on the "Great Man" in a recent issue appealed to me as a lot of nonsense. Someone like that has very little foresight of the racial peace in Georgia. I'm not saying for a person to give a Negro everything he has, but just don't "step on their toes" because they are human and want to live and worship the same as we do. It is people like Gregory and Talmadge that cause the hatred between the different races. And when there is hatred any normal person knows that peace has ceased then and there.

Let's get a new man like Arnall with a platform to help Georgia and a strong enough back to hold up the platform. A man who wants to better the state and then think of his own troubles instead of one like Gene, who thinks of Gene first and of his pocketbook.

Here's a good reminder for Gregory and his kind: "It's what you learn after you know it all, that counts." B. W. JONES.

Atlanta.

Hard To Believe

Editor Constitution: When I read in a recent edition the letter from the gentleman advocating another Talmadge administration, I was forced to utter aloud: "Now, I've read everything!" Some folks just refuse to learn.

When that rabble-rouser was governor, this state was the target for some of the most uncomplimentary publicity any state has ever been subjected to. How it ever weathered such a blast of unkind journalism is beyond me.

Arnall is responsible in a large measure for saving the day. By sheer accomplishment in constructive, good government he steered attention away from all that unfortunate exploitation and put us at the top, a position this state has not enjoyed too often in the past.

Most of us want a continuance of outstanding efficiency in our state administration. The next election will prove conclusively that we are going forward, not backward, to a position of leadership in national affairs.

CHARLES L. BIRD.

Atlanta.

Newnan Proud

Editor Constitution: I want to answer Jack Gregory's letter and tell him "yes" we are looking for the greatest governor Georgia ever had back home. We in Newnan are very proud of the fact that one of us straightened out the awful mess the former governor got the state in.

MRS. MARVIN BLACK WOOD.

Newnan, Ga.

Isn't the Man

Editor Constitution: Eugene Talmadge is all right on the farm. But! Governing the state of Georgia is not like raising hogs and cows.

You have to think a little on higher scales, but of course he doesn't know that, yet.

When the veterans come home, Talmadge had better not be in the governor's seat.

I don't think they would like to go back in the rut that the state was in under his governorship.

In implying that Negroes and Negro lovers go to the North he betrayed a streak of ignorance under the circumstances.

The world is getting larger, so is Georgia; so I can only say this to Talmadge's paid followers:

Talmadge can stay on the farm and wear his red supenders, chaw his tobacco, but he isn't the man to be governor of Georgia.

If he stays on the farm it'll be a greater contribution to the public than anything else he could do.

MRS. B. S. HALL.

Atlanta.

GEORGIA'S CROSS

Georgia has the most miserable system of gerrymandered counties in the United States. There are 159 little and large county units carved out of a land area scarcely larger than Alabama. The population of these counties range from less than 3,000 in the county of Echols to almost 400,000 in the county of Fulton (Atlanta).

Thus the gubernatorial candidates who can line up the most county machines have the best chance of going to that little mansion out in the Ansley Park area of Atlanta.

The situation is a natural for the demagogue. Georgia has had plenty of that sub-human variety with ambition enough to aspire to the governorship. They are still with her.

The Moultrie (Ga.) Observer sees "storm clouds" gathering and makes this despairing wail:

> Apparently we are rapidly returning to Talmadgeism and Riversism, all breaking out like a rash. This would be bad enough of itself, but with this group of troublemakers and rabble-rousers we are going to have a fresh outbreak of the race question mixed up in politics. There is something for the best people of the State to worry about. We have been going through a period of rest from the race problems in Georgia. The Negroes and the whites have apparently learned how to live together in peace and in the full enjoyment of life. We have not learned how to get along together politically. The peace we have enjoyed for the past few years has resulted for the most part from the failure of the Negro to take any interest in politics. If that could have been continued long enough we might have reached the point where the whites would be willing of their own accord to plan for the participation of worthy Negro citizens in our elections. Agitation by the impatience and decisions of the courts have thrust this problem in our laps before we were ready for it. We fear that this will result in stirring afresh the old race prejudices that we remember of the long ago and had hoped that we would not have to deal with again. It looks like it is going to be a good year for newspaper headline writers.

We hope, for Georgia's sake and for the South's sake, that neither Talmadge nor Rivers will be returned to the governorship. A young newcomer to Georgia's gubernatorial politics, name of James V. Carmichael, has announced his candidacy and has attracted favorable attention from the responsible segments of Georgia's press.

The Advertiser, barring unforeseen developments, will support Mr. Carmichael for Governor of Georgia.

JACK TARVER

A White Hope Vs. a Dark Horse?

Atlanta Constitution
Mon 3-15-46

This is the week, according to omniscient political observers, when the long-heralded "people's candidate" will be unveiled.

And about time, too. He's had the most protracted build-up since Selznick was looking for Scarlett O'Hara.

With Gene Talmadge already in the race and Ellis Arnall smiling knowingly but saying nothing, it was beginning to appear this campaign was going to be fought out between suspense and suspenders.

Incidentally, Talmadge announced early instead of at the usual last minute because it was apparent Roy Harris was stealing his stuff. Gene has a copyright on old-style race rate, but Roy's is the '46 model, streamlined and jet-propelled.

Ed Rivers, that other hardy perennial in the gubernatorial garden, is biding his time. Ed's in no hurry. He figures he can give the other candidates a two-month head start and still out-promise them.

I'm glad they are finally getting around to revealing the people's candidate. I was afraid they were going to wait too late for the people to find out who it is.

Talmadge Enters Governor's Race

Atlanta Constitution, Ga.
Sun 4-7-46

Former Gov. Eugene Talmadge has formally announced his candidacy for governor on a platform featuring preservation of the Democratic "white" primary.

The three-time Governor of Georgia, who was defeated by Ellis Arnall in 1942, declared that if elected he would see that "the people of this State have a Democratic white primary unfettered and unhampered by radical, Communist and alien influences." He said he also would retain the county unit system of election.

Talmadge said the salaries of school teachers should be raised 50 per cent immediately. If the present administration does not grant the increases, the Legislature should meet in extraordinary session and do it. If this is not done before January, Talmadge said he would, if elected, make pay raises for teachers the first principle of his administration.

SUBSIDY FOR HOSPITALS

A million-dollar-a-year State subsidy for helping build hospitals in local communities was advocated by Talmadge. He said the people in the rural areas should receive the same medical care as those in the city hospitals. Talmadge promised to ask the Legislature to appropriate $1,000,000 a year to be allocated to counties and municipalities to supplement local funds to build hospitals.

For the highways, Talmadge said he would inaugurate and successfully complete the largest road-building program in Georgia's history. Especially would farm-to-market roads be built, he said.

"If elected Governor, I shall strive to see that every road in the State over which school buses run and rural mail carriers travel is hard-surfaced and made a permanent and all-weather road," declared Talmadge.

Talmadge said he would ask the Legislature to give all veterans free business licenses, a five-year State ad valorem tax exemption, and an honorary driver's license for life. Half of his appointees to State jobs would be veterans, Talmadge added. Sun 4-7-46

The candidate said he would, if elected, work to see that every old person in this State who makes application receives a pension substantial enough in amount to support himself and family.

CLAIMS SURPLUS IN 1943

"If I am elected Governor, the farmer will ever have a staunch friend in the Governor's chair," Talmadge, a former Commissioner of Agriculture, asserted. "The farmers' markets must be expanded and improved. The farmer should have paved roads, electric power and good schools for his children. I am glad to see that a large number of farmers are joining the Farm Bureau. Since labor and capital are organized, it is incumbent upon farmers to organize in order that their voice might be heard in Washington."

The former Governor said he left office in 1943 with all current indebtedness paid and a balance of $5,500,000 in the State treasury.

"I have always been opposed to increased taxes," Talmadge concluded. "Federal, State and local ta s are too high. I hope and believe the State can be operated without increased revenue. We cannot tell for certain because we do not know what the present condition of the State treasury is. We know that there should be a huge surplus."

EUGENE TALMADGE
Again in Arena

No Need

Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I read J. M. Ward's letter praising Talmadge in April 13 Constitution and somehow this letter interested me.

Speaking of Talmadge I really think Georgia does not need a man of his type, or either Talmadge for governor. "No we don't need him!" Probably there would be fewer of Georgia's worst criminals set free if we would try to keep Talmadge out of the governor's seat. Talmadge should be last instead of being first, and as for the Bible speaking about Negroes, I have never been able to find it yet in scripture and I am a daily Bible reader, too.

4-20-46 P. MARION JACKSON.
Canton, Ga.

In Vain?

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Shall our boys have fought and died in vain? Shall we fail to keep faith with our war dead by voting for the thing they died fighting against? Hitlerism and Talmadgeism cannot be separated. Both breed on race hatred and ignorance. Every voter who fails to vote and every voter who votes for Talmadge votes against the boys who fought World War II. Yes, and they vote against their own children and grandchildren.

Sun 4-21-46 HUDSON BOYD.
U. of Ga. Student, Athens.

Unafraid

Editor Constitution: "We have nothing to fear but fear itself," said our late and beloved President, F. D. R. We can not deny that truer words have never been spoken.

Atlanta Ga.

It seems that certain groups are trembling with fear that Eugene Talmadge will be elected Governor of Georgia, but ole Gene ain't 'fraid a bit. He's got great faith in the honest working people of this great state, and it is evident that even opposing politicians have profound faith in the principles for which he stands. I am referring to the raise in pay for school teachers that Talmadge first brought to light. Atlanta Constitution

Now, if Talmadge was the kind that could be bought over, there is no doubt that he would be offered huge sums just to advise state officials how to run state affairs and stay out of the race. (Only the successful can ever taste bitterness of defeat).

Oh, yes, you who are so all out for the Negro vote, it is outrageous to speak such selfish sentiments of the so-called "underprivileged" and not the first has made known his desire to have a Negro run for Governor of Georgia. (Watch your discrimination). Fri 4-19-46

Now let's remove the selfishness from our chests—strain forth an honest effort, and if we can't do a good job, let's "clam up, clean up and get up."

DANIEL B. SCOGGINS
Atlanta.

Stigma

Constitution

Editor Constitution: Thanks to The Constitution for revealing the complete text of Ex-Gov. Talmadge's announcement as gubernatorial candidate. One can now perceive without scrutiny that it forbodes a race of race-baiting that is typically Talmadgeism.

Mr. Talmadge and his ilk need no fear of a "Negro-Communistic alliance" were the Negroes allowed to vote, a basic principle of the democracy for which his sons fought and died. Atlanta, Ga.

On the far-flung battlefields where the enemy was defeated the blood that scribed the peace wasn't black blood or white blood, but the blood of Americans and it all ran red. Tues 4-16-46

Can the ex-Governor advocate "good schools" when he indubitably disgraced the entire University System of Georgia, a mockery that has yet to pass into oblivion?

Can Negroes become better citizens and possess "the right to earn and make a living and educate their children" under the fascist principles of Talmadgeism?

Can Georgia "become the most progressive state in the Union," bearing a mark of infamy which she fails to rectify?

A head can travel no faster than its feet can carry it—and until a converted Georgia conceives this, she will be a stigma to the nation and the peace for which we fought and died.

An Epochal Victory in Georgia

Richmond Times-Dispatch

IT LOOKED a week ago, as though Eugene Talmadge was virtually certain to recapture the governorship of good government, and their spokesman the Georgia in this Summer's August primary, but the scene has shifted drastically. The stunning defeat of Cracker party in Augusta, Ga., has changed the political outlook throughout the State, and heavily increased the chances that James V. Carmichael, 36-year-old businessman from Marietta who is endorsed by Governor Arnall, will be the State's next Governor.

The reason why the Augusta election means so much is that Roy V. Harris, veteran political machine leader in that city, and Speaker of the Georgia House, was badly beaten there, and his Cracker party overthrown. Not only so, but Harris tried to capitalize on the race issue, just as Talmadge has announced he will do in the gubernatorial campaign. "White supremacy" is the battle cry of Talmadge, just as it was of Harris. But the voters of Augusta and adjacent Richmond County refused to be bamboozled. They saw the issue as one of all rabble-rousers who seek to balloon the race issue into something far out of proportion to its importance. Talmadge has been making such use of the issue in his various campaigns, but the people have had their eyes opened in Georgia. They aren't likely to fall for this sort of hocus-pocus again.

There is another lesson to be drawn from the Augusta election. It is that when voters can be aroused, machines can be overthrown. Here is a practical example of what happens to a machine when the people make up their minds to it out. The normal vote of from 4,000 to 5,000 in Augusta and Richmond County rose to nearly 21,000 in the recent contest, with the result that the Cracker party's long domination over the district was broken. The machine, led by Roy Harris, had remained in control for decades because the electorate was unwilling to go to the polls. That is the way in which nearly all machines hang on. The phenomenon is especially noteworthy in the South, where in seven States the poll tax keeps the vote down. That tax was repealed last year in Georgia. One result already has been this victory for good government in Augusta. It has great significance, not only throughout that State but throughout the nation.

45a 1946 Campaigns (Georgia--Coroner)

The Case of Aurelius S. Scott

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

One of the many intangibles the first-rate Negro citizen has to combat is the stereotype picture of his race which so many persons have.

And certainly one reason they have it is that so many Negroes fit into that stereotype picture. Fri. 10-18-46

We are reminded of this by the somewhat ridiculous Coroner's campaign in Fulton County. As part of that picture there is a Negro candidate, one Aurelius S. Scott.

Unfortunately, he fits the stereotype, even to and included possession of a police court record. In Birmingham's court he was up for disorderly conduct and fined. He was also fined for disturbing the peace. In Atlanta he twice has been arrested on disorderly conduct charges.

By his vague and somewhat windy statements, Candidate Scott fits into the stereotype which causes some persons to think it wrong to educate the Negro.

He has done his people great harm, apparently out of a desire, by no means confined to the Negro race, for publicity, or notoriety.

While entirely unconcerned with Candidate Scott's future, we do think he serves as an excellent illustration of how not to be of service to the hopes and aspirations of his race.

There are more than 20,000 registered Negro voters.

If Scott were elected, he would be the first Negro named to a Georgia elective public office since reconstruction days. A coroner in Georgia is limited to investigation of deaths, and does not act as vice-sheriff, as in Tennessee.

Scott, who played varsity football at Morehouse college and took a liberal arts degree, later took his master's degree at Ohio State and worked for a doctorate at the University of Kansas.

He taught at Fessenden academy at Ocala, Fla.; Bethune-Cookman college at Daytona Beach, and was professor of education for four years at West Virginia State college. He came to Atlanta in 1935 to help in administration of the Atlanta Daily World, of which he is part owner.

Party Moves To Avert Negro Coroner Election

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Fri. 10-11-46

By DUPONT WRIGHT

Possibility that Fulton County's 20,000-odd registered Negro voters may elect a Negro Coroner on Nov. 5 over a field of 23 white candidates yesterday brought about the filing of two suits, one seeking to cancel the election and the other to compel appointment of an interim Coroner.

Also a special meeting of the County Democratic Committee at 2 p. m. today to nominate a white Democrat for the post was called.

Meanwhile, C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, deplored the fact that his brother, Aurelius Scott, entered the race, but announced that his paper would be neutral.

"I did not know of the qualification of Aurelius S. Scott for Fulton County Coroner until I read it in the press," the brother said. "At this stage of our political development in the State, I do not think it expedient for Negroes to run for public office. However, at the proper time, I think qualified Negroes have as much right to seek office as any other citiz n. Our paper took this same position in regards to a Negro woman who qualified for Committeewoman on the County Democratic Committee prior to the recent July 17 primary."

Both suits, filed yesterday in Fulton Superior Court by Roy Drennan and John D. Humphries, were on behalf of Franklin D. Rogers, Atlanta real estate man. One sought a mandamus to compel Judge Eugene Gunby, Ordinary, who is in charge of the Nov. 5 election, to appoint a Coroner to fill the term of Mrs. Paul Donnehoo Martin, resigned. Mrs. Martin's term would have expired Dec. 31, 1948. The petition states the law requires the appointment.

ELECTION ATTACKED

The other suit asks a writ of prohibition to prevent Gunby and Neill Leach, Secretary of the County Democratic Committee, who is assisting the Ordinary in holding the election, from holding a special election for Coroner as scheduled.

Judge Virlyn Moore scheduled hearings on both petitions for Oct. 25.

Prior to the filing of the suits, W. A. Lynn, Chairman, and Neill Leach, Secretary, respectively, of the County Democratic Committee, called a special meeting of the Committee in Judge Wood's courtroom for today. All of the 23 white candidates for Coroner have been invited to be present.

Leach said yesterday that the Committee hoped the white candidates would see the danger of dividing the white vote into 23 parts and withdraw in favor of one candidate. Leach said party leaders would explain the situation to the assembed candidates and that later in the day the Committee would meet to nominate a single candidate to bear the standard of the Democratic Party. Any other candidates would run as Independents.

ADVANTAGE SEEN

The man nominated would have the advantage of having his name on the ticket with the rest of the Democratic candidates. On the voting machines, anyone voting the straight Party ticket by pulling a master lever would also vote for the nominee for Coroner.

"It's without precedent," said Leach, "and frankly we don't know how it is going to work out."

The development came after the Democratic State Convention had taken drastic measures to perpetuate white supremacry and to prevent Negroes from voting in the traditional white primary. It was pointed out that Georgia's Negroes voted in a bloc the only two times they have had the opportunity to vote in numbers in Georgia. These were in the special Fifth District election for Congress and in the July 17 Primary.

Regarding his brother's candidacy, Editor Scott said:

"At this stage of our political development in the State, I do not think it expedient for Negroes to run for public office. However, at the proper time, I think qualified Negroes have as much right to seek office as any other citizen. Our paper took the same position in regards to a Negro woman who qualified for Democratic committee woman for Fulton County."

Her name was withdrawn before the July 17 primary.

The latest candidate to qualify for Coroner was Charles W. Anderson, lawyer, of 2361 St. James Dr., N. W.

Editor Deplores Entry Of Brother In Georgia Race

ATLANTA—(AP)—A 45-year-old, graying Negro educator, who vocally supported Eugene Talmadge in his "white supremacy" campaign for the governorship of Georgia, was the focal point last night of frantic political maneuvering to prevent his election as coroner of Fulton county (Atlanta).

The educator, Aurelius S. Scott, declared in an interview that he would persist in seeking office in the Nov. 5 general election regardless of white efforts to beat him. And he promised he would attend today a meeting of 23 other candidates for coroner, summoned by the Fulton county Democratic executive committee for the avowed purpose of naming one white man as party nominee.

Scott was not invited by the committee.

However, Scott's candidacy was openly deplored by his brother, C. A. Scott, who is editor of the influential Negro newspaper, Atlanta Daily World.

"At this tage of our political development in the state" said the brother, "I do not think it expedient for Negroes to run for public office. However, at the proper time, I think qualified Negroes have as much right to seek office as any other citizen."

MEANWHILE, Democratic leaders frankly expressed anxiety over Scott's candidacy, commenting that in an open race of 24 men, heavy voting of Atlanta's Negro population easily could give Scott a plurality.

Committee Picks Coroner Choice, Rejects Negro's Withdrawal Offer

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Sat. 10-12-46

By DUPONT WRIGHT

In an effort to insure the election of a white man as Coroner of Fulton County on Nov. 5, the County Democratic Committee yesterday set a precedent by selecting Commissioner Ed L. Almand out of a field of 23 to carry the banner of white supremacy and the Democratic Party.

An uninvited guest, A. S. Scott, Negro who announced for Coron-

er, almost stole the show both mary.

Asked at the caucus if he would Scott refused to com- If, but disavowed any securing the Negro said he had supported for Governor.

Scott's candidacy caucus, several candi- candidate had addressed The Committee voted

As the Executive Committee Committee's unprecedented action on the body. The tion in nominating a candidate to accept Scott's withdrawal, but without the formality of a pri- rescined its action on the advice

Democrats Force Negro Out Of Race, Then Back Up

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Sat. 10-12-46

Atlanta, Oct. 11 (AP).—An indecisive Fulton County (Atlanta) Democratic executive committee requested and obtained today the withdrawal of a lone Negro candidate for coroner. Later the committee retracted its request in fear of federal prosecution, and designated a single white man as Democratic candidate in the general election November 5.

Dropped Bombshell

In a turbulent 3-hour session, in which 23 white candidates bickered among themselves as to whether one of them should be chosen "to keep a Negro from becoming coroner of Fulton County," the committee finally voted on fourth ballot to nominate a former County commissioner, Ed Almand, for coroner.

AURELIUS S. SCOTT

Committee Warned.

Politically, this leaves 23 other candidates, including the Negro, Aurelius S. Scott, as "independents," which in Georgia would be tantamount to defeat. Seventeen said they would abide by the party decision, but six white men indicated they would carry their case to the voters. Scott, who left the committee chamber after writing his withdrawal, was completely baffled.

"I withdrew," he said, "because the committee asked me to. I don't know where that leaves me. I don't want to make a racial issue. I just don't know what I'm to do."

An attorney had warned the committee it might be liable to federal prosecution for violation of civil liberties in requesting Scott's withdrawal. He reminded the committee that the law provides penalties if two or more persons conspire to withhold the rights of any citizens.

Candidate Kicked Out, Record Erased

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 10-19-46

ATLANTA—Qualified with 23 whites as candidate for Fulton County Coroner, Aurelius Scott, former W. Virginia State College professor, withdrew from the race when the Fulton County Democratic executive committee requested it during a 3-hour session.

Later when George Finch, an attorney, warned the committeemen that it is a Federal offense if two or more persons conspire to withhold the rights of any citizens, the group removed the procedure from its records.

However, since Scott had turned in his written withdrawal and departed, his status was left in doubt.

Fearing that solid minority vote would elect Scott, the committee meeting was called as soon as it became known that Scott had qualified. The committee nominated El Almand for coroner and left the other candidates as independents.

Scott, who said he didn't know where the committee's reversal left him, stated that he did not want to make a racial issue of the affair.

Afro-American

C. A. Scott, editor of the Atlanta Daily World, and brother of Scott, said his paper would not support him because:

"I do not think it expedient for colored persons to run for public office at this stage of the State's political development."

In New York, Lester B. Granger, National Urban League executive secretary, said, events in Georgia were "a tragic instance that our international aims are frustrated by contradictions at home."

"Criticisms should be leveled at the forces facing Scott rather than at him," he added.

Baltimore, Md.

Declaring that Scott should stand pat, Roy Wilkins, assistant executive secretary of the NAACP, said the incident was another case of Talmadge's intimidation of Georgia's minority citizens.

Also expressing a hope that Scott would stay in the race was Roger Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union executive secretary, who thought the matter might be of concern to the Union because it appears to be a violation of Federal law.

Sat.

The coroner's office was left vacant recently when Mrs. Paul Donehoo, whose term was until 1948, resigned.

10-12-46

Group May Rescind Selection for Coroner

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 10-13-46

By DUPONT WRIGHT

The lively battle for the post of Coroner of Fulton took a new turn yesterday when members of the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee said another meeting probably would be called to rescind the Committee's action Friday in selecting Ed L. Almand as the Democratic Party nominee for the place.

One pointed out the elimination of Aurelius Scott, Negro, from the race changed the situation which brought about designation of Almand as Party nominee. He said Almand won the nomination on the fifth ballot by only one vote.

Retraction by the Committee would sidetrack a move planned by some of the 23 candidates still in the race to go to the courts to test legality of Almand's nomination.

The withdrawal of Scott from the race was presented to and accepted by Deputy Ordinary Claude Mason shortly before the deadline.

The withdrawal, originally offered to the Committee by Scott at Friday's meeting and at first accepted and then rejected, was turned in by Candidate Clarence J. Thompson, who procured it from Scott. Thompson said that Scott had informed him by telephone yesterday that it was his desire to withdraw.

Two candidate, Herman C. McCall and Clarence J. Thompson, said that they would remain in the race if Almand continued as the sole nominee of the Executive Committee. McCall said he withdrew from the balloting of the Executive Committee Friday because he did not wish to participate in "a comedy of errors," but did not withdraw from the race for Coroner.

Said Thompson.

"I entered the race in good faith. The Democratic Executive Committee called a meeting of the candidates to get them to agree on one candidate to oppose the one colored candidate. The candidates could not agree."

Thompson then said he induced the Negro candidate to withdraw, and continued:

"The Executive Committee, irrespective of this event, went on and hand-picked a man to be named as the Party nominee. It was rumored that this was to take place before the meeting was called. I do not agree with this kind of politics, therefore I am still in the race. I am and always have been a Democrat. However, I cannot see any spark of democracy in the action of the Committee."

Acceptance of Scott's withdrawal from the race was rejected by the Democratic Executive Committee after Atty. George Finch pointed out that it would put a Negro in the position of dictating to the Party and forcing Scott from the race might be used as a basis for a Federal civil liberties suit. He advised the Committee to proceed with selection of a single Democratic nominee.

Race Issue Enters Atlanta Coroner's Tilt

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-19-46

ATLANTA, Ga. — Confusion and suspicion shrouded the candidacy this week of Aurelius S. Scott, co-publisher of the Atlanta Daily World, running for Fulton County Coroner against 23 Atlanta whites.

According to A. T. Waldon, who heads the Negro Democratic state movement in Georgia, Scott's candidacy has neither endorsement nor support of leaders in his organization. On the other hand, the white County Executive Committee is alarmed because in a 24 man race, heavy Negro voting could give Scott a plurality. Fulton county has more than 20,000 registered Negro voters.

One thing both know—if Scott is elected he will be the first Negro office-holder in Georgia since reconstruction days.

Aurelius Scott himself is, at present, at an almost complete loss as a result of an anti-Negro candidate meeting of the County Executive Meeting. The bewildered committee met last week in a turbulent three hour session of 23 white candidates requested and obtained the withdrawal of Scott as a candidate for the job. Scott had attended the meeting though uninvited.

The Defender
Sat.
10-19-46

As soon as Scott left the meeting, after submitting his withdrawal notice the committee retracted its request for fear of federal prosecution and designated a white man as Democratic candidate in the Nov. 5, elections.

Chicago, Ill.

The committee named Ed Almand after bickering furiously over whether one of them should be chosen "to keep a Negro from becoming coroner of Fulton county."

"I withdraw," said Scott, "because the committee asked me to. I don't know where that leaves me. I don't want to make a race issue. I just don't know what to do." His status remains in doubt because he had left the room before the committee reversed itself. Scott is now, apparently, an "independent." In Georgia, being an "independent" is tantamount to defeat.

Negro Candidate In Atlanta Rapped

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala.

ATLANTA, Oct. 17—(AP)—A white candidate for Fulton County (Atlanta) coroner today attacked the candidacy of a Negro educator for the office on grounds the latter had not lived here long enough to qualify.

In a petition handed to County Ordinary (Clerk) Eugene Gunby, George M. Kirkland alleged that Aurelius S. Scott had been a resident of Jefferson County, (Birmingham) Alabama, and had taken a voter's oath there as late as Sept. 28, 1945.

Fri. 10-18-46

He added that Georgia law required a candidate to have been a bona fide resident of the State for at least two years prior to the general election in which he sought office.

Gunby said he would summon Scott for a hearing at 10 a.m. Monday, Oct. 21, to show cause why he should not be disqualified.

Kirkland was one of 23 white candidates who announced for the coroner's post, left vacant by resignation. After Scott announced his candidacy, the County Democratic executive committee at first demanded his withdrawal which Scott tentatively offered. But the committee then expunged the request from its records and Scott declared he still was in the race.

The committee designated Ed Almand as the party's candidate for the post and asked other white candidates to accede to its decision by withdrawing and supporting Almand.

The 45-year-old Negro, who said he regarded his withdrawal as final, said he withdrew "because the committee asked me to."

County Ordinary Eugene Gunby said, however, that the Negro's official entry remained unchanged and his name would appear on the ballot.

Negro Withdraws His Name As Candidate

The News Birmingham, Ala.
Sat. 10-12-46

ATLANTA, Oct. 12 — (AP) — The county Executive Democratic Committee asked for and obtained the withdrawal of Aurelius S. Scott, former professor and co-publisher of a Negro paper here, but retraction by the Negro official since reconstruction days faded today with the withdrawal of a Negro candidate from the Fulton County coroner's race at the request of white Democrats.

Democratic leaders, noting Fulton's 20,000 registered Negro voters, had expressed anxiety over Scott's candidacy, feeling that the white candidates in a 24-man race, the Negro vote might give Scott a plurality. Six of the white candidates indicated they would run as "independents."

4ca 1946

Campaigns (Georgia---Coroner)

Negro Steps Down in Atlanta Race, Then Ousters Reverse Decision

The Times

Coroner Candidate, Vying With 23 Whites, Does as Asked, Then Leaves Room, Upon Which the Record Is Expunged

New York, N.Y.

Sat. 10-12-46

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Oct. 11—Aurelius Scott, a Negro candidate for coroner in a race with twenty-three white persons, withdrew today at the request of the Fulton County (Atlanta) Democratic executive committee, which then promptly reversed itself and ordered the entire procedure stricken from its records.

The reversal came after an Atlanta attorney, George Finch, warned the committeemen that they might be liable to Federal prosecution because "the law provides penalties if two or more persons conspire to withhold the rights of any citizen."

Meanwhile, Mr. Scott had written out his withdrawal, handed it to the committee and departed. His status was in doubt, since he had left the room when the committee reversed itself.

Mr. Scott is a brother of C. A. Scott, editor of the Negro newspaper, The Atlanta Daily World, and is a former Professor of Education and Psychology at West Virginia State College.

Group Feared Scott's Election

The meeting of the Democratic committee was called yesterday soon after Mr. Scott qualified. The members were said to fear the possibility that a solid Negro vote would elect Mr. Scott in view of the twenty-three other candidates.

Negro leaders were upset by the situation, and the candidate's brother called a "closed" meeting tonight to discuss it. Editor Scott said that he did not know his brother had qualified until he had read of it in Atlanta newspapers, and that he would not be supported by his newspaper.

"At this stage of our political development in the State, I do not think it expedient for Negroes to run for public office," he asserted.

The coroner's office was made vacant recently by the resignation of Mrs. Paul Donehoo, whose term was to run until 1948.

Single Candidate Named

ATLANTA, Oct. 11 (AP)—In a turbulent three-hour session, in which the twenty-three candidates bickered among themselves as to whether one of them should be chosen to prevent the election of Mr. Scott, the committee finally voted to nominate a former county commissioner, El Almand, for coroner.

Politically, this left the other candidates, including Mr. Scott, as "independents," which in Georgia would be tantamount to defeat. Six of the candidates indicated they would carry thir case to the voters. Mr. Scott, who was completely baffled, said:

"I withdrew because the committee asked me to. I don't know where that leaves me. I don't want to make a racial issue. I just don't know what I'm to do."

Incident Attacked Here

Lester B. Granger, executive secretary of the National Urban League of 1133 Broadway, said that the events in Georgia were "another tragic instance that our international aims are frustrated by contradictions at home."

"It was probably a difficult judgment for Mr. Scott to make, but severe criticism should be leveled not at him, but at the forces confronting him," he said.

He regretted that "the Atlanta electorate" was not having an opportunity "to redeem itself in the eyes of liberty-loving Americans by voting for candidates on their merits."

Channing H. Tobias, executive secretary of the Phelps-Stokes Fund of 101 Park Avenue, who returned from Georgia Wednesday, said that liberal elements in Georgia" now seem stunned" by developments of the Democratic party which recently met "for the purpose of getting Negroes out of the party."

Roy Wilkins, assistant executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 20 West Fortieth Street, believed that the Negro would benefit if "Scott should stand pat." He sai dthat it was "another instance of the Talmadge intimidation of Georgia's Negro citizens."

Roger Baldwin, executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union of 150 Fifth Avenue, saw "intimidation," but hoped that Mr. Scott "will think better of it and remain in the race." The incident "appears to be a violation of Federal law," he said, "and of concern to the A. C. L. U."

Negro Enters Coroner's Race

The Constitution Wed. 10-9-46

A Negro qualified with Ordinary Eugene Gunby as the twenty-third candidate to enter the race for Coroner of Fulton County in the general election on Nov. 5. He is Aurelius Southall Scott, of 1355 West Hunter Dr., N. W.

A printer, he was born in Edwards, Miss. Atlanta, Ga.

The only other candidate to qualify yesterday was J. F. (Goldie) Guldenschuh, of 964 Rose Circle, S. W. He is listed as an employe of the Southern Railway.

Aurelius S. Scott was still a candidate for coroner Monday after verbally being stricken from the ballot Saturday. Ordinary Eugene Gunby said that the Negro's name would remain on the list unless he came personally to the ordinary's office and wrote on his qualification blank that he had resigned from the race.

Although an office spokesman had said Saturday that Scott's name had been erased from the ballot, Judge Gunby said that he had decided that the withdrawal notice Scott pencilled on a piece of yellow paper was not official.

Scott signed the withdrawal Friday night at a meeting of the Fulton County Democratic Executive Committee. The committee accepted the paper, then quickly canceled its action when an attorney warned that it might be subject to civil liberties suit.

Clarence Thompson, one of the 23 white candidates for coroner, filed the withdrawal notice with the ordinary Saturday and this was the one Judge Gunby declined Monday.

Some of the white candidates have been pressing Scott to withdraw so that the committee will put them on the ticket as Democrats. The Democratic group at its Friday night session voted to place Ed Almand on the ballot as the sole Democratic nominee to run against Scott, who was expected to poll the heavy Negro vote. The other white candidates would be forced to run as independents, and therefore would stand slight chance of being elected.

Chairman William A. Lynn, of the Fulton Committee, said that the committee may revise its action if Scott gets out, and place the other candidates on the Democratic ticket.

Another hitch in the race came Monday with the tax collector's office reported that Scott, in registering to vote, said that he became a resident of Fulton County on January 1, 1945. The State Constitution says that a candidate must be a resident of the county for two years. City directories, however, show that Scott was a resident prior to that time given on the vote registration.

Gunby To Hear Charge Scott Reigstered in Alabama in '45

Judge Eugene Gunby, Ordinary, said yesterday he would summon A. S. Scott, Negro candidate for Fulton County Coroner, to his office next week to explain evidence from Jefferson County, Ala., that he was qualified to vote there through 1945.

Gunby made this statement after George M. Kirkland, one of the 22 white candidates for the post, showed him a telegram to that effect from Jefferson County authorities. Under the law, the Coroner must have been a resident of Fulton County for two years.

Kirkland, long an assistant to Mrs. Paul Donehoo Martin, former Coroner, and Acting Coroner Wilson Parker, said yesterday he believed all should have the privilege of running for the post. He is in the position of having to run as an Independent, if he stays in the race, because the County Democratic Executive Committee named Ed L. Almand as Democratic nominee to prevent the election of a Negro.

If Scott is disqualified, the Executive Committee has indicated it would probably withdraw its certification of Almand as sole nominee. Almand's certification was declared legal yesterday in a ruling by County Attorney Harold Sheats.

Another candidate, Clarence J. Thompson, yesterday notified Judge Gunby to withdraw his name in case the Negro remains In the race. If Scott's name goes on the ballot, Thompson said he would support the Democratic nominee.

Scoring the action of the Executive Committee in declaring Almand the Party nominee, Joe White, a former State Trooper, and for a long time one of the late President Roosevelt's bodyguards, said in a speech last night that County politicians have adopted the "scratch my back" policy.

"In the recent election to the County Commission a wave of public indignation swept out of office several old political parasites who fed fattest on public indifference," White said.

"Left high and dry they sought another place on the public pay roll, with the full sympathy and the active natural support, o course, of their kind, who sav their way of parasitic life threat ened," White continued.

"One of the best examples o this type of you-scratch-my-back and-I'll-scratch-yours political deal was the action last week of the Fulton County Committee in hand picking ousted Ed Almand, the man repudiated by the voters in the most recent election, as the Committee's choice to be Coroner," White concluded.

J. F. "Goldie" Guldenschuh, an other candidate for the post, has made public a copy of a letter sent to Ben Fortson, Secretary of State, demanding that his name be on the Democratic ticket, and not placed on the Independent ticket.

"I qualified along with many other candidates," Guldenschuh said, "and unless I hear something definite before Oct. 25, I will be forced to file suit in the Federal courts to insure me my rights."

Atlanta Negro Remains In Race for Coroner

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Atlanta, Oct. 14 (AP)—Fulton County official Eugene Gunby today said Aurelius S. Scott still is officially a candidate for coroner despite filing of a notice that the 45-year-old Negro educator had withdrawn.

Gunby said Scott's name would remain on the ballot unless he personally came to the officials' office and wrote on his qualification blank that he had withdrawn. Tues. 10-15-46

Gunby said he had decided a withdrawal notice Scott pencilled on a piece of yellow paper at the behest of the County Democratic executive committee was not official.

Name of Scott Still on Ballot In Coroner Race

Negro Candidate Hospitalized

PM New York, N.Y.

"Hints that 'outside' influence" may have persuaded his family to hospitalize Aurelius S. Scott, Negro candidate for coroner of Fulton County (Atlanta), Ga., were denied yesterday by the educator's brother.

C. A. Scott, editor of the Negro newspaper, Atlanta *Daily World*, said the family arranged last week to have Scott admitted to a private hospital in the belief that he needed "quiet and rest." The decision was in no way connected, he said, with previous attempts by the Fulton County Democratic executive committee to force the withdrawal of the candidacy. The publisher had previously announced that he did not intend to support his brother's campaign against 23 white candidates.

Publisher Scott gave PM the following story: Mon. 10-21-46

A "scuffle" developed at the Scott family home at Atlanta when hospital attendants called by the family, came to take Scott to the hospital. One of the attendants called police, who—with the family's consent—took Scott to Grady Hospital to treat his hand, cut when a glass door shattered.

Police then took Scott to jail, where he was charged with "disorderly conduct."

"No charges should have been made," his brother said, "for no crime was committed."

Scott was released in his family's custody yesterday and was sent to the hospital, located at Nashville, Tenn.

Prior to his hospitalization, it had been generally predicted that Scott, a former professor of education and psychology at West Virginia State College, stood a good chance of being elected. His brother insisted the family had not been influenced by the political furore, but felt that his "nervous condition" called for a "change of surroundings."

The disorderly conduct charges against Scott come up at Recorder's Court today and are expected to be dismissed upon word that he has been hospitalized.

Disqualification proceedings against Scott on alleged grounds that he has not been a Georgia resident for two years are scheduled for hearing Thursday. The charge was instituted by George M. Kirkland, one of the white candidates.

Scott Ruled Out of Race By Gunby

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri 10-25-46

By ROMNEY WHEELER
Associated Press Staff Writer.

ATLANTA, Oct. 24—Aurelius S. Scott, 45-year-old Negro, was ruled off the ballot today as a candidate for coroner of Fulton (Atlanta) County after a two-hour hearing that he failed to fulfill residence requirements.

George M. Kirkland, one of twenty-three white candidates for the office, contended that Scott had been a resident of Birmingham, Ala., in 1944 and had qualified to vote there through 1945.

Georga law requires residence in the State two years and in the county one year before running for public office. Fri. 10-25-46

The hearing was held before County Ordinary Eugene Gunby.

Three weeks ago, when Scott filed his candidacy, the County Democratic Executive Committee asked for and obtained his withdrawal, then rescinded its action when it was thought that the procedure might be in violation of Federal civil rights laws. One candidate then was named as the Democratic nominee.

Aurelius Southall Scott, 47, believed to be the first Negro to seek public office in Georgia since the reconstruction, has been declared ineligible as a candidate for Coroner of Fulton County for failure to meet residence requirements.

County Ordinary Eugene Gunby, after a two-hour hearing, sustained a challenge by George M. Kirkland, one of 22 white candidates for the same office, who claimed Scott had been a resident of Birmingham until 1945, and had not met Georgia's two-year rule.

The order, striking Scott from the general election ballot, ended two weeks of political turmoil in which the County Democratic Executive Committee voted to request the Negro's withdrawal and then rescinded its action in fear of Federal prosecution for violation of civil liberties.

The Committee, which later designated former County Commissioner Ed Almand as sole Democratic candidate for Coroner to assure Scott's defeat, arranged to meet Saturday noon to revoke the nomination. The effect would be to leave all 22 candidates on equal basis.

Scott's attorney, Frank Doughman, said there would be no appeal.

Scott himself was not in the courtroom when his eligibility was rejected. He was in Hubbard General Hospital, at Nashville, Tenn., where officials reported him under care of a psychiatrist. He was removed there last week end after his family requested him taken in custoday by police for violence. Atlanta police booked him for "disorderly conduct, demented."

Scott's attorney resisted attempts to introduce evidence as to his mental condition. However, two brothers, Cornelius and M. L. Scott, testified he was in a hospital and declared he told them Wednesday that he regarded himself withdrawn from the Coroner's race. The brothers said he was suffering from recurrent "stomach trouble."

Although Scott told newspaper reporters last week he had not withdrawn, his brothers insisted he now claimed this "was just a lie the newspapers printed."

The brothers identified Scott's signature on election records showing he was qualified to vote in Alabama through 1945, and had declared under oath he would become eligible to vote in Georgia after Jan. 1, 1946. Georgia law requires two years residence in order to qualify for public office.

Scott said he would ask Fulton County Ordinary (Clerk) Eugene Gunby to disqualify his brother as a candidate because "he does not meet the required two years' residence in Georgia."

Disqualification charges had been brought against Scott by George M. Kirkland, one of 23 white candidates for the Fulton County Coroner's job. Gunby will hear the complaint tomorrow.

Scott's entry into the race created a stir in local political circles. The County Democratic Committee had asked him to withdraw, then expunged its action in fear of possible Federal prosecution on a civil liberties count.

Chief Hornsby said the police had been "in contact" with Scott for two or three days, "co-operating with members of his family in an effort to keep him quiet." Answering a call Friday night, he reported, radio patrolmen went to the Scott home and foundthat he had "smashed door and window glass with his first, cutting his wrist."

Force was required, Hornsby said, to take Scott to the city hospital for treatment, after which he was transferred to the jail.

Scott Headed For Asylum By Relatives

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 10-20-46

By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

Aurelius S. Scott, Negro candidate for coroner, has been removed by relatives from the Atlanta jail for transfer to a Nashville, Tenn., "mental institution," Police Chief M. A. Hornsby reported.

The chief yesterday quoted a report of Capt. H. T. Jenkins that Scott "was still very violent" when a brother and two other Negroes came for him after he had been held several hours at the request of members of his family.

The 45-year-old Scott Friday night was "booked to hold on charges of disorderly conduct and demented," Hornsby said.

Cornelius A. Scott, publisher of the Atlanta Daily World and brother of the Negro candidate, said "Aurelius has been a sick man for some months."

The publisher said a reservation was made by the family early Friday in the Nashville sanitorium and that his brother agreed to go there.

"However," Scott said, "when the time came he resisted and we had to call the police."

Withdrawal Ends Racial Issue In Georgia Election

ATLANTA, Oct. 12—(AP)—The possibility that Georgia might have its first Negro official since reconstruction days faded today with the withdrawal of a Negro candidate from the Fulton county coroner's race at the request of white Democrats.

The county executive democratic committee asked for an obtained the withdrawal of Aurelius S. Scott, former professor and co-publisher of a Negro paper here, but retracted its request when an attorney warned it might face federal prosecution for violation of civil liberties.

The group then named County Commissioner Ed Almand as a single white candidate to run in the Nov. 5 general election.

The 45-year-old Negro, who said he regarded his withdrawal as final, said he withdrew "because the committee asked me to.

"I don't want to make a racial issue," he declared. "I just don't know what I'm going to do."

County Ordinary Eugene Gunby said, however, that the Negro's official entry remained unchanged and his name would appear on the ballot.

During the stormy three-hour committee session Scott was supported by a white candidate, Tom C. Morris, who declared:

"I've been praying 30 years for something like this to happen. I don't want him to win, but he's got a right to get in this race."

NEGRO RULED OFF BALLOT

The Times
Georgia Candidate for Coroner Held Ineligible in Residence

New York, N. Y.
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Campaigns (Illinois)

CHICAGO CIVIC GROUPS HIT ATTEMPT TO BAN LIGHTFOOT

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Fri. 9-6-46.

Special to the Daily Worker

CHICAGO, Sept. 5.—Republican and Democratic efforts to rule Claude Lightfoot, Negro war veteran, off the ballot in the Nov. 5 elections were being bitterly denounced by citizens from all walks of life and all political parties here today.

A statement signed by prominent Negro, trade union, church and civil rights figures declared that **"The right of the ballot is a cornerstone of good government. We, who are citizens and voters of the State of Illinois must, in protection of our own interests and the future of ourselves and posterity, challenge any attempt to limit or restrict the right of citizens to select their own independent candidates and to vote for them."**

Included among the signers were Rev. Joseph Evans, Metropolitan Community Church; William P. Harrison, president, Negro Peoples Assembly; Robert Travis, vice-president, Illinois CIO; Ira Latimer, executive director, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee; Rev. T. E. Brown, Progressive Baptist Church; M. S. Stephens, chairman, Chicago Committee Against Lynching.

RECORD SIGNATURES

Lightfoot, popular Negro Communist leader, has filed as an independent candidate for State Senator from the 5th Senatorial District with 10,646 signatures on his nominating petition, 3,521 more than the minimum required by law.

Despite the fact that this district has a 60 percent Negro majority, the two old parties have never nominated or elected a Negro as State Senator. Fri. 9-6-46

Appealing to the people of his district to smash this conspiracy to keep him off the ballot Lightfoot declared: **"The issue is a fight against reactionary politicians in both parties to give full recognition to all citizens regardless of race, creed or color."**

Miss Brown, one of the directors of the Coffey School of Aeronautics at Harlem Airport, filed her petition as candidate in the forthcoming primary at Springfield. Thurs. 5-7-46

GOP candidate, William E King, 4,140 South Parkway, is opposing Willa Brown for the Republican nomination

This is the first time a woman has sought a seat in Congress from the First District. Thurs. 5-7-46

The First Illinois District is represented in Congress now by William L Dawson, Democrat.

CHICAGO NEGRO GETS RECORD POLL SUPPORT New York, N.Y.
Daily Worker

CHICAGO, Aug. 29__ The largest number of signature ever collected in any single area in Illinois for a Communist Party member were secured in the drive to put Claude Lightfoot on the ballot for the Nov. 5 elections. Fri 8-30-46

Lightfoot, who is a Negro war veteran, filed as an independent candidate for State Senator from the Fifth Senatorial District, with 10,609 names on his nominating petition. The population of this district is 60 percent Negro.

Despite the overwhelming Negro majority in the district, neither of the two old parties has ever nominated a Negro for State Senator.

Two other progressives have filed as independent candidates for the Nov. 5 elections. Fri 8-30-46

One of them is the popular Negro woman leader Sylvia Wood, whose nominating petition for Sate Representative from the 21st District contained 5,675 names. Mrs. Wood is financial secretary of CIO United Auto Workers Local 330.

The third independent candidate is Dorothea Allen widow of a war hero and Chairman of the Back of the Gold Coast Council, a grassroots neighborhood organization.

G.L.K. Smith Backs GOP Men in Illinois

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Tues. 10-8-46

By Rob F. Hall

DETROIT, Oct. 7.—The only state-wide race in November is for Representative at Large. Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas with an excellent record has the endorsement of labor and of the Independent Voters of Illinois. Her opponent is William G. Stratton, an America Firster who is reported to have the endorsement of Gerald L. K. Smith. Mrs. Douglas will probably carry Cook County, but will trail down-state in the traditional Republican districts. She can win only if her Chicago majority is very large or if labor-progressive activity down-state is sufficient to hold Stratton to a small majority in those areas.

Emily Taft Douglas

The Democratic chiefs are not overly concerned with Mrs. Douglas' race and therefore the role of the labor-progressive coalition will be decisive.

Most of the incumbent Democratic Congressmen representing Cook County districts are expected to win re-election unless the GOP sweep which the **Tribune** predicts actually occurs.

The incumbent Democrats are Adolf J. Sabath, 80-year-old dean of the House; William L. Dawson, one of the two Negroes in the House; William A. Rowan, Edward A. Kelly, Martin Gorski, T. J. O'Brien, William W. Link, Thomas S. Gordon and Alex Resa.

Down-state in the 22nd District, there is also Melvin Price, the first GI to be elected to the 79th Congress. The small majority by which he won his seat in 1944 has encouraged the Republicans to make him a special target in 1946.

Fifteen Illinois Congressmen are Republicans of the McCormick stripe. There seems little likelihood of defeating them, with the possible exception of Everett Dirksen of Peoria, the author of the amendment to bar relief to the Soviet Union, and the new European democracies under a phony "free press" rider to the UNRRA appropriation.

His opponent is Hans Spading, an ex-farmer, employee of the Caterpillar Tractor plant and a leader in the Townsend movement. There are 20,000 workers in the tractor plant, all organized in the CIO in which Spading is a respected member. This will mark the first time some of these reactionary South Illinois Republicans have been challenged in a real campaign.

Eight Illinois Republican incumbents have been endorsed by G. L. K. Smith. They are Ralph Church, Noah Mason, Leo Allen, Anton Johnson, Robert Chiperfield, Dirksen, Leslie Arends and C. W. Vursell. Smith has also endorsed two candidates besides Stratton—Calvin Johnson who is running against Price and Fred Busbey, the opponent of Ed Kelly.

Despite the efforts of the GOP to win the Negro vote, it appears that there has been no appreciable shift of Negroes away from the Democratic party as yet. Sixty-five percent of the enrolled Negro voters registered Democratic last spring. However, President Truman's recent rebuff to Paul Robeson, which was featured in the Negro press, will have some effect on Negro support for Democrats.

The Democratic Party chiefs here are obviously aware of the problem. In their platform, which is an extremely militant document, the Southern Bourbons are attacked as "renegades and traitors" to Democracy.

The conference of Progressives held here last weekend is expected to aid the Democratic cause, especially because its effect will be to stimulate further ward organization and activity.

The Independent Voters of Illinois has year-round ward organization and will step-up its activities in the next few days. CIO-PAC has organization in about 16 wards and is planning to extend this organization rapidly.

Because of a law passed by the Illinois legislature in 1939, the Communist Party is not on the ballot. In the 21st Senatorial district, Mrs. Sylvia Woods, a Negro auto worker, secretary of a UAW local and a Communist is running as an independent.

Claude Lightfoot, Negro Communist leader, was ruled off the ballot after collecting 10,600 signatures, 3500 more than required. He was running for state senator.

Another independent is Dorothy Allen, candidate for the state legislature. A war widow, she is conducting a particularly effective campaign from a tent to dramatize the housing crisis.

Famous Negro Lady Aviatrix Will Run For US Congress

Chicago Defender
Lagos Nigeria West, Africa

CHICAGO—Willa B Brown noted Negro aviatrix, zoomed into the political sky last week as she announced her intention to run for Congress on the Republican ticket.

Chicagoans Vie for State Offices

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

CHICAGO (ANP)—Democratic Congressman William L. Dawson and William E. King, his Republican opponent for Congress from the first district, are leading the fight in one of the hottest political contests in the history of Chicago. Sat. 11-2-46

Candidates for State Senator are Democrat incumbents Christopher C. Wimbish and Corneal Davis against GOP-backed William A. Booker and Benjamin Clanton.

State representatives include GOP incumbents Ernest Greene, Dr. Edward Welters, Charlie Jenkins and Dudley Martin and incumbent Charles S. Skyles, Democratic candidate.

Other Candidates

Other candidates are Democrat incumbent Edward M. Sneed, versus Mathew D. Burges, Republican, for county commissioner; Edward M. Byrd, GOP candidate for municipal judge and Dr. J. B. Martin, Republican candidate for Sanitary District trustee.

2 Chicago Women Challenge Republican Machine Rule

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Fri. 11-1-46

By Ruby Cooper

CHICAGO, Oct. 31.—Challenging both major parties here are two independent candidates, Sylvia Woods and Dorothea Allen, running for State Representative from the 21st and 29th Senatorial Districts respectively. With real grass roots support the two independent candidates are seen as strong contenders for seats in the State Legislature. Their campaign has already thrown askew the long-established practice of both major parties to divide up seats by common agreement, nominating only three candidates between them, with three to be elected.

Waging a vigorous and colorful campaign, based on the needs of the people of their districts, Mrs. Woods and Mrs. Allen are appealing to voters to cast a "bullet" vote in their behalf, thereby giving each three votes.

It is estimated that 10,000 "bullet" votes in the 21st Senatorial District, which is very heavily populated, will be sufficient to win for Sylvia Woods, while 5,000 "bullet" votes will turn the trick for Dorothea Allen.

In both districts more voters have registered in this off-year election than in the 1944 presidential elections. In large measure, this was due to the effective work of the

DOROTHY ALLEN, independent

SYLVIA WOODS left and candidates for Illinois legislature,

election machinery set up by these independent candidates, who see a large vote as favoring their candidacies.

ENDORSED BY CIO-PAC

Officially endorsed by the Illinois CIO-PAC, both candidates are receiving enthusiastic support from labor, liberal, progressive and independent voters.

In the 21st Senatorial District, local unions, churches, independent voters groups and fraternal organizations have combined in a progressive coalition to support Sylvia Woods, who is an outstanding Negro woman leader in the community, as well as financial secretary-treasurer of Local 330, UAW-CIO.

Campaigning on the slogan, "A Courageous Fighter for the Common People," Mrs. Woods has been leading a movement in the 28th Ward for children's playgrounds, two of which have been won in the midst of the election campaign. She is also known as the popular leader of the fight against jimcrowism in her community.

Main planks in her platform are: 250,000 new housing units in Chicago and the outlawing of restrictive covenants; repeal of the state sales tax; Negro and white unity; increased old-age pensions; a state FEPC; establishment of five new playgrounds in the 21st District; and a state nursery program.

MRS. ALLEN A WAR WIDOW

In the 29th Senatorial District, a similar grass roots movement of progressives and independents has sprung up in support of Dorothea Allen, a war widow and mother of two children. She is also chairman of the Back of the Gold Coast Citizens, Inc., a powerful community movement embracing more than 50 organizations, for which she was awarded a certificate of honor of meritorious service by the **Chicago Sun**.

Among other things, Mrs. Allen is well known throughout the community as a fighter against the evictions of last July after OPA expired on June 30. It was largely as a result of her leadership that Mayor Kelly presented a resolution to the City Council banning evictions during the OPA holiday period.

Her candidacy, also endorsed by the Independent Voters of Illinois, is sponsored by a representative Citizens Committee to Elect Dorothea Allen, which includes prominent community leaders from every walk of life and political belief.

Major points in her election platform are: decent housing at low rentals; homes and jobs for vets and their families; schools and education free from machine politics; more nursery schools; a state FEPC; and elimination of restrictive covenants.

Both independent candidates have also joined in the campaign to defeat reactionary Republican candidates running for Congress and to re-elect the incumbent Democratic Congressmen William Link and Alexander Resa from the 7th and 9th Congressional Districts. These two Congressmen are special targets of American Action, Inc., and the reactionary **Chicago Tribune**.

People's Coalition Fights Republicans in Indiana

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-3-46

By Joseph L. Bridges

INDIANAPOLIS.—The election campaign in Indiana, now entering its final week, has seen the development of a

IMOGENE JOHNSON

M. PORTERFIELD

BENJAMIN COHEN

broad people's coalition to halt the hell-bent-for-fascism GOP. This is true, despite the fact the voters have been all but drowned in Republican propaganda.

The unanimously Republican press of this city trumpets in edition after edition that a GOP landslide is in the making.

Meanwhile the Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, former Gov. M. Clifford Townsend, has moved progressively toward the position of a real people's leader during the campaign.

Townsend has on several occasions called for an anti-lynching bill —and he has chosen to make these statements in areas where Ku Klux Klan sentiment exists. He has voiced his opposition to a "get-tough" foreign policy and called instead for a "get-together" policy for world peace. He has refused to yield to the violent red-baiting of the Republicans, insisting that "communism" is not a real issue.

★

AN INDICATION of the Democratic position here was seen when Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida, outstanding progressive leader, addressed a political rally under auspices of the United Labor Committee. This committee is composed of representatives of the CIO, Railway Brotherhoods and some AFL unions, such as the teamsters. It has endorsed Townsend and Louis Ludlow, venerable people's Congressman of the 11th District.

The people's coalition was rounded out when Republican Congressman Charles LaFollette of Evansville announced his endorsement of Townsend. LaFollette, a nationally-known liberal, had been rudely brushed off in the nominating convention of his own party.

The present election picture is far different from that in 1944. Then the reactionary Schricker-McHale Democrats headed the ticket, betrayed Roosevelt, and the state went Republican.

Today, however, progressive coalition has come into being to battle against the increasingly fascist-minded Republican Party. The state GOP machine has the closest ties with the Indiana Chamber of Comerce and the National Association of Manufacturers. It operates along dictatorial lines, with the "Palace Guard" of Gov. Ralph F. Gates and Robert W. Lyons ruling with an iron hand. Lyons is generally said to be former treasurer of the Ku Klux Klan, and Klan activity is being revived.

THE REPUBLICANS are using the "anti-Communist" slogan almost to the exclusion of everything else.

Besides the contests for U. S. Senator and state offices with the exception of Governor, 11 Congressmen are to be elected in the state. Nine of the offices are now held by Republicans and two by Democrats. Labor is opposing the eight reactionary Republicans. The Indiana CIO has pointed out that some of them have worse voting records than Rankin of Mississippi. These eight are Halleck, chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee and possibly majority leader of the House if the Republicans win control; Grant (South Bend); Gillie (Fort Wayne); Harness (Kokomo); Landis (Linton, a member of the Un-American Committee); Wilson (Huron), and Springer (Connersville, Republican state chairman).

LaFollette of Evansville is not a candidate, and there Winfield K. Denton, Democrat, has united labor support. Progressives and labor are also backing Ray J. Madden of Gary for reelection from the First District, and Ludlow of Indianapolis from the 11th.

An outstanding feature of the campaign is the presence of Communist candidates on the ballot for the first time since 1938. Morris J. Porterfield, a leader of the Negro people in Indianapolis, is a candidate for Secretary of State. Mrs. Sylvia Aron is running for State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

In Indianapolis, Mrs. Imogene Poston Johnson and Benjamin Cohen, war vet, are candidates for State Representative.

The Communist Party won its place on the ballot through a vigorous petition campaign this summer, during which more than 11,000 signatures were obtained. A number of prominent liberals headed the list. Several of them have become the object of a witch-hunt at Indiana University, instigated by the American Legion.

The Communists are bringing real issues to the voters, under the slogans "Defeat Jenner" (Republican candidate for Senator). Vote Communist and vote labor.

Colored Neighbors Praise Ardery

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky.
7-31-46

To the Editor of The Courier-Journal:

Philip P. Ardery's name will be before the voters of the State of Kentucky on August 3, 1946, for the nomination for the Senate.

I was visiting in Bourbon County a short while ago. While there I met a number of colored residents of that county who told me that they knew Mr. Ardery and his parents very well. They had nothing but praise concerning the family as a whole. Wed,

I believe this young veteran will make an excellent record if he is permitted to go to the United States Senate. I am pledging myself to support him in the primary election. HENRY LEE (GINGER) WEBSTER.

Lexington, Ky.

Race Baiting Strikes In La.

Defender
Chicago, Ill.

NEW ORLEANS — Desperate reactionary forces here under the name, White League of Louisiana, have resorted to the most vicious type of race-baiting to defeat liberal congressional candidate T. Hale Boggs in the last days of the primary campaign, lashing out simultaneously at Mayor D. S Morrison and all other progressives in the city.

The attack, contained in a printed circular advocating disfranchisement, loss of citizenship and job privileges to Negroes, was distributed by the thousands in the downtown district. The venomous circulars which pictured Mayor Morrison as a "Negro lover" who betrayed the white race, were stuffed in mailboxes and doorways throughout the First Congressional District. Sat. 9-14-46

Boom White Supremacy

They pictured him as giving Negroes full civil rights in the city at the expense of whites. The circular carried two photographs, one showing Negro members of the state legislature during reconstruction days, and the other showing hundreds of Negroes at a registration place. The photographs were reprints from local papers. Title of the Negro hating attack was: "Morrison Betrays White Race," with the sub-title "Mayor of New Orleans Gives Negroes Equal Political and Social Rights."

The race-baiting tactic was termed a last desperate attempt by reactionaries to defeat liberal candidates, by veteran observers here. They pointed out that the same tactics were used in a more subtle way in 1940 with the Negro press as the propaganda instrument. Factions supporting Earl K. Long in the 1940 gubernatorial race financed ads showing Negro progress during reconstruction days in the Negro press. They hoped to deliver "the kiss of death" to Long's opponent, Sam H. Jones among white voters, by saying that he favored a return to reconstruction days. Jones was elected by a sweeping majority, however.

Ridicule Negro Legislators

The photograph of Negro legislators appeared in the Sepia Socialite in 1940 under the caption, "History May Repeat Itself in Louisiana," and was accompanied by an article calling Jones the hope of the Negro people. It was picked up by the hate circular and used as the other extreme in the present campaign.

"On this page is a picture of the Negro rulers of Louisiana in the dark days of reconstruction, when white men and women took orders from their Negro masters, who were in turn manipulated by their carpetbagger associates," the circular read. "This situation may return again if Mayor 'Chep' Morrison has his way," it continued. The statement said that Boggs stands for giving the vote to all Negroes, and that this is the beginning of the end for white supremacy.

45a 194? Campaigns (Harlem)

Files for Seat in Baltimore Council

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-21-46

45a Campaigns (Md.)

Shown filing with the supervisor of elections his Republican candidacy for a Fourth District City Council seat is the Rev. A. J. Payne, second from right, pastor of Enon Baptist Church. His well-wishers include (left to right) the Rev. Timothy Boddie, pastor of Shiloh Baptist Church; Marse Callaway, GOP leader, and the Rev. F. J. Frye, pastor of John Wesley Methodist Church. The elections will be in May. Two other candidates, Charles A. Reid and Charles Dorsey, have also filed candidacies for City Council

Rev. Payne Enters Lists as GOP Council Candidate

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 12-21-46

Becomes Third Republican in 4th District to File; Civic Groups Pledge Him Support

BALTIMORE

The Rev. Arthur J. Payne, pastor of Enon Baptist Church, filed as a Republican candidate for the City Council from the Fourth Councilmanic District, Thursday.

Charles A. Reid of 641 W. Lafayette Ave., and Charles H. Dorsey, printer, of 707 Mosher St., both Republicans, entered the district's City Council race previously.

8 Candidates to Date

The Fourth District, with three allotted seats in the council, now has three non-white candidates and five white candidates, including two Republicans and three Democrats.

The district's present councilmen, Maxwell Alpert, Leon Abramson and Jacob J. Edelman, Democrats, have not filed yet. Deadline date is Jan. 2.

GOP Leaders Back Payne

The Rev. Mr. Payne, a newcomer to politcs, was selected by GOP leaders throughout the district as the strongest candidate they could put in the field.

His candidacy also has the blessings and backing of the Baptist Ministers' Conference, ministers of other denominations and several powerful civic organizations as well.

The delegation that accompanied him to the office of Supervisors of Elections to witness the filing of his candidacy included:

Marse S. Callaway, GOP leader; the Rev. Baxter L. Matthews, pastor, Union Baptist Church; the Rev. J. Tomothy Boddie, pastor, Shiloh Baptist Church; the Rev. Frank J. Frye, pastor, John Wesley Methodist Church, and W. Emmett Coleman, manager, North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co.

Mr. Reid, who was defeated in the Nov. 5 general election as a House of Delegates candidate, said he expected to remain in the councilmanic race, despite present indications of an over-crowded field.

"I don not intend," he told the AFRO, "to withdraw now under any circumstances," adding:

"My reason for such is because the so-called Republican cat's paw has failed to present a person who has labored hard from a social, moral and economical security point for the people of the Fourth District.

"Until such a person is produced, I will remain as a City Council candidate."

Dorsey to Remain

Mr. Dorsey, when asked whether he intended to make any concessions in the event of an over-crowded field of candidates of his race, stated:

"I hadn't thought about that yet, but so far I have no intentions publican Party and is the choice of the people. I am confident he will be elected in the spring." of withdrawing."

Mr. Dorsey, who operates a printing establishment at 1310 N. Fremont Ave., said he is running for public office for the first time now because some political friends encouraged him to do so.

GOP Leader Praises Payne

Mr. Callaway, veteran GOP leader, had this to say about the dstrict's outlook in the coming election:

"It is nothing unusual or strange for several candidates to file for public offices, which actually muddles a campaign and confuses voters.

"We think the Rev. Mr. Payne is the strongest and best all round man we had since the time of Warner McGuinn, from the standpoint of his activities in everything in his community.

"He has the backing of the Republican Party and is the choice of the people. I am confident he will be elected in the spring."

45a 1946

Campaigns (Massachusetts)

Harrison for Mass. Legislature

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. June 7-16-46

Negro Editor and Scholar Is Communist Candidate in Boston

By John Hudson Jones

BOSTON, July 15.—A Negro Communist, William E. Harrison, is running for the office of State Representative from Boston's 12th ward.

Now associate editor of the **Boston Chronicle**, Harrison was cited in 1942 for his outstanding services to the war effort as a member of the Massachusetts Committee on Public Safety. Later he served as a member of the Public Relations Council of the First Service Command, U. S. Army.

In an interview with the Daily Worker, Harrison said the basis of his fight was for "the **maintenance and strengthening of price controls.**"

TO ENFORCE FEPC

Regarding the state Fair Employment Practice Act, Harrison said, **"It was passed because labor, the churches, fraternal and community organizations united on the issue and insisted through continous action that the bill be passed. I will fight for the vigorous enforcement of its provisions."**

Born in the West End of Boston 35 years ago, Harrison was educated in Roxbury public schools, was an honor graduate from Harvard (1932), and also holds an M. A. from Harvard. He was a Charles M. Cox scholar for foreign research, and studied for two years at the University of Cambridge, England and at the British Museum. Tues. 7-16-46

While in England he came into contact with many of the colonial students and acquired a first hand knowledge of the colonial freedom movements. **"Colonial freedom and Big Three unity is the keystone to world peace,"** he commented.

POLICIES LINKED

"A country's domestic policy is tied to its foreign policy," Harrison added, **"I will fight for democracy here at home because I know that there are blind, unreasoning and sinister people here who would atom bomb the Soviet Union. As a Negro Communist I know that these same people also have their plans for the Negro people, the Communists, and labor in general. Their slogan is like Hitler's—'Today America, tomorrow the world.'"**

Other points on Harrison's program are: adequate housing; more recreation and health centers; unemployment benefits to ill and disabled workers, and the investigation and prosecution of anti-Negro terrorists.

Harrison's candidacy on the Communist ticket is of major significance to Massachusetts' political circles. Roxbury, the section that he is running in, is a mixed neighborhood. If he wins it will indicate the breaking down of traditional voting alignments.

HARRISON
Runs for Office

Message to N. Y.

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Special to the Daily Worker

BOSTON, July 15.—William E. Harrison today sent the Daily Worker a personal message to New York City voters as follows:

"The peoples of New York have the rare opportunity of sending a Negro fighter back to Congress. Adam Powell's record in Congress is one any constituency can be proud of. If I were in New York and could vote he would certainly get mine." Tues. 7-16-46

On Charles A. Collins, he said: "A man combining the qualities of a great trade union leader, and a fearless fighter for Negro rights, is a man that can represent both Negroes and whites. Collins' record as head of the Negro Labor Victory Committee during the war fits him for the job of New York State Senator. With Collins in New York, Harrison in Massachusetts and Powell in Washington, the Rankins and the Bilbos, the Deweys and the Tafts, the Taylors and the Connallys will face action and not words. I say vote for Collins in New York."

Mass. CP Candidate Wins Wide Support

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 10-31-46

ROXBURY, Mass., Oct. 30.—Boston and Roxbury citizens have endorsed the candidacy of William E. Harrison, Communist candidate for Representative in Ward 12.

Harrison is a community leader and editor of the **Boston Chronicle**.

The statement says, in part:

"These are crucial times both for the Commonwealth and for our people. The enforcement of FEPC becomes hourly more urgent. The integration of Negro and other minority groups in the general economic life is more pressing than ever, particularly when we consider the plight of the returned veterans. There is a whole host of measures, in the field of labor, education, housing and health, which but to mention is to recall the many instances in which Mr. Harrison has already spoken out boldly in the people's behalf.

"The undersigned, therefore, welcome the decision of Mr. Harrison to enter this electoral campaign and lend their endorsement of Mr. Harrison as they feel sure the people of Ward 12 will on election day."

WILLIAM HARRISON
CP Candidate

Signers: Louis R. Brothers, United Progressive Veterans; Rev. Samuel H. Bullock, Mt. Pleasant Baptist Church; Mrs. Winifred Benders, Trade Unionist; Rev. C. E. Cobb, St. Marks Center; Edward M. Couzens; Rev. Charles Copher, Methodist Church; Rev. O. W. Childers, First AME Church; Dr. Pauline Clark; Chester Eaton, Dining Car Waiters; Abraham Freeman, Roxbury Chapter, American Jewish Congress; Harry Firestein; Ernest S. Headley, Masons; Mary Horwitz, Trade Unionist; Lewis Hicks; Barnard Jackson, Youth Section, NAACP; Mrs. Louise Jackson, Trade Unionist; Mrs. Al Klayman; Mrs. Jeannette Katcoff, Roxbury Chapter, Parents Federation; Mrs. Bessie Levit; Rev. Samuel Laviscourt, St. Marks Church.

Cleveland Luster, Elks; Lewis Marks, Jewish People's Fraternal Order; William Murdock, executive committee, United Electrical Workers Union; Michael Tyson, Business Agent, United Furniture Workers Union; Charles McCarthy, Port Agent, National Maritime Union; James Whitehouse, Regional Representative, United Office and Professional Workers; Roy Atus, executive committee, United Packing House Workers Union; Jim Cobb, Cleaners and Dyers Local, Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Dr. B. Nadelman, IWO; John V. Parnell; Dr. Israel Prives; Mrs. Louise Roisen, Roxbury Chapter, Parents Federation; Maude Trotter Stewart, Boston Guardian; Herman Stern, JPFO; Mrs. Rosalie Smith; Walter J. Stevens, Boston Guardian; Joseph Seiert, N. E. Council, American Jewish Congress; Mrs. Arthur Timpson; Wol Viner, Trade Unionist; Harry B. Wiener, Trade Unionist; Lewis P. Yaffee; Mrs. Pauline Yarosh.

(Organizations mentioned for identification only.)

Negro Communist Has Good Chance To Be Elected in Massachusetts

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. June 11-3-46

BOSTON.—A Negro has not been elected to the Massachusetts State Legislature for the past 50 years, but the old Abolitionist spirit is still alive in Boston, and William E. Harrison, Communist candidate for state representative from Roxbury's Ward 12 is helping to make it so.

Harrison is a leading member of the Communist Party, ment which Harrison and the Communist Party initiated did much to bring this about.

the Massachusetts State Committee of the Communist Party, a fighter for the Negro people, for all the people—the best representative of the voters of Ward 12 could have.

Last spring Republican Representative John H. Taylor slandered the Negro and Jewish people on the floor of the Massachusetts legislature. Harrison was the first to demand that Taylor be impeached and thrown out of the House. Taylor was later defeated in the primaries and the strong protest move

Bill Harrison was one of the leaders in the fight for a state Fair Employment Practices Act. The bill was passed.

On the very night after the

ing-class area, especially hard hit by the greed of the rich.

★

THESE ARE NOT all the struggles with which Harrison has been identified, but they are sufficient to show why all the leading Negro ministers of Roxbury have endorsed him, why trade unionists, veterans, and youth of this ward are coming out for him, why the 50 percent of Roxbury's voters who are Jewish and the 40 percent who are Negro find in him a proved champion. As the chairman of the Boston there was the chapter of the National Association of Colored College and Cambridge University, Bevin's im- People, the Rev. Kenneth DeP. England, where he attended on policies: Harri- Hughes of St. Bartholomew's Church scholarship; he is an associate edi- marks. Harrison, in Cambridge (speaking as an in- tor of the **Boston Chronicle**, and part in the dividual) told The Worker repre- the readers of that paper are well e of Boston sentative: **"Harrison is an able and** acquainted with his militant edi- voices of the **well qualified, a fearless fighter** torials. of the **Massachusetts General Court needs a man of his calibre."**

The Worker

struggle of the people of Roxbury is a work- **for all minority groups. The Massa-**

struggle against the high prices

Election Race in Detroit

Afro American

Dark, Too Many Candidates

Baltimore Md.

DETROIT—(ANP) — A shadow of gloom was cast over the political horizon last week when records at the county clerk's office revealed that a conglomeration of prospective colored nominees have filed petitions in the race for seats in the U.S. Congress and the State Legislature.

Ten Democratic candidates will try for election — three in the third State Senatorial district from which Senator Charles C. Diggs was elected four terms, one in the Second District; two are running for State representative at large, and three in the First Congressional District.

Popular Candidates

Among candidates of prominence are:

Sat 5-4-46

Jeannetta Welch Brown, former assistant to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune, for State representative; Joseph A. Brown, attorney, for State Senate; Al Wallace, returned war veteran and former liaison under two Democratic governors;

Victor L. Hicks, Wayne County Circuit Court clerk for many years; the Rev. Horace A. White, former State representative and city housing commissioner; and James King, Circuit Court bailiff, elected four times as constable, all for the U.S. Congress.

William L. Sherrill, county file clerk and former aide to Marcus Garvey, is an aspirant for the State Senate. The Citizens' Committee, the Rev. Charles A. Hill, chairman, failed to persuade some of the candidates to withdraw to make possible election of a colored man for each office.

For Legislature, Thomas Dennis

Daily Thasker New York, N.Y.

Tommy, as he is known to comrades and friends, has had a wealth of experience in his 24 years. A

Sat. 7-20-46

native of Bay City, Michigan, he has lived in Ypsilanti for 17 years. For three years he was county chairman of the Young Communist League. Later he became state educational director of the organization, leaving that post to join the Army where he spent two and a half years serving in the Air Corps, Infantry and Medical Corps stationed in Hawaii.

Thomas Dennis

In addition to the Communist Party, which he joined over three years ago, Tommy, the youthful Communist candidate is active in Ford Local 600 (he's a Ford worker), his community post of the American Legion and the American Youth for Democracy. He is now chairman of the Ypsilanti-Willow Run Club of the Communist Party.

3 Michigan Communist Candidates Are Women

The Worker New York, N.Y.

Sun. 11-3-46

DETROIT.—Three of the Michigan Communist Party's standard bearers in the 1946 elections are women. Geneva Olmstead, running for state treasurer; Carneller Foreman, candidate for state Senate, 3d District, and Helen Allison Winter, running for state legislature in the 1st District (Detroit).

Miss Olmstead, candidate for state treasurer, was born on a farm near Freeland, Mich., 23 years ago. After attending country school and high school in Saginaw, she worked during the war in a defense plant in Flint. During that time she was an active member of the UAW-CIO and the Communist youth movement.

In 1944 she joined the U.S. Navy and served until 1946. Miss Olmstead now attends the University of Michigan.

Carneller Foreman, candidate for state senator, 3d District (Detroit) and leading Negro woman Communist, was born 38 years ago in Alabama of shorecropper parents. She joined the Communist Party in 1932 and was active in the Scottsboro case and building unemployed movements in the Deep South.

Today she is a member of UAW-CIO Local 817, the National Negro Congress, NAACP and YWCA. She has been endorsed by more than a score of labor and civic leaders, Negro and white. Highlights of her campaign program are more schools and educational facilities for the 3d Senatorial District and a slum clearance progrem, paving the way for low cost housing in that district.

Of particular importance in the 3d District are the thousands of Poles who today anxiously watch the maneuvers of American imperialists seeking to carve up Poland by turning Silesia back to German industrialists. Carneller Foreman, in campaigning among the Polish people, supports Poland's present borders and is for full backing to the present Polish government.

A special point in her platform is equal pay for equal work for women with adoption of a state FEPC law to prevent discrimination against women because of sex or color.

Helen Allison Winter, candidate for state legislature in the 1st District, brings a colorful history with her into this campaign. Stemming from old pioneer stock that took an active part in the old Socialist movement, makes her an outstanding fighter for peoples causes. Today she is administrative secretary of the Michigan Communist Party.

Helen Allison Winter was born in Seattle, Wash., in 1908. The mother of a four-year-old daughter, Mrs. Winter is actively campaigning for maintaining and enlarging Detroit's nursery schools.

Today, in the struggle against the meat trusts, Mrs. Winter has been organizing consumers to bring prices down and halt soaring inflation.

All three women Communist candidates are as the campaign draws to a close actively electioneering to pile up a large vote for the Communist Party ticket.

Bilbo Urges Mississippi Men to Employ 'Any Means' to Bar Negroes From Voting

JACKSON, Miss., June 22 (U.P.)—Senator Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi demanded tonight that the "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon" men of Mississippi bar Negroes from voting. His demand came a few hours after a Negro Army veteran charged that he had been beaten and flogged by four white men when he sought to register.

In one of his strongest "white supremacy" statements of his current campaign for renomination, Senator Bilbo said that if a few Negroes vote in the Democratic primary this year, more would vote in 1947, "and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

He called on every "red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep hundreds of Negroes from the polls in the July 2 primary."

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on your persuasive measures," Mr. Bilbo added.

Mr. Bilbo's speech came after Etoy Fletcher, Army veteran attending Jackson College, a school for Negroes, under the GI Bill of Rights, charged in an affidavit that he had been seized, flogged and beaten at Brandon on June 6 when he attempted unsuccessfully to register. His charge was made in an affidavit made public by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York.

In his speech, which was broadcast, Mr. Bilbo said that the white people of Mississippi were sleeping on a volcano "and it is up to the red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this State have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

It said that the Negro veteran, who served twenty-three months in the South Pacific, went to the Circuit clerk at Brandon on June 6 and asked to be allowed to register. He allegedly was directed to "the gentleman in charge of veterans affairs," on the second floor of the court house, where he was told to "get out."

After he left, he said, four men seized him, carried him to some woods, stripped him and flogged him with a heavy wire cable, and threatened him with death if he made another attempt to register.

The Sheriff's office at Brandon and the Circuit clerk denied today any knowledge of the affair.

Will Lose

Chances to Go Back to Senate Slim, Some Say

WASHINGTON—(ANP)— The best news from Dixie since Lee's surrender hit the newsstands here last week. Bilbo, say some political observers in the area misrepresented by the senator, stands a good chance to lose the election.

Before the senator left for home four weeks ago, he was confident of victory, predicting he would sweep 150,000 of the state's estimated 200,000 ballots in the first primary July 2.

During the past week, newspapers in Mississippi and adjoining states have openly forecast that the senator will not even swing a plurality in the first Democratic primary.

Since May 4, Bilbo and his campaign entourage have been churning up the familiar Bilbo bugaboos—the FEPC, the Jews and racial equality. He also has reminded his listeners that as chairman of the district committee he can "spring" them out of the Washington jail any time they come here.

Also, he promises to see to it that Washington never gets the vote nor a semblance of "home rule." (Legislation giving Washington the ballot would eliminate a lot of patronage jobs filled from the ranks of the deserving supporters, at neat if not gaudy salaries.)

The editor of the anti-Bilbo Jackson Daily News said "Bilbo's speeches aren't stirring the fanatical enthusiasm of former campaigns, and that in itself is a bad omen for the senior senator."

Across northern Mississippi, probably the widest read single newspaper is the Memphis Commercial-Appeal with a circulation of 200,000. Its political writer says of the campaign:

"Political opinion is divided as to whether the last minute entry of Tom A. Ellis, former state supreme court clerk, in the July 2 primary will force Sen. Bilbo into a run-off. At this time, it seems the voters might well prepare for it. Favorable reaction was given Mr. Ellis' announcement for the senate by groups, many of them in high public office, who had planned to 'go fishing' on election day."

Predict Bilbo

Senate Group to Study Protests on Bilbo

The Senate Privileges and Elections Committee has scheduled a special meeting for Saturday to consider complaints that Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) has urged "red-blooded Mississippians" to keep Negroes from voting in the State's Democratic primary on Tuesday, when Bilbo is a candidate for renomination.

Chairman Theodore Francis Green (D., R. I.) called the meeting to consider a formal request for a full-scale Senate investigation made by Sen. Glen T. Taylor (D., Ida.) who accused Bilbo of borrowing "Hitler's tactics."

Sen. H. Alexander Smith (R., N. J.) described the Bilbo remark as "a terrible thing if it's true," adding:

"If it's true we'll have to move in on it."

Meanwhile, A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, sent a protest to President Truman urging that he "send the Army into Mississippi if necessary to safeguard the sacred civil right of the Negro "to vote in the primary.

The Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions telegraphed protests and demands for action to Attorney General Tom Clark, Truman and the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC was included because Bilbo's campaign rantings are being broadcast.

At Jackson, Miss., Percy Green, editor of a Negro newspaper, told the United Press that "a reign of terror" existed at Brandon, Miss., where a Negro war veteran charged he was flogged by white men for attempting to register. Green reported that a woman, Matilda Pinckney, was flogged brutally at Brandon by white men who said they "were not going to allow Negroes on the streets after dark."

Earlier in the week, Attorney General Clark said a Justice Dept. investigation of the situation in Mississippi might be undertaken. Bilbo immediately challenged the right of Clark, the Justice Dept. and the FBI to take a hand in the State's voting problems.

Bilbo Challenges The American Idea

THEODORE G. BILBO is such a noisy mountebank that you can't help feeling besmeared by his cheapness if you think to take him seriously. But when you would laugh, then he shocks you with a blasphemous denial of the sacred things that are America. You find your breath taken, for example, by the enormity of his latest challenge to freedom. He calls on every "red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi" to keep Negroes from voting July 2, when his race for renomination will be decided. "And if you don't know what that means," he adds, in his campaign speech at Laurel, Miss., "you are just not up on your persuasive measures."

These are the words of an outlaw and a thug. If there is any meaning at all in our constitutional guarantees of civil rights, and in the laws that support them and that would punish their violation, here is a plain case for action by the authority that BILBO flouts.

True, there is in the House of Congress a Committee on Un-American Activities, which should see this as a proper point for its attention, if there ever was one and if the name of the committee has any honest meaning. But it is needless, of course, to invoke the committee, for whom do we hear as BILBO's echo but JOHN RANKIN, his neighbor, who is its mentor and guide? The case is to be commended, rather, to the Department of Justice and perhaps also to the Mississippian's colleagues in the Senate, who should have some concern for the dignity and propriety of their associations. BILBO's vicious incitement (he demands a "resort to any means") is criminal in spirit and no less in fact.

There Is a Way Out

If in the United States senate be any high-toned gentlemen who don't like to keep company in that club with a Bilbo, they can resign.

Bilbo's Challenge

Wiseacres are saying that Sen. Bilbo will be reelected, largely because of the nation-wide criticism which has been directed against him. "The Man" has always managed to land on his feet by playing the part of martyr. He is working that role for all that it is worth in the current campaign. It is Bilbo against the world, and Mississippi voters are said to be flocking to his banner on that account. Nothing serves him so well as "outside interference." There's no denying the force of this logic. But does that mean that, whenever a man like Bilbo is running for office, no one outside his state should say a derogatory word about him? There are worse things than having Bilbo in the United States Senate. Among these would be a failure to condemn him and what he stands for by Americans who realize how vicious and benighted Bilboism is.

The other day he called on "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means" to prevent Negro voting in the primary of July 2. This was so extreme a position for even "The Man" that it had its repercussions in Washington, where the Senate elections committee is on the verge of going into action. The number of Negro registrants in Mississippi is so small that if they all voted it would count for precious little. Bilbo is not bothered on that score. He is merely using "white supremacy" as Southern demagogues have been wont to do, but conditions are different. Negro-baiting is no longer tolerated by the conscience of the country, and Bilbo may have overreached himself. He may find that, even if he is elected, the Senate may not care to accept him—particularly if there is proof that Negroes entitled to vote were shut out of the privilege.

It is hard to believe that the Senate would show such courage. It is hard to believe that the Senate can bring itself to put Bilbo in his place in the event of his election.

What makes Bilbo sinister on a national basis is not that a majority of Mississippians are misguided enough to choose such a man to represent them but that under the rules of the Senate he becomes a person of consequence. He is heartily disliked by many of his colleagues in Washington, but once he is seated, he will be allowed to enjoy to the full all the prestige of a senator. He will have committee assignments. He will be put in a position to inject his poison into the body politic, not of Mississippi, but of the nation.

This queer kettle of fish is made possible merely because the Senate is working under rules and traditions for which there is little excuse. Even the streamlining which Sen. La Follette is promoting does not take care of the problem which a man like Bilbo presents. There ought to be some way in which to make him harmless if not innocuous. There would be a way if the Senate were properly organized, if senators were only willing to go beyond social ostracism to depriving people like Bilbo of any chance to do national damage. If they must accept him as Mississippi's choice, they can consult their own discretion as to whether he is given committee assignments enabling him to leave any real impression on the life and destiny of the country.

Never has our system of government been so severely scrutinized as today. The separation of powers which the Founding Fathers wrote into the constitution has led to what many Americans regard as disastrous conse-

quences. The virtual impasse between Congress and the president is a case in point. If Republicans should take over the House come November, an even ghastlier stalemate is in prospect. A greater flexibility would mean so much for the welfare of America, but it will not be had through tinkering with the constitution. A less formal but no less effective approach to the problem is available through a reorientation of attitude on the part of Congress. Part of that process would be a fresh evaluation by the Senate of the rights of individual members to inflict their malice, ignorance and barbarism upon the national life.

Mississippi's Electorate Just Like Bilbo, Says Editor Carter

New York—As advocates o racial prejudice and purveyors o class hatreds, Senator Theadore G. Bilbo and Congressman John Rankin are representative of the voting majority of their state, ac cording to a searching analysi of the sensational pair by a nativ on of Mississippi, in the May is sue of SALUTE, new veterans magazine and the civilian success or to the famed Army Yank.

The writer, Hodding Carter publisher of the Delta Democra Times of Greenville, Miss., and former officer in charge of Yank's Middle East Bureau in Cairo, pull no punches in the SALUTE article but at the same time warns that it would be "dangerously misleading to present Rankin and Bilbo as ignorant, violent men—and nothing more."

The SALUTE article points out that to know what Bilbo and Rankin are like, one must know what Mississippi and its voters are like and why. The Mississippi ed itor admits that his state is at the bo tom of the ladder in literacy, public health, per capita income, et cetera, due primarily to the ec onomic condition of the state. Added to this is a deep rooted conservatism of its people.

"In Mississippi," Carter says, "the man with a foreign name and alien features is suspect, together with Catholicism, inquisitive Yankees and higher education for Negroes."

The Bilbo Rankin support is strongest in the poorest sections of the state. The SALUTE writer xplains this with the comment hat "poverty of body produces poverty of mind." He points out hat Bilbo has never carried the Yazoo Mississippi Delta section of the State, a fertile section of 11 counties along the river which pays almost half of the taxes of he State's 82 counties. Here the Negro outnumbers the white man wo and three to one, but there is less Bilboism and less racial riction.

The Greenville editor charges hat abolition of the poll tax would not mean the beginning of Negro suffrage. Instead, he claims, it would merely increase "bottom rail voting" and a resulting in crease in the Bilbo Rankin ma orities.

Although the more intelligent voting element resents the humili ation of their State in the eyes of the nation, they do not approve of outside pressure.

A shocking problem in sociology is posed by Carter in his state ment that "Among even the more liberal white Southerners a very real expectation and fear of im minent racial conflict exists, a conflict for which they blame the Southern white demagogues on the one side, and on the other, the Negro and white spokesman for the Negro race who make propos als or demands presently impos sible of Southern acceptance."

Carter sees no immediate chance of unseating Bilbo or Rankin and predicts that if they are defeated for re election it will not be for reasons of racial or religious tol erance.

America's Great Shame

In response to a civil action appeal made to the U. S. Justice Department Monday by a Negro veteran of Mississippi charging that he had been pounced upon and beaten unmercifully in seeking to get registered, Senator Theodore G. Bilbo called upon all "red-blooded" white citizens of his state to exhaust every possible means to keep Negroes from voting in their state.

Mr. Bilbo is a United States Senator. He has been a member of that body for a great number of years. He is at present in the midst of a campaign for re-election. By his bombast and extreme antipathy toward everything and everybody not of the Nordic origin, he has won for himself and for his state a name that cannot be lived down very easily. Indeed, he has become a stench upon the good name of all America. He lacks dignity required in the most elemental phases of association and he is utterly devoid of statesmanship.

Although his kind is passing from the Washington scene, it is still far too slow an evolution for decent white and colored Americans to wait for such a process. Something specific and tangible must be done to rid all America and without a doubt, our United States Congress, of men of his calibre. For it is a tragic commentary upon our Congress to know that such a man with such utterly dangerous ideas can claim membership in such a body.

Bilbo Makes Capital Of Court's Decision

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND

By Drew Pearson

Washington.

SHUT your eyes for a moment as you listen to the sweating, gyrating, fulminating figure shouting before you. You would almost swear that it was the late Kingfish of Louisiana. Instead it is the Kingfish of Mississippi, Theodore Bilbo, and he is fighting for his life.

Whether in the United States Senate or in the Delta country of Mississippi, Bilbo is the same. The voice is rasping and tired. He looks older, and is older. But the vigor of gesture is still so great that the light gray suit turns dark with perspiration.

"Send me back to the Senate," he shouts, "and I'll see to it that Southern womanhood is safe. I'll protect your homes from the invasion of Northern Communists and Niggers. I'll. . . ."

The voice rasps on.

This is the third time in 12 years Bilbo has stumped the state of Mississippi, pulling out the same stops on his bass-organ voice, and today will decide whether the electorate of Mississippi will believe him once again.

The boys in the backwoods country are not as gullible as they used to be, and Bilbo is having a harder time of it than ever before. The "pecker-woods" he talked about so scornfully are giving him more trouble than he ever expected.

But one big break came his way. The Supreme Court decision that Negroes can vote in Democratic primaries was duck soup for Bilbo. Deliberately and skillfully he called upon "red-blooded" whites to scourge Negroes from the polls. A threat of violence, he knew, could not be ignored in Washington. The Justice Department would have to take some action, which would play directly into his hands, give him a chance to harangue the multitudes about the "Yankee-Nigger" invasion.

Bilbo may squeak through in today's primaries, and if he does this will be what saved him.

ABLEST Bilbo opponent is ex-Congressman Ross Collins, the man who did most to build up the Army in peacetime. . . . Collins, a member of the War Department appropriations subcommittee, forced the Army to take on its first flying fortress by putting flying-fortress money in the Appropriation Bill. Then the Army had to spend it. . . . Collins also induced the Army to buy the Christie tank back in the days when the Army was still thinking about horses. . . . When a Mississippi congressman, he paid tribute to the fighting qualities of Negro troops in Italy. Hearing this, Bilbo gave a harangue on his lifelong friendship for the Negro. . . . Bilbo got his first taste of Washington as a $6,000-a-year clipper-of-newspapers in the Department of Agriculture. With it went two secretaries and a de luxe office. He spent most of his time clipping poetry. . . . The late Senator Pat Harrison got Bilbo the clipping job. Later they became bitter enemies, and Bilbo cast the deciding vote against Harrison when he wanted to become majority leader of the Senate.

NOT since the days of Herbert Hoover have people around the White House been worried about photographs. Herbert Hoover was extremely camera-shy, raised cain when photographers tried to get close-ups. Mrs. Hoover even insisted upon censoring photographs.

The Roosevelt family were just the opposite. So is President Truman. Not so, however, members of the Truman family. Most sensitive photographic censors in the Truman entourage are his in-laws. Last time the President visited Jackson County, Missouri, a newsman who met the Truman party at the airport approached the President's brother-in-law, George Wallace, and asked:

"Will it be all right to take one picture of the group?"

"There'll be no pictures," snapped Wallace.

Reluctant to argue the point, the reporter entered the field administration building to await the arrival of the "Sacred Cow." Wallace entered shortly thereafter.

"We don't appreciate being followed around," he snarled at the newsman.

"I'm doing this on instructions," the newsman returned. "It's an assignment. You'd do the same thing."

"What were you doing out on the field?"

"I was looking around."

"Well," concluded the President's brother-in-law, "the Secret Service will run you off when they get here."

The Secret Service did not take the same view. When Wallace cornered one of the agents, the latter shook his head. Newsmen and photographers, he indicated, had a right to stay.

THERE'S never a dull moment in the life of "The Man" Bilbo. . . . He once served a jail sentence for contempt of court when Judge Edwin R. Holmes ordered him to testify in the case involving his old political enemy, Governor Russell. . . . Bilbo was shot at by a jealous and irate lady when Governor of Mississippi. The mark of the bullet is still in the mantelpiece of the Governor's mansion, just behind the Governor's desk. Some say it was Mrs. Bilbo; others that it was a jilted secretary. . . . Mrs. Bilbo long ago decided she couldn't take it. Joe Tumulty, former secretary to Woodrow Wilson, finally persuaded her to avoid an unpleasant divorce suit and accept a settlement of $30,000. . . . Bilbo kissed off a prosecution against him for embezzlement some years ago as follows: "The prosecutor said I was guilty, some of the witnesses said I was guilty; but the jury, boys and girls, said I was innocent." This alibi was during his first campaign for the Senate in 1934. He was elected. . . . When Bilbo first came to Washington he boasted that he had used the Civilian Conservation Corps to lay out a golf course on his farm. "Mighty convenient, I can tell you," he bragged to friends.

Bilbo Goes Too Far, Makes Man's Savior Subject of Profanity

JACKSON, Miss.—Not content with blasting colored people, Italians, Jews, foreigners and Catholics, Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo, during his campaign for re-election, recently extended his profanities to Jesus Christ Himself.

Although the race-baiter has denied the statement, others present at a campaign meeting, including Hodding Carter, noted fidavits insisting that Bilbo said mockingly, "I'm for every d—n Jew from Jesus Christ down."

Bilbo Doctrine Can't Be Stopped This Time

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo and Rep. John E. Rankin are up for renomination today in Mississippi's Democratic primary and, unless something like a miracle is passed, the two champions of white supremacy will adorn the Halls of Congress for another term come January.

Rankin, with one opponent, appeared sure of easy victory. Bilbo, with four opponents all pledged to white supremacy like himself, faced only the bare chance that someone might poll enough votes to force a runoff.

Both Bilbo and Rankin have warned Negroes to stay away from the voting booths if they desired continued peaceful relations with the white population. Although the State population is half Negro, only 5000 of them are registered voters. The white vote, mostly Democratic, is expected to run 150,000 to 200,000.

Meanwhile, Bilbo has assurance that his Senate colleagues would not investigate his oratorical hints to fellow Mississippians (white) to use violence if necessary to keep Negroes from the primary. The Privileges and Elections Committee passed the hot potato to the Special Committee on Campaign Expenditures and Sen. Edwin C. Johnson (D., Colo.), acting chairman of that group, said no investigation would be made now.

Only encouragement for Negroes who plan to vote in Mississippi's Democratic primary came from Atty. Gen. Tom C. Clark who said the "full power" of the Justice Dept. would be used to aid qualified Negroes seeking to vote.

Bilbo Says He May Try To Outlaw Paper

MIAMI, Fla., July 31—(AP)—The Miami Daily News said today it had received a letter from Sen. Theodore Bilbo (D., Miss.) saying he was thinking "seriously" of introducing a bill "to outlaw and suppress publication of The Miami Daily News because I don't like your views at all."

The News said Bilbo yesterday told its Washington correspondent, Thomas W. Hagan, he thought The News was "the meanest —— of a —— paper in the country."

Bilbo's letter to The News said: "I have just read an editorial in your paper of July 5, 1946, under the title 'National Action' in which you advocate that the Senate refuse to honor the wish and will of the majority of the voters of a commonwealth of this union by refusing me a seat in the United States Senate, all because you do not like my views.

"I am thinking seriously of introducing a bill to outlaw and suppress the publication of The Miami Daily News because I don't like your views at all."

The editorial to which Bilbo referred said in part:

". . . It would seem that Theodore G. Bilbo will not face a run-off election. The voters of Mississippi, ever receptive to demagoguery, have nominated 'The Man' for another six-year term in Congress. Perhaps the result might have been different had the poll tax been eliminated and all eligible voters been permitted to participate.

". . . It now rests with the Senate to refuse to seat Bilbo if and when he returns to Washington.

"Mr. Bilbo has consistently held up legislative action in the capital and advocated ideologies which are in direct variance with the constitution and laws of the nation. He has fought a constant and bitter battle for reaction . ."

Hagan reported that he asked Bilbo if he was serious or facetious "in proposing to abridge the constitutional right of freedom of the press."

"Yes, I am serious if they go ahead the way they are going," was the senator's reply.

Bilbo Abets Bar Of Negro Vote Despite Denial

JACKSON, Miss., June 29.—(U.P.)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (Democrat, Mississippi), giving his state its most explosive political campaign in years, told supporters Saturday he is depending on them to keep Negroes away from the polls in next Tuesday's primary, by force if necessary.

As Bilbo rounded out his bid for a third term in the Senate, the National Negro Council in Washington demanded that he be ousted from Congress, and the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee held a special meeting to decide whether his campaign activities should be investigated.

The heaped-up criticism of Bilbo's tactics, however, appeared only to drive him to further lengths. He accused "Yankees and Negro-loving Yankees at that," of trying to persecute him.

Bilbo, one of five candidates in the race for his Senate seat, openly defied the Government to "protect" Negroes seeking to vote in the forthcoming primary.

"Mississippi's good white people should go to any means justifiable to maintain white supremacy at the polls," he told a rally Friday night.

Bilbo insisted he was not advocating violence at the polls, as had been charged by some Negro groups, but almost in the next breath he added:

"If you don't know what I mean, you're just plain dumb. The time to see the Negro is the night before the election."

Four members of the House from Mississippi, including Representative John Rankin, also face opposition Tuesday, but the senatorial race, waged as it is on the heat of the color line, received the most attention.

Between 125,000 and 150,000 Mississippians are expected to visit the polls, which open at 7 a. m. and close at 6 p. m.

Although more than half the population of the state is black and while an active campaign has been waged to get out the Negro vote, it actually is not expected to be large.

Negroes Ask U. S. Troops At Mississippi Polls

WASHINGTON, June 29.—(AP). A Senate committee formally ordered a "thorough investigation of the Montana primary election campaign Saturday on a complaint from Senator Wheeler, who is seeking Democratic renomination there.

A decision on the question of looking into Senator Bilbo's campaign in Mississippi was deferred until Monday.

Meanwhile, the National Negro Council asked President Truman to send United States troops to "protect the polls" in Mississippi's primaries Tuesday as a guarantee of the Negro's right to vote.

SENATORS TO MEET TODAY OVER BILBO

But Some of Elections Group Doubt Action Will Be Taken on Mississippi Complaints

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, June 28—The Senate's Committee on Elections will meet in special session tomorrow to consider complaints against the nature of the Democratic primary campaign being waged in Mississippi by Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, but several members indicated today that the possibility of any Senate action was slight.

The committee was summoned by Chairman Theodore F. Green, Democrat, of Rhode Island, to hear Senator Glen H. Taylor, Democrat, of Idaho, who denounced as inflammatory and undemocratic statements attributed ot Mr. Bilbo that "all red-blooded Ango-Saxons" should see to it that Negroes were not permitted to vote in the primary.

Senator Taylor told reporters that he intended merely to submit to the committee clippings describing Mr. Bilbo's speeches and to "leave it up to them whether something should be done, if these quotations are correct."

Senator H. Alexander Smith, Republican, of New Jersey, who supported Senator Taylor's request to be heard, explained that he did so because he thought Mr. Taylor had a right to make such a demand, but added that he and a number of his colleagues of the Elections Committee were "puzzled" as to what jurisdiction they had in the matter.

He said, as did other members, that the principal function of the committee concerned legislation dealing with elections, and that even if it were thought that some Senate action should be taken, he was not certain as to where it should begin.

Spending Issue Uninvolved

Recalling that committees to investigate campaign expenditures were in existence, he observed that no charge involving excessive spending was at issue. A special committee to oversee Senatorial elections exists, but its chairman, Senator Allen J. Ellender, Democrat, of Louisiana, will be an observer of the atomic bomb tests in the Pacific.

Senator Smith added that a request he had made to the Department of Justice for submission to the committee of any information indicating violations of law in the Mississippi primary had produced nothing as yet, and disclosed that he had been told by an Assistant Attorney General that the department would take no positive step unless such information were turned up.

Some members pointed out privately that any accusation made against a newly elected or reelected Senator was ordinarily referred to the Elections Committee, if his seating were to be contested, and speculated that some such point might conceivably be raised against Senator Bilbo, should he be returned.

There was no suggestion, however, that any such step actually was in contemplation, and Senator Taylor said in answer to inquiries that he knew of no such plan.

To a statement attributed to Senator Bilbo, in dispatches from the South, that Senator Taylor lived in a Negro residential section of Washington, the Idahoan retorted with a smile:

"There was no racial question involved in this, one way or the other. I simply got a house in a section where I could afford the rent."

Bilbo Ignores Inquiry Threat

JACKSON, Miss., June 28 (U.P.)—Senator Theodore G. Bilbo, candidate for re-election on the white-supremacy theme, ignored a threatened Senate investigation of his campaign today and again exhorted supporters to scare Negroes away from the polls next Tuesday.

"Mississippi's good white people should go to any means justifiable to maintain white supremacy at the polls," Mr. Bilbo shouted in a stump talk at Stuart. "And if you don't know what I mean, you're just plain dumb."

Bilbo May Win In Senate Race Without Runoff

Ellis Running Second; Turner Is Leading In Oklahoma Voting

By The Associated Press

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo clung to a slim majority today of all votes so far counted in his race for a third term, after a stormy Mississippi primary in which some Negroes participated despite his vigorous protests.

Missing precints in 58 counties would determine whether Bilbo obtained more votes than his four opponents combined yesterday and won renomination on the Democratic ticket in one-party Mississippi.

Lack of a majority would require Bilbo to face a run-off with the No. 2 man in the field, Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court clerk. Ellis had not conceded defeat.

Unofficial returns from 1,382 out of the 1,701 precincts gave Bilbo 88,299; Ross Collins, 16,963; Tom O. Ellis, 54,246; Frank Harper, 1,305, and Nelson T. Levings, 14,003. Bilbo majority, 1,782.

* * *

SEVERAL THOUSAND NEGROES sought to qualify as voters, relying on a Supreme Court decision that members of their race could do so in primary elections and a pledge by Atty. Gen. Clark to protect their rights.

Many failed because election officials held they did not meet the poll tax requirement or prove they were Democrats. There were estimates that perhaps 1,000 actually cast ballots despite Bilbo's call for "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to use whatever means are necessary" to keep Negroes from the polls.

No violence against Negroes was reported.

Rep. John E. Rankin, influential member of the House committee on un-American affairs and like Bilbo a strong campaigner for "white supremacy," was renominated in the First Congressional District.

Rankin held a lead of almost 1,500 votes over his combined opposition today with 198 of 222 precincts reported.

Unofficial returns gave Rankin 12,539 to 9,568 for Claude F. Clayton and 1,475 for Charles G. Hamilton.

Of Mississippi's six other House members, all were renominated outright except Rep. Dan R. McGehee of the Seventh District. He led his field but will run off Aug. 27 with John Bell Williams, one-armed war veteran who was high man among McGehee's three opponents.

NEGROES SLIGHT BILBO

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., July 3—(AP)—Sen. Theo Bilbo who campaigned on a platform of "white supremecy" in Mississippi, ran last in this all-Negro Delta community in yesterday's Democratic primary.

Harvard-educated Mayor A. B. Green reported this tally of votes in the Mound Bayou boxes:

Tom Q. Ellis 42, Nelson T. Levings 27, Ross Collins 18, Frank Harper 13, and Bilbo 12.

Truman Urged to Move Against Bilbo's Incitement

Federal intervention against "shameful" tactics of Senator Theodore G. "The Man" Bilbo yesterday was demanded of President Truman by Negro and white labor, political and veterans' leaders.

Hitting back at Bilbo's demand for "red blooded Anglo-Saxons" to use "any means" to keep Mississippi Negroes from Tuesday's primaries, in which "The Man" seeks renomination in the Senate, Truman was told by the Independent Citizen's Committee of the Art, Science and Professions

"We strongly urge all appropriate steps to end what amounts to open contravention of the Supreme Court and urge further that the administration see to it that there is no repetition of the shameful appeals to rioting against Mississippi citizens such as that made by Bilbo in a radio speech delivered last Saturday."

DAVIDSON SENDS WIRE

Jo Davidson, ICC national chairman, in a wire to Charles V. Denny, acting chairman, Federal Communications Commission, referred to Bilbo's radio speech as "an open invitation for racist violence in order to prevent a large part of Mississippi citizens from voting."

The ICC is wondering, Davidson said, "what action the commission will find it appropriate to take against the licensee of the station or stations over which Bilbo made his harangue."

"Surely such invitations to violence cannot be construed as being within the public interest and welfare."

In an eleventh-hour campaign rally in Tishomingo City, Miss., Bilbo defied "the U. S. Attorney General, the Department of Justice and the FEPC to try to keep the white people from running the white Democratic primaries as we think they should be run."

Congressional investigation of the Senator's threats seemed likely Saturday, but consideration was postponed till Monday. Following this action, Bilbo said:

"I repeat once again: Keep the Negroes out of our white primary."

The ICC's action was supplemented by that of Sidney Hillman, chairman of the CIO Political Action Committee, who demanded the President halt an "organized effort to prevent Negro citizens, including veterans, from registering to vote."

Hillman cited reports that Etoy Fletcher, Negro veteran, had been beaten in Mississippi after he had attempted to register.

In Chicago, an appeal to Negro veterans in Mississippi to answer Bilbo by registering and voting was made by Kenneth C. Kennedy, national commander, United Negro and Allied Veterans of America.

Bilbo's defeat would mean "a victory for the people of Mississippi and the nation," Kennedy said.

Bilbo will face four opponents in Tuesday's primary, but only two are considered to be in contention. They are former Representative Ross Collins, who has attempted to "out-Bilbo" Bilbo, and Supreme Court Clerk Tom O. Ellis, who has shied away from the racial question.

Even Chance Is Conceded to Bilbo In Mississippi Contest for Senate

Times New York, N.Y. Jours. 7-2-46

'Outside Interference' on Racial Issue May Help Him, One Rival Says, but Apathy Prevails on Today's Primary

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

JACKSON, Miss., July 1—The apathy of voters, coupled with the unreasonably early date of tomorrow's Democratic primary in Mississippi, led observers here today to give Senator Theodore G. Bilbo at least an even chance for namination to succeed himself.

The Senator's four opponents are soliciting votes for the avowed purpose of keeping Mr. Bilbo from obtaining a majority tomorrow, thus forcing a run-off election on Aug. 27. 7-2-46 Sun

Nelson T. Levings, former Navy commander and one of the candidates, said:

"If Bilbo is elected, it will be because of outside interference. I don't know whether that's a good or bad reason, but it's a fact."

This sentiment is often heard here. Mr. Bilbo has made considerable capital, in his State speaking tour, of critical articles which have appeared about him recently in national magazines.

The State newspapers have considerably displayed the complaints of Senator Glen H. Taylor, Democrat, of Idaho, to the Senate Committee on Elections, and to the reference of his request for an investigation to the Senate Special Campaign Committee.

Senator Taylor's reported suggestion that President Truman send Federal troops into the State to protect Negroes in their voting rights has not been overlooked by the Bilbo workers, nor has today's telegram, sent by Emanuel H. Bloch, attorney for the Civil Rights League, to Mr. Truman urging Federal protection of citizens exercising their legal rights.

Fund Inquiry Asked

Mr. Bilbo lashed out at former Representative Ross A. Collins for asking the Senate Elections Committee to investigate an alleged contribution of $25,000 Mr. Bilbo received in 1942 from a contracting firm.

The Senator said that $14,000 of the sum went to the Collins campaign fund of that year, and he denied he received one dollar of the balance. He asked Robert Gandy, a Jackson attorney and friend of Mr. Collins, to explain where the remainder went.

This is the type of campaign which has been waged. No issues, in the usual sense of the term, are involved. It is the field of four trying to oust Mr. Bilbo.

Mr. Levings, in his closing speech tonight, urged the electorate of Mississippi" to be done with a plague of horror and hate, contempt and cowardice, Bilboism and the slimy bog of bigotry."

There are several reasons why a total vote of only 200,000 or less is expected tomorrow. It is an off-year, and the senatorial contest is the only state-wide race. There are four contested seats in the House of Representatives, but no state offices are at stake.

The primary falls, this year, before the farmers have reaped their crops. The State Legislature, in providing absentee voting for the first time in 1944, believed the war would still be in progress and set July 2 as the date for the primary so as to allow Mississippi soldiers sufficient time to get their ballots in before the general elections in November.

Each of Mr. Bilbo's opponents expresses confidence that he can defeat the incumbent in a two-man race. Mississippi law requires a candidate to obtain a majority of all primary votes cast before he is certified as Democratic nominee. This means that unless Mr. Bilbo receives 51 per cent of the votes tomorrow, a run-off will result, with the next highest candidate opposing him.

No Trouble Is Expected

A scattering of Negroes will probably vote for the first time in a Democratic primary in Mississippi. It is expected that the only attempts will be made by Negroes in the cities, except for two all-Negro communities in northwest Mississippi, where they will probably be challenged as Republicans. Sun. 7-2-46

No trouble is expected, despite Mr. Bilbo's exhortations to take any steps necessary to keep Negroes from voting in the primary, though police officials recognize the danger of an individual fight at a polling place which could develop seriously.

All veterans discharged since October, 1944, may register and vote without paying a poll tax, under the 1944 law. This dispensation, however, does not relieve them of the literacy test provided by the State Constitution.

Mississippi requires voters to be able to read, or, if they cannot, to be able to explain the State Constitution when it is read to them.

The Issue In Mississippi Today

Courier-Journal

Whether Theodore G. Bilbo will be returned to the Senate is a question of national importance

Louisville, Ky.

IN MISSISSIPPI today a primary election will be held which carries national interest. This is not because of the issues involved, because there are none in the sense of government and public business. It is simply because one of the candidates, Theodore G. Bilbo, who is seeking renomination for the Senate, has so inflamed passions and outraged decency, for the bald purpose of getting votes, that his name has become a kind of symbol.

Bilbo is opposed by four men whose best hope is that one of them may force him into a runoff, in which a consolidation of anti-Bilbo votes may beat him. For nobody expects at this hour that Bilbo will not lead the field. There is more fear that he will get a majority over all the others than there is assurance that he will not. Tuesday

There are two ways of getting a measure of Bilbo and of understanding the situation. If you live outside Mississippi, you have to see and hear him to believe that such a man exists and to recognize his power. If you are a Mississippian, especially an untravelled native, you have to go into other parts to get a clear perspective. 7-2-46

As to the first, this correspondent can bear testimony. Two days after hearing Bilbo in a campaign speech at Mendenhall, Miss., I find myself still shocked. This comes not only from what he said, but also from the fact that a good crowd, as Saturday morning crowds go in a rural cross-roads, plainly was delighted.

I thought I knew what to expect, having observed at close range some masterly demagogues in my day, pretty nearly all the contemporary artists in the medium of intemperate speech and intellectual poison. When Bilbo is on his native heath, speaking in the local vernacular with familiar names, images and allusions, nobody can touch him. He runs the entire scale from piety to the grossest obscenity with the sure touch of the virtuoso. And he draws the crowds, more than his opponents combined.

Then there is the other way of getting at the enormity of Bilbo and his incitement of hatred for race and religion not his own. Men who went out from Mississippi over the world in the armed forces have come back full of the experience of jibes or scorn from companions who learned they were from "Bilbo's State." Almost everybody, it seems, has heard a veteran of his acquaintance talking about it. 7-2-46

Here is a large group that will not be voting for Bilbo. By virtue of an act of a legislature in the flush of gratitude and patriotism, they are exempt from poll tax, but there could be more of them registered. Tuesday

If Bilbo is forced into a second primary, and if he is beaten in a runoff, the veterans will have been a big factor in the result. Another will be women of church and cultural groups, who are out in force to persuade voters against Bilbo. They don't like many things about him—for one, the profanity with which his

y a war camp contracting firm in 1942.
He says it was paid to Bilbo. Bilbo says Collins says Bilbo is a liar. Doxey says
t was for the campaign expenses of Wall he never heard of the money. News-
Doxey, who was running in that year for papers, none of which support Bilbo, are
he Senate against James Eastland, the asking, why war contractors should hand
winner, with Collins as the third man. money over to Bilbo, a Senator, in any
Bilbo even says Collins got some of it. case.

Scandal of a new variety is buzzing about Bilbo's head just now. Ross Collins, former Congressman and one of the two opponents who has a chance of getting into a second primary with Bilbo, is making much of a contribution of $25,000 Bilbo got in 1942 from a contracting firm. He says it was paid to Bilbo. Bilbo says Collins says Bilbo is a liar. Doxey says he never heard of the money. Newspapers, none of which support Bilbo, are asking, why war contractors should hand money over to Bilbo, a Senator, in any case.

For another "The Man" speeches reek. has been involved in more than one scandal of amorous tone. He actually served time in jail for contempt in refusing to testify in a seduction case involving a political associate, and this is not forgotten.

Mississippi Will Vote Tuesday After Bitter Racial Campaign; Senate May Probe Election

Richmond Va. Times-Dispatch

JACKSON, MISS., June 30—(AP)—Mississippi's bitter congressional campaign, marked by stress on the race issue and reports of possible Federal investigation, ends Tuesday when the State's Democrats nominate a United States Senator and seven Representatives.

Unless there is a runoff primary, the vote will be equivalent to election, Mississippi being virtually a one-party State.

But before the voting starts, the Senate Elections Committee is due to consider whether a formal investigation is warranted by published charges that eligible Negroes might be kept from casting their ballots.

Action Deferred

The group met in Washington Saturday, but deferred action till tomorrow. Mon 7-1-46

Last week Senator Taylor (R-Idaho) called upon the Senate to investigate reports that a Senator had said he would do all in his power to prevent a group from exercising its right to vote.

He did not identify the Senator or the incident, but Senator Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss.) running for his third nomination to the office, has called upon "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting.

Bilbo has called upon his four opponents to join him in "requesting" Negroes to refrain from voting. Representative John E. Rankin, seeking renomination from Mississippi's First Congressional District, has urged "all law-abiding Negroes" to remain away from the polls.

Surveys have shown that Negro registration is a small percentage of the total, and in many counties there is none at all. But Bilbo claims it will increase with each election until it means "an end to white supremacy." Negroes form 49.2 per cent of the State's population, according to the last census.

The campaign has been largely one of personalities rather than political organizations. There is no State-wide political group in Mississippi, except the Democratic party, and candidates usually rely upon individual appeal.

Other major officeholders have held generally aloof this time. Governor Thomas L. Bailey has made no public comment on the primary.

Tuesday's Candidates

Here are Tuesday's candidates:

For Senator—

Bilbo, 69-year-old lawyer and farmer, of Poplarville, fiery debater, who has held public office almost continually since he was elected to the legislature in 1908. He served twice as Governor.

During his first term impeachment proceedings against him were defeated by one vote. He has been in the Senate since 1934.

Ross A. Collins, of Jackson, 66-year-old lawyer, who served nine terms in the House of Representatives. He has been a candidate for the Senate three times before without success. His chief campaign plank has been a charge that Bilbo has not championed white supremacy strenuously enough.

Tom Q. Ellis, 55, of Jackson, Supreme Court clerk, who claims he was chosen to that office with the largest vote ever given a State-wide candidate in Mississippi. He is the only senatorial candidate to avoid name-calling. He has called his campaign "a crusade for dignity and honor in high places."

Nelson T. Levings, of Gulfport, 44-year-old naval veteran and former bank vice-president. His only previous try for office was an unsuccessful race for Lieutenant-Governor in 1939. He has addressed his plea chiefly to the veterans, and has claimed white supremacy is not an issue.

Frank Harper, former State Senator and peachtree salesman, who has hitchhiked over the State in his campaign. Claims he cast the deciding vote to kill the impeachment proceedings against Bilbo when he was in the legislature.

For Representatives—

First District: John E. Rankin, of Tupelo, incumbent since 1920; Claude F. Clayton, Charles G. Hamilton.

Second District: Jamie L. Whitten, incumbent, unopposed.

Third District: Will M. Whittington, incumbent, unopposed.

Fourth District: Thomas G. Abernethy, incumbent, unopposed.

Fifth District: Arthur Winstead, incumbent; J. O. Hollis.

Sixth District: Arthur Winstead, incumbent; Grover C. Doggette.

Seventh District: Dan R. McGehee, incumbent; Stewart C. Broom, C. A. Sullivan, John Bell Williams.

Mon 7-1-46

Senate Investigation Asked

WASHINGTON, June 30—(AP)—Edgar G. Brown, director of the National Negro Council, called today for an immediate investigation by a Senate committee of Mississippi's Democratic primary in which Senator Bilbo is seeking nomination.

In a letter to Senator Edwin C. Johnson (D-Colo.), acting chairman of the Elections Committee, Brown cited Bilbo's appeal to "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon in Mississippi to resort to any means" to keep Negroes from voting in the primary Tuesday.

The committee decided yesterday to defer until tomorrow a decision on whether to look into Bilbo's campaign.

Brown's letter was similar to a message he sent to President Truman yesterday urging that Federal troops be sent into Mississippi to "protect the polls."

He wrote Johnson that the Senate committee "would render an incomparable public service" if it would recommend Bilbo's expulsion from the Senate.

Bilbo Sings Theme Song of Racial Hate

The Courier-Journal Sun. 6-30-46

Asks 6 More Years 6 Hours Every Day

Sun. 6-30-46

Louisville Ky.

By TARLETON COLLIER,
Staff Correspondent, The Courier-Journal

Jackson, Miss., June 29.—They have had Theodore Gilmore Bilbo shedding his coat and sweating torrents in the sweltering Mississippi this June as he roared 6 hours daily his appeal for another term in the Senate. Now, however, with June running out and the primary election only 48 hours away, almost everybody in these parts is saying that he might have saved himself some of the trouble. Sun. 6-30-46

But you must see that the man simply loves it. He never had a better opportunity, with the whole country as a sounding board, to sing his theme song of racial hate and fear. You get the idea that if no opposition had turned up, he might have created some—for the fun, profit and forensic exercise of it. In that case it perhaps would have been just the kind of opposition he has—four mediocrities, of who only two even faintly are hopeful of gaining a runoff against him.

Articles on politics in Indiana, Tennessee and the nation are on Pages 1, 3 and 6 of The Passing Show.

At Hilarious And Profane Best.

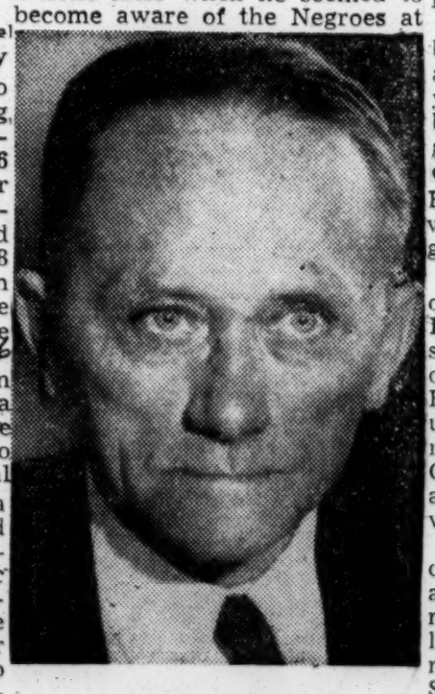
Bilbo's jaunty confidence was displayed at a speech today in the Simpson County Courthouse yard at Mendenhall, a dusty crossroads town 40 miles from here. A crowd composed mostly of small farmers stood to hear him in the scant shade of elms and locusts or squatted on the grass. He was as his most hilarious and profane best, and he found an eagerly responsive audience as he conjured up his familiar vision of a Negrom menace—of a Yankee Hillman-Eleanor Roosevelt conspiracy to saddle social equality on the South.

"I'm a Christian," he said at one point. This reporter was fascinated less by Bilbo's undeniably efective demagoguery than by the sight of small clumps of Negroes who huddled at the fringes of the crowd, listening and watching with impassive faces.

"I'm a Christian, and maybe can bring myself to look at the Negro as a brother in the Lord. But I'll be damned if I want one of them for my son-in-law, like old lady Roosevelt is trying to tell you and me we ought to."

He Got A Loud Laugh.

He got a loud laugh from the white crowd at that, then another a little later when he seemed to become aware of the Negroes at



SENATOR BILBO

the rear. "The Negroes who are listening to me ought to know that I am their best friend," he said. "I am trying to pass a bill to ship every damn one of them back to Africa."

For the most part, however, a perceptible tension seemed to hold the crowd as he shouted of danger to come from letting Negroes vote. "Don't do it," he said. "The law says they are not qualified in Mississippi. I'm a lawyer, and a good one, and I'll go anywhere in Mississippi to defend a white man who gets in trouble from keeping Negroes from voting." The Courier-Journal

Bilbo revealed his amazing knack of turning the accusations of his enemies to his own benefit. It has been this way from the beginning of his political career. He simply beats his accusers to the point by repeating the accusations and telling his crowd that they are smears for his fidelity in the people's cause. So successful has he been at this that many a newspaper in Mississippi opposed to Bilbo has taken to deleting from syndicated columns all critical references to Bilbo and his hate-mongering. Louisville, Ky.

Magazine Attacks Circulated.

However, a number of these references do appear, and just now the state is full of copies of an article in The Saturday Evening Post which is distinctly unfavorable, and reprints of a passage from Life which describes him as "the worst man in the Senate."

Of The Post article he said today it was the work of a "damnable, low, dirty, scavenger-beetle little kike." Of Life's reference he said it was the work of that "nigger-loving Communist, Henry Luce."

"They are trying to defeat me because I am up there killing and killing all these things for you," he said. "If you send me back, Henry Luce and glamour girl Clare Boothe will think the old Bilbo was an angel, and that Bilbo from now on is hell on wheels and running in high gear."

The C.I.O. and P.A.C. are more of the same, he said—enemies of Bilbo and the people of Mississippi. "If one of those damnable organizers from Brooklyn or Russia comes down here stirring up trouble," he said, "you just ride him out of town on a rail. Get out your tar and feathers, and don't forget your matches when you are about it."

It was the Bilbo who has overcome in the past many scandals and even imprisonment. He makes those things sound quite like martyrdom. For example, he mentioned the recent defeat of Senator Radcliffe of Maryland, who was opposed by the C.I.O.-P.A.C. An ordinary politician might have been reluctant to mention it, under the circumstances, but not Bilbo. "That communistic outfit made a list of the senators they said they would get," he said. "Bilbo headed the list. Then there were Byrd, McKellar and Radcliffe. Well, they got my good friend Radcliffe, who is beloved in the Senate. And next Tuesday they may get another one, if you let them."

Crowd Grows Restive.

It was noticeable that when the Negro-baiting theme ran out, and Bilbo turned after more than an hour to talk of his record, the crowd grew restive. The few Negroes seemed to melt away. Bilbo's promise of 40 and 50 cents a pound for cotton, $4 a bushel for corn and $200 a ton for cotton—all of which he suggested would come with himself as a member of the Agriculture Committee and a promoter of agricultural research—was sensational. Then he launched into characteristic invective against his opponents, and that

Bilbo Builds Up Big Lead In Mississippi; Many Negroes Vote: No Violence Reported

Courier-Journal

Probe Is Asked Of $25,000 Fund

Louisville, Ky.

From Wire Dispatches.

Jackson, Miss., July 2.—The South's most outspoken champion of white supremacy, Senator G. Bilbo, seemed headed for a majority over four opponents tonight with about 45 per cent of the votes counted from Mississippi's first Democratic primary in which Negroes voted.

Bilbo, seeking the Democratic nomination for his third Senate term, had more votes than the combined opposition in tabulations of 923 precincts of the state's 1,713. The votes came from 67 of 82 counties.

The latest totals gave Bilbo 60,009 votes, State Supreme Court Clerk Tom Q. Ellis 35,362, former Representative Ross Collins 70,743, naval veteran Nelson T. Levings 9,285, and Frank Harper 903.

7-3-46

Rankin Also Leads.

Representative John E. Rankin, a leading member of the House Un-American Affairs Committee and also a free-speaking white-supremacy advocate, had a lead of 632 votes over the total for two rivals in the First Congressional District. Count of 112 of 222 precincts gave Rankin 7,445 votes, former Circuit Judge Claude F. Clayton 5,957 and Charles G. Hamilton 856.

In the Seventh District Representative Dan R. McGehee apparently faced a run-off primary. With 144 of 316 boxes counted, he had 7,501 votes to 6,263 for John Bell Williams, 3,600 for C. A. Sullivan and 1,243 for Stewart C. Broom.

Representative Arthur Winstead led J. O. Hollis 7,920 to 4,182 with 100 of 302 precincts counted in the Fifth District. In the Sixth District, Representative William M. Colmer topped Grover C. Doggette, 13,039 to 9,751, with 156 of 340 boxes in.

Bilbo must obtain more than 50 per cent of the votes cast, or more than the number gained by his four opponents combined, to win renomination without a run-off.

Wed.

The state's three other congressmen were unopposed for renomination.

7-3-46

Most Negroes who could qualify were allowed to go peacefully to the polls, and no acts of violence were reported in connection with their balloting.

Collins asked the U. S. Senate tonight to investigate charges that Bilbo had received $25,000 from a Mississippi firm in "flagrant" violation of U. S. and State statutes.

Says Payment Unexplained.

Collins said Bilbo had failed repeatedly during the Mississippi campaign to explain satisfactorily the $25,000 payment which he charged was made by the contracting firm of Newton & Glenn, Hattiesburg, Miss. He said the senator "reportedly" described the fund as a voluntarily contribution to the unsuccessful Senate candidacy of Wall Doxey, present Senate sergeant at arms.

In Jackson, Percy Green, Negro editor of The Jackson Advocate and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said of the election officials:

"I don't see how anyone could have been nicer. There was no sign, no expression that anyone wanted to deny us the ballot."

In Bolivar County, where Negroes outnumber the white population, Negro votes were challenged systematically.

An estimated 2,000 Negroes ignored threats of violence and voted.

Louisville, Ky.

The only report of eligible Negroes being barred from the polls came from Pass Christian, on the Gulf Coast.

The only violence reported was at Tupelo, where Representative Rankin assaulted a photographer and seized his camera.

Angry because Associated Press photographer Allen Snipes had snapped his picture outside a voting booth, Rankin ripped off the photographer's shirt, scratched his neck and hands, and shouted:

"I'll kill you. I'll kill you."

Returns Camera; Keeps Film.

A witness, Walter Long, separated the pair. Long said Snipes made no attempt to fight back.

Rankin later returned the camera, but kept the film.

Bilbo in his campaign violently attacked "Northern Yankees" who, he said, were trying to crucify him, appealed to red-blooded Mississippians to keep Negroes from the polls, and called on the 150,000 to 200,000 white voters to "give me the greatest victory of my life."

'Into Camp of Enemy'

Jackson, Miss., July 2 (AP)—Eighteen Negroes voted today at a polling booth situated in the former residence of Senator Bilbo.

Bilbo's Challenge

Wiseacres are saying that Sen. Bilbo will be reelected, largely because of the nation-wide criticism which has been directed against him. "The Man" has always managed to land on his feet by playing the part of martyr. He is working that role for all that it is worth in the current campaign. It is Bilbo against the world, and Mississippi voters are said to be flocking to his banner on that account. Nothing serves him so well as "outside interference." There's no denying the force of this logic. But does that mean that, whenever a man like Bilbo is running for office, no one outside his state should say a derogatory word about him? There are worse things than having Bilbo in the United States Senate. Among these would be a failure to condemn him and what he stands for by Americans who realize how vicious and benighted Bilboism is.

The other day he called on "every red-blooded Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means" to prevent Negro voting in the primary of July 2. This was so extreme a position for even "The Man" that it had its repercussions in Washington, where the Senate elections committee is on the verge of going into action. The number of Negro registrants in Mississippi is so small that if they all voted it would count for precious little. Bilbo is not bothered on that score. He is merely using "white supremacy" as Southern demagogues have been wont to do, but conditions are different. Negro-baiting is no longer tolerated by the conscience of the country, and Bilbo may have overreached himself. He may find that, even if he is elected, the Senate may not care to accept him—particularly if there is proof that Negroes entitled to vote were shut out of the privilege.

* * *

It is hard to believe that the Senate would show such courage. It is hard to believe that the Senate can bring itself to put Bilbo in his place in the event of his election. What makes Bilbo sinister on a national basis is not that a majority of Mississippians are misguided enough to choose such a man to represent them but that under the rules of the Senate he becomes a person of consequence. He is heartily disliked by many of his colleagues in Washington, but once he is seated, he will be allowed to enjoy to the full all the prestige of a senator. He will have committee assignments. He will be put in a position to inject his poison into the body politic, not of Mississippi, but of the nation.

This queer kettle of fish is made possible merely because the Senate is working under rules and traditions for which there is little excuse. Even the streamlining which Sen. La Follette is promoting does not take care of the problem which a man like Bilbo presents. There ought to be some way in which to make him harmless if not innocuous. There would be a way if the Senate were properly organized, if senators were only willing to go beyond social ostracism to depriving people like Bilbo of any chance to do national damage. If they must accept him as Mississippi's choice, they can consult their own discretion as to whether he is given committee assignments enabling him to leave any real impression on the life and destiny of the country.

* * *

Never has our system of government been so severely scrutinized as today. The separation of powers which the Founding Fathers wrote into the constitution has led to what many Americans regard as disastrous consequences. The virtual impasse between Congress and the president is a case in point. If Republicans should take over the House come November, an even ghastlier stalemate is in prospect. A greater flexibility would mean so much for the welfare of America, but it will not be had through tinkering with the constitution. A less formal but no less effective approach to the problem is available through a reorientation of attitude on the part of Congress. Part of that process would be a fresh evaluation by the Senate of the rights of individual members to inflict their malice, ignorance and barbarism upon the national life.

Mississippi's Choice

Today is primary day in Mississippi. Our neighboring state will choose its congressional delegation. Ordinarily 47 of the states are not particularly interested in what the 48th does in its primaries, but, we believe, the whole nation is united this time in the hope that Sen. Bilbo will be retired from the seat he has held too long in the upper chamber. For The Man is not only a disgrace to his state but to the entire country. His vicious stand on the race question, his bitter attacks on organized labor, his rantings against Americans of foreign birth, his vituperative tongue-wagging against his own colleagues, his complete subservience to the Klan mentality: all these make him unfit for the office to which he aspires. The South is tired of apologizing for his presence in the Senate; the country is ashamed of him in the face of the world which looks to us for democratic leadership. It's time he joined the demagogues of the past in the limbo of forgotten men.

But if the race-baiters in Mississippi, to whom he appeals with all the low passions of mankind, should send him back to the Senate, there is yet a hope that that body

Mississippi will believe him once again. The boys in the backwoods are not as gullible as they used to be. And Bilbo is having a harder time of it than ever before. He is scornfully assailed by the "pecker-woods" he talked about so contemptuously during the campaign. Even more than ever expected.

Birmingham, Ala.

7-2-46

Drew Pearson

Bilbo's Race-Baiting Appeal Fails

He's Just 'For Every Good Jew From Christ On Down,' Bilbo Says

By the Associated Press

Jackson, Miss., May 18.—Senator Theo G. Bilbo, candidate for renomination as U. S. Senator, today said he had been misquoted in a newspaper story relative to a campaign speech he made at Leland, Miss., May 14.

"While shaking hands with friends after my regular speaking engagement in Leland Tuesday of this week, a girl with a tablet, supposedly a newspaper reporter, rushed up and asked how I stood on the question of the Jews," he said in a statement issued through his campaign headquarters here.

"I told her that I was for every good Jews from Christ on down."

"The statement about this incident which appeared in some newspapers as an Associated Press item from Leland, Mississippi, dated May 15, is untrue. My opposition is getting damnably desperate," the statement concluded.

The story to which the senator referred quoted him as saying he was "for every damn Jew from Jesus Christ on down."

Holding Carter, editor of The Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, said at Greenville that Bilbo made the disputed statement in the course of his campaign speech at Leland. Carter sent the original news story to the Associated Press.

"He did say that 'I am for every damn Jew from Jesus Christ on down'," Carter declared.

"I heard him say it. Members of my staff heard it. And there were at least a dozen persons standing near me who heard him say it."

A BILBO TALE

With a reverence reminiscent of an unwashed penitent sinner in sack cloth and ashes, Senator Bilbo of Mississippi attempted his political redemption last week on the floor of the Senate by professing his love for the Negro. He exclaimed mournfully, though unconvincingly:

"I have never attacked the Negro. I have been the Negro's best friend; and sometimes I think that I am about the best friend the Negro has on the floor of the Senate, because I know that something must be done for him, and I am trying to do something".

This is indeed a ludicrous tale that only a blind and deaf Mississippian full of Saturday night hooch would believe and enjoy. Bilbo is a liar and a skunk. If we have our way, he will not return to the U. S. Senate.

This Evening

BILBO IS SCARED

The "Man" Bilbo made his opening campaign speech at Pontotoc, Miss., last Saturday. What he said there is not available to this columnist at the moment. We may take it for granted that nothing he said was relevant to the issue of whether he should be retained as United States senator. That, as a matter of fact, is a closed issue. Bilbo's record speaks, or should speak, more persuasively than anything he can say on the stump. Life recently quoted a consensus of Washington correspondents to the effect that he is the "worst" man in the Senate. That is a distinction which Mississippians should take away from Bilbo with the least possible delay. Mon. 5-6-46

He is an agitated man these days, which indicates that he does not feel secure. He is an agitated man, because his words belie his actions so plainly that any Mississippi redneck can see the difference. Thus, in advance of his Pontotoc speech, he offered the "conservative" estimate that he will receive approximately four-fifths of the votes to be cast in the July primary. But, if that is the outlook, why did he leave Washington so hastily to launch a two-months' campaign at home? If that is the case, why does he threaten to put the knife to Ross Collins' aspirations? Unmistakably, something is stirring among the folks which has thrown the "Man" into a panic.

That is the only explanation for the abrupt way in which he gave up the attack he started on the British loan bill. Only the most urgent pressure could have forced him to drop a cause so close to his heart. That was his grand opportunity to stand his ground against such "Communists" as Henry Luce, against the whole array of "furriners" who have had the audacity to pick on him. But he gave it up because, as he put it, some "peckerwoods" at home had to be dealt with. They evidently threaten him seriously. Which means that the people of Mississippi are turning against Bilbo.

It is to be hoped that this is really a revolt against vulgar benightedness. What other state than Mississippi can boast a trio like Bilbo, Rankin and Eastland, running neck-and-neck for the honor of being the leading anti-Semite and Negro-baiter in Congress? If there is a chance to get rid of Bilbo, every enlightened soul in his state should join the column marching against him. His defeat would be a spur to other Southern states to improve the quality of their national spokesmen. This is Mississippi's hour to lead the procession of decency.

THE DEEP SOUTH

Bilbo Feud With CIO-PAC Is Mississippi Issue

By GEORGE W. HEALY Jr.

NEW ORLEANS, La., May 18—The issue in the current political campaign in Mississippi by choice of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo is the CIO Political Action Committee.

Named by PAC as one of the members of Congress who should be defeated, Mr. Bilbo has come home from Washington to campaign for re-election. The argument which he is using more freely is "PAC will offer you lots of money. If you're in debt, like I am, take it, because it's the money the... Yankees have been taking ...

... away from us since the war between the States. Then wash the Negro and the Communist taint off of it, spend it for your needs and then vote like hell for Bilbo."

Backers of the Senator who are more conservative than he, particularly in public speech, are advocating his re-election because they say "it would be a reflection on Mississippi and a endorsement of the CIO and other northern groups favoring the FEPC if we fail to return Bilbo to the Senate."

CIO leaders in this part of the nation aren't talking much about politics, because they say they know their organization isn't in shape for political battles. Two unions which endorsed the candidacy of former Mayor Robert S. Maestri in the New Orleans city campaign, the Textile Workers Union, CIO, and the National Maritime Union, were surprised by Maestri's defeat. Sun 5-19-46

News Note: For the first time since 1926 factionalism is not a dominant factor in the session of the Louisiana Legislature. . . . Plans for two hospitals in Mississippi are being held up by the Veterans Administration pending decisions by the State Hospital Commission as to where it will build State institutions. . . . Construction of the first oil refinery in south Mississippi has been started near Laurel.

Bilbo Is Worried Over Senate Race

WASHINGTON, D. C. (NNPA) — Senator Theodore G. (The Man) Bilbo, Democrat, of Mississippi, delivered a tirade against publications which have criticized his intolerant attitude.

His principal tragets were Life Magazine and its publisher, Henry Luce, and his wife, Representative Clara Boothe Luce, Republican, of Connecticut, whom he accused of seeking to smear the majority of United States Senators.

Bilbo was in rare name-calling form as he applied epithet after epithet to the Luces. 5-11-46

He called the Luce publications a "Negro social outfit," because in an issue of Life magazine it "displayed some mulatto and mongrel Americans outstanding in the Negro world, and the magazine specially played up the theatrical production, "How Deep Are The Roots," and insulted the entire South by showing the picture of a Negro soldier who had returned from the war and had gone to one of the plantations of the South, and the daughter of a southern farmer or planter on her knees begging this worthless Negro to marry her."

But Bilbo protested that he is the best friend colored people have in Congress. He declared he believes in giving a colored person "economic opportunity."

Accusing his opponent, Ross Collins, of telling voters in Mississippi that he was responsible for the appointment of the Rev. Marshall Shepard as Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, Bolbo said Senator Joseph F. Guffey, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, and Bob Hannegan, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, persuaded the late President Roosevelt to make the appointment. 5-11-46

He told minority groups of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania that when they send money into Mississippi to help Collins, "they are helping a man who is trying to ride into office on the basis of prejudice against the Negro race."

"I was the first man elected to the office of governor of Mississippi since the Civil War without mentioning the race question," he said. "Nary a word did I say about it. The Negro churches held prayer meetings in the interest of my election because I was not doing as others had done, namely, riding that Negro's coat tail into office."

As governor of the state for eight years, Bilbo said he saw that colored people got justice. He claimed he pardoned more than 5,000 colored persons and helped in the educational program for colored people.

He said "if my reelection were left to the vote of the Negroes of Mississippi I know I would be reelected unless the Chicago Defender and the Pittsburgh Courier were circulated and Sidney Hillman and the CIO organized them and voted them like sheep."

Declaring that the Luce favor social equality, Bilbo attacked Mrs. Luce because she bought a hat from Jon Kay Butler, a colored milliner.

"Why fickle and capricious Clara is so strong in her negrophile tastes, inclinations, and preferences that she will pass up all the white millinery shops in Washington and seek out a Negro joint to buy a hat, and then while wearing her new Easter bonnet, have her picture made with the Negro proprietor of the shop," he said.

Bilbo Says U. S. Can't Enforce Negroes' Rights

TISHOMINGO, Miss., June 25—(AP)—The United States government has been challenged by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo to enforce the right of Negroes to vote in next week's Mississippi Democratic primary in which he seeks renomination.

In a campaign rally here last night he defied "the United States attorney general, the Department of Justice and the FBI to try to keep the white people of this state from running the white Democratic primaries as we think they should be run."

Bilbo volunteered his "legal services to anybody who gets in trouble and said. "I'm a darn good lawyer—I've defended people in 11 murder cases in my life and got them all off free."

Apparently referring to a recent Justice Department statement that it would prosecute any state or party official who attempted to keep any person from voting because of color alone, Bilbo declared:

"In the first place they'd have to get a Grand Jury of Mississippians to indict a man. And second, they'd have to get a jury of 12 good and true Mississippi white men to convict him."

Bilbo's attack on Life was in response to a profile of him, published March 11, which said:

"Bilbo of Mississippi, Democrat, has been sent to jail, discredited as complainant in a bribery scandal, voted by his own colleagues in the Mississippi State Legislature 'unfit to sit with honest, upright men in a respectable legislative body' and yet retains popularity among the independent farmers.

"The reason: He plays on their prejudices against Wall Street, Negroes, the North. His recent activity has been opposition to FEPC. He got himself a flurry of publication by writing a woman with an Italian name in Brooklyn: 'My dear Dago." Said Senator Taft: 'He is a disgrace to the Senate.' Opinion: 'Worst man in the Senate."

Bilbo Battles Suffrage for D. C. Which Would End His 'Mayor's' Job

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 14.—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss) is making suffrage for the District of Columbia an issue in his current campaign for re-election in Mississippi.

"As long as Bilbo is in Washington as chairman of the District Committee," he tells his listeners down in the various county seats of Mississippi, "citizens of the District shall not get the right to vote."

Bilbo knows that when suffrage is granted in the District of Columbia, Negroes, who make up a third of Washington's population, will have the right to vote. He uses this as an argument with Mississippi voters to convince them first that Washington should not be allowed the franchise and, second, that keeping him in the Senate will keep Washington voteless.

What Bilbo also knows, but does not say, is that when the District gets the vote, his job as "ex-officio Mayor," as he likes to think of it, will terminate, just as surely as his job as Senator will terminate when the lifting of the polltax ban gives all the people of Mississippi the right to turn out at the polls.

PARLEY SEEKS VOTE

Bilbo is plenty scared, for the talk of granting District residents the vote is getting more and more attention—and it's more than talk, too. A Central Suffrage Conference has been established in the District, with representatives from CIO and AFL organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Veterans Committee and various local citizens' groups. The Communist Party of the District has also applied for membership in the conference.

Right now the real struggle for District suffrage is hanging fire, pending report of a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, on Sen. McCarran's (D-Nev) bill to "incorporate the Federal City Charter Commission."

But a joint Congressional Committee has recommended **"a commission of Washington residents to prepare a suitable city charter and that it be submitted to the citizens of the District for their approval."**

The Communist Party of the District took the lead in following up the recommendation with a resolution submitted to the committee demanding that the commission be composed of "11 or more members to be chosen from a panel of citizens representing labor and business interests and community organizations covering veteran, Negro, women's and youth groups."

"Such a commission could frame a charter which would represent the thinking of the community. We feel it would meet with such approval in your proposed referendum . . . that Congress could no longer delay in restoring the right of self-government to the people."

Since then, membership in the Central Suffrage Conference has been broadened, and will probably include about 100 organizations.

LABOR WINS VICTORY

Labor and liberal groups won a real victory in the fight for democratic participation in writing the conference's by-laws. The conference has also voted to set up a local suffrage committee which will handle the fight for self-government in the District, while a national representation committee will work for District Voice in Congress.

In view of this rapid organization of forces in the District, it's no wonder Bilbo has injected the issue into what he admits is a "bitter, dirty" campaign. For victory in the suffrage fight will be a big setback for the Bilbos, and will have resounding repercussions throughout the South. Bilbo tells them down in Mississippi that if the District gets the vote, it will mean a Negro Mayor and City Council, and "you ain't heard no filibuster yet until they start that."

Mississippi

[Jackson Daily News]

WE, THE people of Mississippi, generally speaking, are right nice folk.

We are, taken by and large, fairly normal and tolerably rational.

We are poor but tolerably honest.

We are not very long on "book larnin'" but we have a fair quality of hoss sense.

We believe in God and, in most instances, try to keep His commandments.

We are fully 90 per cent Anglo-Saxon—mighty little infusion of foreign blood in our veins.

We are friendly, well-mannered and industrious.

In brief, we are just as good folk as you will find anywhere in the nation, but we have one tragic weakness.

When Theodore G. Bilbo runs for office we have more damphools to the square inch within our population than any spot on earth outside of an institution for the insane and idiots.

What makes us that way, anyhow?

Plan For Bilbo's Impeachment Announced

CHICAGO (ANP) — One million Negro veterans of World War 2 will sign petitions to impeach Sen. Bilbo if he is re-elected on his "white supremacy ticket next fall, according to an announcement made here this week by the National Negro council.

D. C. In Mississippi

An Editorial in The Washington Post

Voteless Washington has become the subject of a rip-snorting campaign out in Mississippi. That great statesman who won the chairmanship of the Senate District Committee by dint of seniority, Senator Bilbo, is telling his constituents that they must send him back to Washington so that he can prevent the restoration of suffrage here. And his leading opponent, former Representative Ross A. Collins, is making a slashing attack upon the self-styled ex-officio mayor of Washington, using as one of his chief weapons the charge that Mr. Bilbo spends his time passing municipal ordinances for the far-away Capital.

Here is an ironical commentary on the status of this political paradox of a city. It may very well be that the fate of democracy in what has virtually become the capital of the democratic world will be decided by this contest in rural Mississippi. Senator Bilbo says frankly he is not in favor of letting Negroes vote. Because a little more than one fourth of the local population is colored, he insists that nearly a million Americans shall remain disfranchised. Rather than yield to the current demand for self-rule in the district, he indicates that he will filibuster to the last breath in his lungs.

It seems inconceivable to us that the voters of Mississippi will choose a Senator for the sake of imposing benighted and bigoted rule on a far-away city. Nor can we see that Mr. Bilbo's offer to rescue from the city jail all visiting Mississippians who come to Washington and get into trouble should be important enough to put him over. But strange is the way of politics. The grim fact of the matter is that the chairman of the Senate District Committee had to have some argument to counteract his leading opponent's charge that he is only a petty ordinance maker for the District of Columbia—that he is neglecting the home folk to serve outlanders on the far-distant bank of the Potomac.

We cannot help reflecting upon the upheaval that would ensue if the people of the district undertook to elect the mayor of Jackson, Miss., giving preference to the candidate which promised to impose the severest tyrannies on that city, which after all, has only a small fraction of the population of Washington. What is happening out in Mississippi is thus a good measure of the Capital's political degradation. We used to be only a football of politics in distant places. Now we have degenerated into a mat on which absentee politicians stamp their slimy boots at election time.

Bilbo and Democracy

While men are struggling to win an everlasting peace with democratic principles for all mankind, just as men fought and died to achieve victory for the same principles, Senator Bilbo has called upon all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons of Mississippi to resort to any means to prevent the Negro from voting in his home State. It was less than a year ago, when mankind was struggling for victory, that Senator Eastland insulted every Negro on the battlefields and on the home front, with his fight against the F.E.P.C.

Senator Bilbo is fanning a flame that, if ignited, will help destroy those principles for which they fought and died, and those principles for which mankind is struggling today.

There is no place in the world of today for the Rankins, the Bilbos and Eastlands. The one way to rid our Government of such public officials is at the ballot box.

The handwriting is on the wall, Senators. Evidently you are reading it.

H. V. McCLINTON.
Louisville.

NEGRO CONGRESS BLASTS BILBO TALE ON D.C. VOTE

Special to the Daily Worker

WASHINGTON, D. C. May 14.—Senator Bilbo is resorting to "simple lies" about Negro voting strength in Washington, D. C. in his efforts to get renomination in the July 2nd Mississippi primary, the Washington Council of the National Negro Congress charged in an open letter today.

The NNC's charge referred to Bilbo's May 9 speech at Hattiesburg, Mississippi where Bilbo was quoted in the press as saying: **"There's a great fight being made at this time to give the people of Washington the right to vote, which would mean the nation's capitol would be turned over to the Negro race to control and operate."**

The NNC asked:

"Are you afraid to tell your constituents that Negroes constitute only about 28 percent of the potential voting population of the District of Columbia, and that therefore extending the democratic right to vote to the citizens of the nation's capital would still leave Negro voters in a definite minority.

"Perhaps the people of Mississippi are getting tired of having their state disgraced by your buffoonery and are threatening to throw you out. We sincerely hope this is the explanation of your most recent resort to lies about "Negro domination" in a democratic Washington."

The letter urged Bilbo further to follow the proceedings of the 10th Anniversary Convention of the National Negro Congress in Detroit May 30-June 2 "where the strong District of Columbia Delegation of 100 plans to have much more to say about your disgraceful antics as "Mayor of Washington."

Defiance Of Supreme Court, Miss. Law Hit

President Urged To Send Troops To Insure Suffrage

CHICAGO — (ANP)— One million Negro veterans of World War II will sign petitions to impeach Senator Bilbo if he is re-elected on his "white supremacy" ticket next fall, according to announcement made here this week by the National Negro council.

Bilbo in announcing his candidacy on the proposed ticket, is openly defying and directly violating the 1944 decision of the United States Supreme court on Texas' primaries, the council declared. Further, the statement said, such official action is contrary to Mississippi's present law discontinuing payment of poll tax by war veterans, some 100,000 of are Negro.

CONSISTENCY SEEN

Pointing out that Sen. Smith of Illinois and Sen. Ware of Pennsylvania both were denied seats in the senate, disqualified on grounds of immorality and illegality in the pending of large sums of election, the council said consistency would deny Bilbo re-admission in July 2. President Truman and the attorney general's office were urged by Mississippi Negro citizens in for the primary voting.

Bilbo Demands Mississippians Prevent Negroes From Voting

JACKSON, MISS., June 11—(UP)—Senator Theodore Bilbo (D-Miss.) tonight demanded that the "red-blooded men" of Mississippi bar Negroes from voting. His demand came a few hours after a Negro Army veteran charged that he had been beaten and flogged by four white men when he sought to register.

In one of his strongest white supremacy statements of his current campaign for renomination, Bilbo said at Laurel that if a few Negroes vote in the Democratic primary this year, more will vote in 1947 and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

He called on every "red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep hundreds of Negroes from the polls in the July 2 primary."

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on your persuasive measures," Bilbo added.

Bilbo's speech came after Etoy Fletcher, Army veteran attending school under the GI Bill of Rights, charged in an affidavit that he had been seized, flogged and beaten at Brandon, Miss., on June 2 when he attempted unsuccessfully to register. His charge was made in an affidavit made public by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York.

In his speech, which was broadcast, Bilbo said that the white people of Mississippi are sleeping on a volcano "and it is up to the red-blooded men to do something about it. The white men of this State have a right to resort to any means at their command to stop it."

Fletcher is a student at Jackson College, a school for Negroes here. His affidavit was sworn to before the college registrar, B. B. Dansby, also a Negro.

It said that Fletcher went to the circuit clerk at Brandon on June 2 and asked to be allowed to register. He allegedly was directed to "the gentleman in charge of veterans affairs" on the second floor of the courthouse.

There a man told him, the affidavit alleged, that "Niggers are not permitted to vote in Rankin County, and if you don't want to get into serious trouble get out of this building and don't mention voting any more."

After he left, four men allegedly seized him, carried him to the woods, stripped and flogged him with a heavy wire cable. He was threatened with death if he made another attempt to register.

Fletcher, 22, served 23 months in the South Pacific during the war.

The sheriff's office at Brandon and the circuit clerk today denied any knowledge of the affair.

However, T. B. Wilson, Jackson Negro insurance agent and head of a newly organized Negro voters league, charged that this was only one of numerous instances of Negroes being prohibited from registering.

"Negroes are afraid to register in some counties," he said. In other counties, Wilson said various subterfuges had been resorted to by white officials to bar Negroes from registration lists.

In the past Negroes have always been barred from voting in Democratic white primaries in this State. However, a 1946 State law gives Negro veterans as well as whites the right to register and vote without payment of a poll tax.

But Wilson said that Negroes were being told falsely that registration lists were closed. Some registration clerks close their offices, he said, when Negroes appear. And he said some refuse to give certificates of exemption from payment of the poll tax despite the State law."

Senator Bilbo

Demands White Primary

Three Youths Egg Bilbo; Are Lectured and Freed

GRENADA, Miss., June 8—(UP) Three teen-age youths were severely reprimanded in City Court for hurling eggs and aged vegetables at Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo during a recent political rally.

The incident was described as a prank by police who said the youngsters "didn't even know why they did it."

Bilbo Urges 'Red-Blooded' To Bar Negroes From Polls

Demand Follows Charge By Overseas Veteran That He Was Flogged By 4 White Men

From Wire Dispatches.

Jackson, Miss., June 22.—Senator Theodore "The Man" Bilbo (D., Miss.) tonight demanded that the "red-blooded men" of Mississippi bar Negroes from voting. His demand came a few hours after a Negro army veteran charged that he had been beaten and flogged by four white men when he sought to register.

In one of his strongest white-supremacy sttaements of his current campaign for renomination, Bilbo said at Laurel that if a few Negroes vote in the Democratic primary this year, more will vote in 1947 "and from then on it will grow into a mighty surge."

He called on every "red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon man in Mississippi to resort to any means to keep Negroes from the polls in the July 2 primary."

"And if you don't know what that means, you are just not up on your persuasive measures," Bilbo added.

Bilbo's speech came after Etoy Fletcher, army veteran attending Jackson College under the G.I. Bill of Rights, charged in an affidavit that he had been seized, flogged and beaten at Brandon, Miss., on June 2 when he attempted unsuccessfully to register. His chrge was made in an affidavit made public by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in New York.

Threatened With Death.

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Fletcher, 22, served 23 months in the South Pacific during the war.

The sheriff's office at Brandon and the circuit clerk today denied any knowledge of the affair.

However T. B. Wilson, Jackson Negro insurance agent and head of a newly organized Negro Voters League, charged that this was only one of numerous instances of Negroes being prohibited from registering.

In the past Negroes always have been barred from voting in Democratic white primaries in this state. However, a 1946 State law gives all veterans the right to register and vote without payment of a poll tax.

Number Registered Unknown.

But Wilson said Negroes were being told falsely that registration lists were closed. Some registration clerks close their offices, he said, when Negroes appear. And he said some refuse to give a certificate of exemption from payment of the poll tax despite the State law.

"I have no way of knowing how many Negroes are registering in the state," Wilson said. "In some counties Negroes simply cannot be made to approach the polls fearlessly. They say they 'know better' than to try to register or vote."

Is Joined By Rankin.

Bilbo has asked his four opponents to work with him in persuading Negroes not to vote in the primary.

He was joined by Representative Rankin, also seeking renomination, who appealed "to the law-abiding Negro of Mississippi to refrain from attempting to participate in the white primaries," because "the Communists are trying to stir up race trouble all over he South. . . ."

Voter Protection Urged

Chicago, June 22 (AP)—The National Sunday School and Baptist Training Union Congress Conference today instructed its leaders to petition President Truman requesting that troops be sent to Mississippi to protect Negroes seeking to vote in the primary July 2.

Bilbo Blasts Arnall As Traitor to Race

EUROPA, Miss. — (ANP) — Gov. Ellis Arnall, Georgia's chief executive, was termed a "simple-minded, New Dealistic traitor to white supremacy who has tried to sell the south down the river" here last week by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo during one of his race-baiting political speeches.

Arnall, he said, has joined the "mob of socialistic, communistic gangsters composed of Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold (Sour Puss) Ickes, Hugo Black, Walter Winchell and Drew Pearson, now coddling the Negro vote in order to rule and control the politics of Mississippi and the south.

"I might mention in the same breath the damnable CIO strategists whose avowed aim is franchise for the Negro which they'll buy in order to break the power of the white man," Bilbo declared." The CIO campaign may well prove the most significant political event in the history of Mississippi. It will test the stability of Mississippi's political setup. A setup that has existed in spite of outside influences to understand a white man's government.

"Why," he drawled, "If Bilbo had to depend on and coddle the vote of the Negro for reelection to the senate, Bilbo wouldn't have the job."

Bilbo Shocked as Veterans Qualify to Vote in Bilboland

By James T. Howard

Democracy—the kind with a small "d"—is progressing in Mississippi to the point that Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss.) wants something done about it.

So Bilbo has written an open letter to his four opponents in the July 2 Democratic primary proposing that they join with him in efforts to keep Negroes away from the polls.

The Senator views with alarm, describing the state of affairs in Billboland, saying:

"Thousands of Negroes, especially Negro soldiers who are exempt from paying poll taxes by an act of the Mississippi legislature, are registering or attempting to register. This, these Negroes have no right to do, and they must not and should not be permitted to do."

What to do about it? Bilbo proposes that all candidates for U. S. Senator in Mississippi go on record in the public press as requesting the Negroes of Mississippi to refrain from participating in "our white Democratic nomination primary."

Bilbo says it's the first step in a plot "under the leadership of Northern Negroes, white Socialists, white Communists and white advocates of social and political equality, to destroy white control of Mississippi."

JACKSON, Miss., June 19—(AP) Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo joined Sen. Collins in asking Negroes to refrain from voting in the July 2 Democratic primary, but suggested a requirement for voting in the Democratic primary.

"In the second place, the official record shows that you, as Mayor Bilbo' of Washington, actively connived in appointing Rev. Dr. Marshall Shepard, a Pennsyl-

Mayor Bilbo Told To Reconcile Self

vania Negro preacher, as your Recorded of Deeds in the District of Columbia; a job that pays this Negro $8,750 per year and an office that has both white and black employes. Why don't you practice what you preach?"

Bilbo Expected To Lead Field By Lengths In Mississippi Race

Birmingham News

Birmingham Age-Herald

BY EDGAR A. POE
News Special Correspondent

JACKSON, Miss., June 29—One of the strangest and most bombastic, slam-bang name-calling political dramas perhaps Mississippi has ever witnessed, was coming to an end Saturday. Sunday 6-30-46

Star performer in the five-cornered, color-drenched senatorial campaign show was Theodore Gilmore Bilbo, 68, who had survived in the eyes of his enemies umpteen fragrant political scandals. Through it all Bilbo has had more elective political honors heaped on his shoulders than any other Mississippian—dead or alive—in the 129 years' history of the state.

Other candidates in Tuesday's Democratic primary, which is expected to attract more than 200,000 white voters and perhaps a few Negroes in larger towns that will attempt to vote in a Democratic primary for the first time, are as follows: 6-30-46 Sunday

Ex-Congressman Ross A. Collins, 56, of Jackson and Meridian, eight years attorney general, 20 years in Congress, a one-time gubernatorial candidate, now making his fourth try for the Senate. 6-30-46

Thomas Quitman Ellis, 55, Jackson and Water Valley, Supreme Court clerk since 1932 (an elective post) and the "dark horse" candidate of the campaign who surprisingly entered the race at the 11th hour before the qualifying deadline. A one-time section hand waterboy and train dispatcher, he has made a dignified, non-name calling campaign. 6-30-46

NELSON TREMBLE LEVINGS, 44, Gulfport, ex-Navy commander with two sons privates in the Army. Levings sailed into Tokyo Bay aboard the battleship Mississippi ahead of the Third Fleet before the formal Japanese surrender, and raised the flag of the old Magnolia state to the ship's mainmast while the ship's band played "Dixie."

Frank H. (Peachtree) Harper, 74, Hattiesburg, three times a state senator. He has hitch-hiked more than 3,000 miles in the current campaign shaking hands around the courthouses. Birmingham News

Bilbo, wearing a red necktie emblazoned with the inevitable diamond-studded stickpin that he bought at a 1916 auction for $92.50, has been drawing the No. 1 crowds. Birmingham Ala.

TWO OF HIS OPPONENTS have charged him with nearly everything but murder.

"Why if old Theo were indicted, tried and convicted of stealing the Lord's Supper and wiping his mouth on the table cloth, I'd still vote for him," said a strong Bilbo man at Purvis, Miss., after the senator's speech. There are many thousands of others who apparently feel the same way.

Collins has charged Bilbo on every stump of accepting $25,000 from "war profiteering contractors." He describes the senator as "Cost-Plus Pistol-Packing Bilbo." They broke politically more than 20 years ago.

* * *

"BESIDES GETTING $25,000 in checks from one war contracting firm that built Army camps in Mississippi, I have evidence of cash transactions too," charged Collins. The former congressman said he (Collins) was "fighting the anti-lynching bill" and the anti-poll tax repealer bill long before Bilbo went to Washington. He further charged Bilbo with staging a "fake anti-FEPC filibuster a year ago when he (Bilbo) found out he had opposition.

Ex-Navy Comdr. Levings, who ran third in a four-cornered race for lieutenant governor in 1939, has been ridiculing Bilbo more than either of the senator's opponents. Here are some excerpts of Levings' jabs:

"In the art galleries of Paris, there used to be 27 pictures of Judias Iscariot. None looked alike, but they all resembled Bilbo.

"Bilbo says that during the war the only thing I smelled was talcum powder. From what I can hear divorced Theodore has smelled more talcum powder and at closer range than any man in Mississippi and it has been a pretty cheap grade at that."

Birmingham Ala.

EX-STATE SEN. HARPER, who weighs only 119 pounds and who received only 2,600 votes the last time he ran against Bilbo, said the senior senator is "afraid to meet me in joint debate because he knows I could give him fits." Incidentally, the last time Harper was a member of the Legislature (1936-40) he was a mortal enemy of the "Big Apple" and the "Susie Q" and tried to outlaw all forms of "round dancing" in the state's university and colleges.

Tom Q. Ellis has conducted a dignified campaign. He has not mentioned either of his opponents by name. High in masonry and Eastern Star activities and a choir singer in the First Baptist Church at Jackson, he has been a long time after-dinner speaker over the state. In the closing days of the campaign, many women in several of the larger towns have taken up his fight and are keeping the telephones ringing.

While the other candidates beat their trials, Sen. Bilbo was to his stormy political career that actually began when he was 21 years old.

* * *

SINCE THEN HE HAS BEEN ELECTED state senator, lieuteant governor, governor twice and twice to the United States Senate. He was once beaten for Congress by the late Gov. Paul B. Johnson.

Everywhere Bilbo pointed to the few thousand of Negroes that have registered. He maintains that the July 2 primary will be the most important in Mississippi in 70 years "when this state threw off the yoke of Negroes and carpetbaggers."

". . . We are faced with this grave issue. It must be met. If you let a handful vote July 2 there will be two handfuls next year, three the following year, and so on until the Negro will be in control. I don't believe the great Anglo-Saxon men of this state will let it happen. Therefore, I call on every red-blooded white man to take any justifable means to keep the Niggers away from the polls. . . ."

(Mississippi's 1940 population totaled 2,183,796. Of this total, the Negro population was 1,074,578. The census also listed two other races: Indians, 2,134; Chinese, 743.)

6-30-46

"I DEFY TOM CLARK (attorney general) and the Department of Justice and the FBI to try and keep the white Anglo-Saxon men and women of Mississippi from keeping the Negro from voting in our white Democratic primaries.

"First you got to get a Grand Jury of white men to indict them. And second you got to get a jury of 12 white men to convict them. Why they haven't got as much chance of getting a conviction as has a snowball in hell."

Replying to Collins' statement that Bilbo received $25,000 from war contractors, the senator charged that Collins' 1942 senatorial candidacy had benefited from some $14,000. Whereupon, Collins immediately denied that his candidacy had gotten any of the money.

The turbulent figure in Mississippi politics for 38 years — he was jailed in Oxford in 1923 for refusing to testify in a suit against a man that he put in the governor's office to succeed him—is confident of a first primary victory.

6-30-46

IN SOME SMALL COMMUNITIES WHERE BILBO spoke and kept "the boys in stitches" and at the same time make them want to rise up and fight for their state and for Bilbo, if necessary, the local politicos said "the man" would "take this county two-to-one over the field." Other towns and counties there were different stories of his strength.

At Richton and Picayune we saw the merchants close their stores so that every one could hear the "mayor of Washington." In some communities we saw women hold babies in their arms and listen to the man. At historic Natchez society women, who once turned up their noses at Bilbo, had front row seats and applauded him vigorously.

'The Man' Hauls Out A New One: Atomic Threats

Birmingham News

OKOLONA, Miss.—Sen. Theodore (The Man) Bilbo must indeed be grateful for the atomic scientists who gave him another threat against Negroes to add to his repertoire.

Speaking here to an audience of his beloved Mississippi "peckerwoods" in his campaign for re-election, Bilbo said he would like to atom bomb Negro leaders of the state. 6-1-46

Quoth The Man, "The leader or leaders of the Mississippi Progressive voters, composed of a number of politically ambitious Negroes who have challenged the right of anyone to prevent them from voting, should be atomically bombed and exterminated from the face of the earth." Ala.

More Bilboisms recorded as "The Man" stumps

Birmingham News

JACKSON, Miss.—Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D., Miss., as if you didn't know), who is probably the country's most-quoted Congressman, last week got another bushel of publicity as he began the rounds of Mississippi towns to urge voters to re-elect him and help maintain that dear old white supremacy.

In Jackson, the Senator charged that a recent campaign speech of his at Leland had been "misquoted". Reporting on that speech, Hodding Carter, novelist-editor of the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times and a 1946 Pulitzer Prize winner, declared that the Senator had answered a girl reporter's query about his position on Jews by saying, "I am for every damn Jew from Jesus Christ on down."

Bilbo said he had really said, "I am for every good Jew from Christ on down." However, Carter, informed of the denial, stuck to his story. 6-6-46 Sat.

In Okolona, Bilbo declared that the "leaders of the Mississippi Progressive voters, composed of politically ambitious Negroes who have challenged the right of anyone to prevent them from voting, should be atomically bombed and exterminated from the face of the earth." Ala. Ala.

Socialism, communism, and mongrelization, he continued, are "the greatest, most damnable, undermining forces of evil today that would destroy the white race, white civilization and the white man's scheme of government."

In Iuka, Bilbo challenged an opponent's statement that there was no race problem in Mississippi today. "I tell you we are living on a volcano that may erupt at any hour. I tell you there is one of the most destructive drives on against the principles of the south we have known since the carpetbagger days of the Civil War . . . Our Negro troubles today are stemming from the fountain of outside influences that profit from strife within our borders."

He insisted that the solution of the problem was the continued separation of the races and an absolute taboo against social and political equality, adding that anyone who coddles, encourages, or otherwise tends to persuade the Negro to vote in the white primary "should be horse-whipped, tarred and feathered, and chased out of the state". 6-8-46

In Europa, the Senator accused Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, who has urged Negroes to vote, of being "a simple-minded, New Dealistic traitor to white supremacy who has tried to sell the south down the river." Ala. Ala.

He said Arnall had joined the "mob of socialistic, communistic gangsters composed of Eleanor Roosevelt, Harold 'Sour Puss' Ickes, Hugo Black, Walter Winchell, and Drew Pearson, now coddling the Negro vote in order to rule and control the politics of Mississippi and the south."

He also blasted the "damnable CIO strategists" and concluded, "Why, if Bilbo had to depend on and coddle the vote of the Negro for re-election to the Senate, Bilbo wouldn't have the job."

Editor-Skinning Job Bilbo Said He'd Do Is Left To Another

Birmingham News

GREENVILLE, Miss., June 12—(AP)—The scheduled "skinning" of Pulitzer Prize-Winning Editor Hodding Carter by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo has been indefinitely postponed because of the senator's sudden departure for Washington. Wed. 6-12-46

Bilbo, campaigning for the Democratic renomination and stressing the issue of white supremacy, was due to speak in Greenville tonight. He had expressed the intention to "skin alive" the editor of The Greenville Delta Democrat Times, who last month received the Pulitzer prize for editorials urging racial and religious tolerance. Birm. News

Monday the senator went to Washington by airplane. His director of public relations, Frank Mayerhoff, explained that important legislation before the Senate necessitated Bilbo's presence.

Mayerhoff said Kelly Hammond, South Mississippi attorney and former state legislator, would fill Bilbo's speaking dates in the senator's absence. (AP).

Bilbo's Tirades

Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

The American people have been reading during the past few weeks the disgusting tirades by Senator Bilbo, especially his address in the Simpson County Courthouse yard at Mendenhall, Miss. The results of some of these speeches have been beatings of innocent men and women who have attempted to register. Congressmen, editors, public speakers have condemned the Senator.

I am of the opinion that if in the coming primaries throughout the South there are beatings of innocent voters, riots, bloodshed and even murder, Senator Bilbo should be indicted for inciting riots. He is indeed a dangerous man and unfit to occupy a seat in the halls of the U. S. Senate. He defies the Supreme Court and the laws of the nation. In spite of all Senator Bilbo has said, Negroes are going to register in the primary in Mississippi, because they are full-fledged citizens. They have demonstrated their loyalty to America on the battlefields of Europe.

Louisville. Wed. 7-3-46 LEE L. BROWN.

Independent N. J. GOP'S Oppose Lone Legislator

New York, New York Amsterdam News

Sat 2-23-46

By MELVIN B. JOHNSON

NEWARK, N. J.—An independent group of Republican party leaders of Essex County who, in the past, have opposed the Clean Government Republican Organization, are seeking to have Dr. Theodore Inge of East Orange placed on the Assembly ticket for the primary election in June.

The group, it is said, have expressed opposition to Dr. J. O. Hill of Newark, who is now serving his fourth term as the lone Negro member of the State Legislature. The Newark physician-legislator is also the author of the legislation outlawing race or religious discrimination in employment.

Leading Fight

Leading the fight on behalf of Dr. Inge, it is reported, are Dorland Henderson, an engineer in the State Highway Department, and William Darden, a young Republican leader both of Montclair. The two were said to have been chief spokesmen for a committee that recently conferred with Republican County Chairman George H. Becker in behalf of Inge's candidacy.

Supporters of Assemblyman Hill are pointing out that it is unlikely that the party leaders will accept the choice of a group that has frequently opposed them in the past. For example, they say, Henderson and Darden are bitter critics of County Clerk Russell C. Gates, the Republican leader of Montclair.

On the other hand, they say, Dr. Hill is the choice of Prosper Brewer, Republican chairman of the Third Ward, Newark, who is employed in the County Clerk's office. It is doubtful that Brewer would permit the selection of the race candidate on the Assembly ticket to be left to suburban leaders, particularly those who have fought the Clean Government Organization.

Current Rumors

It is strongly rumored that if Dr. Hill is not selected, the post will likely go to the Rev. J. Vance McIver, pastor of Union Baptist Church, Orange, if Brewer decides to endorse him. The minister already has the support of the Orange Republican chairman, Joseph L. Magrino.

Sat 2-23-46

Decision of the county slate is expected to be made sometime in March, with a strong likelihood that Assemblyman Hill will be given another term, if he desires it. Republican party leaders recognize the influence of the physician-legislator in the Democratic city of Newark, it is being pointed out, and would not be inclined to make any change with an important election for Governor due in November.

FACES BATTLE: Dr. J. O. Hill of Newark, who is serving his fourth term as the lone Negro member of the Jersey Legislature, faces opposition from an independent GOP group, which aims to unseat the medico-politico.

Ganging Up on the Voters

AN EDITORIAL

With incredible arrogance and cynicism, the bi-partisan New York Board of Elections has attempted to bar a Negro candidate from running for the Democratic nomination for State Senate.

By throwing out the nominating petition for Charles A. Collins, leading Negro trade unionist, it hoped to end the threat of the election of the first Negro in the state's history to the upper house of the Legislature.

The decision of the Board, which is composed of two Republicans and two Democratic politicians, is a continuation of a long-standing conspiracy to keep the State Senate lily-white.

The Senate districts in Harlem have long been gerrymandered in such a way as to prevent any one of them from having a majority of Negro voters.

The grounds given by the board for eliminating Collins reveal the contempt in which these politicians hold the people, and particularly the Negro people. It was charged that some signatures on the Collins petition were falsely dated. The number of signatures challenged was only part of the whole and left far more than enough to make the petition valid. Yet the same board, which had declared valid dozens of other petitions after deciding many signatures on them were fraudulently obtained, threw out the entire Collins petition. This is unprecedented.

Similarly, in the Bronx, the GOP and Democratic machines are ganging up on the nominating petition of Chester Addison, young Negro war vet running for assembly in the Republican primary in the 7th district.

Local Republican leaders had wanted to nominate Addison in a largely Negro area, but Democratic Boss Ed Flynn and his GOP stooges had flatly rejected the idea of electing a Negro to the Legislature from the Bronx. Now they are concentrating on a campaign to destroy his primary petition.

If these politicians think they can be successful in New York by aping Bilbo and Talmadge, they are sadly mistaken. Regardless of the outcome of the petition cases in the courts, where they are now going, an aroused electorate, both Negro and white, will now take steps to guarantee the election of these candidates, whether it is on the major party tickets, or on independent tickets in coalition with the American Labor Party.

10 Days to Go

WITH just 10 days left to the New York primary campaign, there is serious danger that labor's failure to grasp the meaning of a primary election may cost the entire nation heavily.

From a national point of view, the most fateful struggle is in the 18th Congressional District, where there is a most determined, powerful gang-up of reactionary forces to oust Rep. Vito Marcantonio.

Three of the chief gutter sheets of reaction—Hearst's **Mirror** and **Journal-American** and Howard's **World-Telegram**—have become the daily organs of the anti-Marcantonio crowd.

They have reached the depths of vilification and distortion to try to defeat him. Behind them are the reactionary clerical circles grouped around the Christian Front, the united front of pro-fascist veterans' leaders, and unlimited funds supplied by the nation's big money men.

Why?

First, he has become the outstanding organizer of the pro-labor, progressive forces in Congress. It was he who led the floor fight to sustain the Case Bill veto, conducted the bitter-end battles for FEPC, the anti-polltax measures, and OPA.

Second, they know, too, he is an uncompromising foe of aggressive imperialism and will do all in his power to check it.

New York labor's responsibility here is to the entire nation. It cannot afford to be overconfident or complacent.

Besides Rep. Marcantonio, there is the job of keeping the first Negro Congressman from the East in Congress, Rep. A. Clayton Powell, and of preventing the reactionary Dewey forces from eliminating Joseph Clark Baldwin and sending another Martin Dies, State Sen. Frederic R. Coudert, to Congress in his place.

Labor can help to change the complexion of Congress by electing two of its own, Councilmen Eugene P. Connolly in Manhattan and George Rooney in Queens. Similarly, in the State Legislature, labor, in unity with the Negro people, has the opportunity to elect a bloc of fighting labor Assemblymen and State Senators, provided it gets into the primaries these last 10 days and does a job.

Meanwhile, in some 11 districts, labor-backed nominees are battling either machine or reactionary candidates. If labor wins in these contests, it will be demonstrating to the two major parties that the rank and file of their parties are for labor's condidates. It will strengthen enormously the influence of the working class in State politics, and specifically in any coalition that may be organized on a State scale against Dewey reaction.

But primaries cannot be won by mere endorsements and verbal backing. Far more than the general elections, they depend on reaching the voters directly. That is the task that faces the trade union and progressive movements if they are to fulfil their political responsibilities in this campaign.

State High Court Gets Collins Case Today

Counsel for Charles A. Collins, ruled off the Democratic ballot by the Board of Elections, will contest before the State Supreme Court today the Board's right to disqualify on grounds of "fraud."

Collins, prominent Negro trade unionist and American Labor Party candidate, entered the Democratic primaries for State Senator in the 21st district. He was opposed by Harold I. Panken, Democratic machine candidate, whose counsel will present a memorandum supporting the board's ruling.

Judge Samuel Dickstein, who conducted yesterday's hearing in the Supreme Court Building at Foley Square, will accept the memoranda. In hearing Collins' attorney, Nat Dambroff, and Panken's counsel, Nat J. Stein, the judge noted informally that the Board of Elections have no power to discuss cases of fraud.

The fact that approximately 60 canvassers and election workers for Collins have been subpenaed over the weekend brought protests from progressives yesterday. They pointed out that the entire court procedure, which may be lengthy, as well as the Board of Elections' action will slow up Collins' election work is part of a campaign to keep Negroes out of the State Senate.

Campaign leaders for Collins urged that the court procedure not is permitted to slow up the drive to nominate Collins.

LOUIS BACKS REYNOLDS

Boxer Endorses Candidate in His Race Against Powell

Joe Louis, heavyweight boxing champion, endorsed yesterday Capt. Grant Reynolds, candidate for the Republican nomination for Representative in the Twenty-second Congressional District against Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr.

"Grant, I wish you well," the champion said in a talk with Capt. Reynolds at the Louis training camp at Pompton Lakes. "I hope you win on Aug. 20. If Powell used my name in any way, it was without consulting me and without my consent."

According to Capt. Reynolds, Mr. Louis expressed great concern over the recent wave of terrorism in the South directed against Negroes. Captt. Reynolds said that Mr. Louis agreed that much of this terrorism could be traced to Southern poll taxers who have prevented passage by Congres of laws designed to protect Negro veterans, and added that one of the first steps to correct this evil was the election of a Republican Congress

Joe Louis For Mrs. Jackson

Ada B. Jackson, candidate for Assembly in the Republican primaries in the 17th district, Brooklyn, was sponsored yesterday by Joe Louis.

Mrs. Jackson, Negro woman civic leader in the borough, also has the backing of the Brooklyn Division of the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America because of her "fight for democracy at home while we were fighting abroad."

JOE LOUIS

Unopposed as the ALP designee, Mrs Jackson is given a good chance to win the election if she takes the GOP race. If elected, she will be the first Negro woman legislator in the state's history and the first Negro to be elected to public office from Brooklyn.

NEGRO RULED OFF DEMOCRATIC SLATE

ALP Man's Petition for State Senator Invalidated—Baldwin Also Loses in Vote Board

The Board of Elections sustained yesterday objections by Harold I. Panken, organization desginee for the Democratic nomination for State Senator in the Twenty-first District, Manhattan, and invalidated the petition of Charles A. Collins, a Negro, American Labor party candidate who also sought a Democratic nomination.

Fifty supporters of Mr. Collins attended the hearing of the board's offices, 400 Broome Street. Shouts of "Go down to Georgie!" and "You belong with Bilbo and Talmadge!" greeted the decision. Nathan Danbroff, attorney for Mr. Collins, told reporters he had obtained a show cause order in Supreme Court, returnable next Monday, through which he hoped to have the Collins petition declared valid.

The board dismissed objections to a petition of Milton E. Jacobowitz, candidate for the Democratic nomination for Assemblyman in the Twelfth Queens District, filed by George Young, organization designee.

After his return from Washington Vito Marcantonio declared that the petitions for the nomination of Patrick J. Hannigan, candidate against him for the Democratic nomination, were the most fraudulent he ever had seen in his twenty years of political experience. He said he had directed Allen Goodwin, his attorney, to present evidence to District Attorney Hogan and ask for an investigation. Mr. Marcantonio filed a motion in Supreme Court returnable this morning, seeking to invalidate the Hannigan petitions as "insufficient, defective, fraudulent, null and void."

Capt. Myron Sulzberger Jr., World War veteran and Tammany designee for the nomination for

Representative in the Seventeenth Congressional District, criticized Representative Joseph Clark Baldwin for attempting to get the Democratic nomination afteer Mr. Baldwin's Democratic designating petitions had been thrown out by the Board of Elections. Mr. Baldwin is a candidate for renomination in the Republican primary against State Senator Frederic R. Coudert Jr., and is unopposed for the American Labor party nomination. Thurs. 8-1-46

"It is about time that the practice on the part of those not regularly enrolled in a political party or those not endorsed by the regular party organization of attempting to raid a party primary and thus attemping to defeat the wishes of a vast majority of the voters at a general election be definitely stopped," Captain Sulzberger said.

"The two-party system is as American as the flag. Enrolled in each party are people who advocate and profess to advocate the principles of the party. The primary is designed to afford those who believe in the principles of a party to select a candidate to represent it in the general election. If Republicans run in the Democratic primaries and Democrats run in the Republican primaries, the primaries and the two-party system may as well be scrapped."

At the instance of the Queens Republican organization, which opposes endorsement of Republican candidates by minor parties, State Senator Frederic E. Hammer asked the iLberal party yesterday to withdraw his name from that ticket. Mr. Hammer was elected two years ago by 2,528 plurality over his Democratic and Labor party opponent.

Collins Foes Fail to Produce Witnesses

Daily Worker

Judge Samuel Dickstein of the State Supreme Court yesterday held over hearings on the validity of Democratic nominating petitions for Charles A. Collins, Negro trade union leader and candidate for state Senator from Harlem, for Monday, 10 a.m., after the opposition had failed to produce any witnesses.

The attorney for Harold I. Panken, Democratic machine candidate in the 21st senatorial district, after a blustering speech accusing Collins of fraudulent petitions, admitted he had no witnesses and was not prepared to present his case.

Sat. 8-3-46

Nat Dambroff, attorney for Collins, who challenged the Board of Elections last Wednesday for its "highly irregular" procedure in ruling Collins off the Democratic ballot, told Judge Dickstein:

"We are not only ready but we will prove beyond a doubt that Collins has between 1,400 and 2,000 good signatures." New York

Following the plea for postponement by the Panken forces, both sides were informed the case would be heard later the same day before Judge Gavagan. However, Gavagan refused to handle the case and Judge Dickstein then announced that the hearing would be held at the Supreme Court Building, Foley Square, third floor, Special Terms, Panel 1, at 10 a.m. Monday.

Either Judge Dickstein or Judge Benvenga will preside. N.Y.

The Collins case has arbused widespread interest. The open anti-Negro hostility shown by the Board of Elections in refusing to count the number of valid Collins signatures has been interpreted as an effort to inject the white supremacy issue in the New York state election. Sat. 8-3-46

A new challenge to the board came yesterday from Rep. Vito Marcantonio and City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, chairman and executive secretary respectively of the New York County of the American Labor Party. In a joint statement, they said:

"We denounce the action of the New York County Board of Election in ruling out the petition of Charles A. Collins running for state Senator in the 21st Senatorial District. The people of New York will not tolerate a Bilbo white supremacy campaign in their state. If Talmadge did not succeed in keeping hundreds of thousands of Negroes away from the polls in the South, the decent people of New York, both Negro and white, will also demand the right to elect representatives of their own choice.

"It is a fact that the Board of Elections threw out the Collins petition for alleged fraud without hearing any Collins' witnesses. They acted as a court when their functions are purely administerial. Although 1,369 signatures were declared valid they threw out the entire Collins petition numbering 3,400 names without giving a reason for doing so. New York.

"This is an attempt to keep Collins out of the state Senate and is the northern counterpart of the wave of Georgia lynch terror."

Powell's Drive For Reelection Is Under Way

Representative Adam Clayton Powell's reelection band-wagon got under way last Thursday night with three street corner speaking stops, featuring, in addition to Powell himself, stars of the radio, stage and night club.

Crowds averaging 300 or more gathered at 124th St. and Seventh Ave.; 116th and Eighth Ave., and 135th and Lenox, to hear Powell review his congressional record which included intervention in more than 800 unfair courtmartial cases involving Negro soldiers.

Powell said, if reelected, he would sponsor a federal civil rights law to protect all minorities, particularly Negroes, from violations of their rights.

Powell was cheered when he spoke out against the Georgia lynchers.

Warning that a light vote on primary day would discourage the Negro people in the South, Powell said:

"We up here in the north have the great privilege and right to vote the way we want to. Our brothers in the South are subject to lynching and beating when they even talk about voting. If we don't get out of the house on primary day and vote, the people of the South can no longer consider us as fighting by their sides."

Bronx ALP Rally Asks Lynchers Prosecution

President Truman was asked to prosecute the Georgia lynchers who recently murdered four innocent Negroes and to investigate Eugene Talmadge's connection with the lynchers in a resolution passed at a protest demonstration held at Grand St. Extension and Havemeyer St., Brooklyn. Benny Sher, ALP candidate for the Assembly in the 14th A. D., was one of the speakers at the meeting which was sponsored by the ALP of the 4th and 14th A. D.

Dewey's 'Somethin for All' Speech--Davis

Daily Worker N.Y.

Excerpts fro a radio address by Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for U. S. Senate, over Station WMCA.

Ladies and gentlemen, the governor of this state has said that he wants no Bilboism here. He has said that race hatred is bad.

Yes, our governor has said, "We don't want Bilboism here." Our

COUNCILMAN DAVIS
Accuses Dewey

county politics in none other than District Attorney James N. Gehrig, the man Dewey wouldn't remove. Gehrig's close pal is Jr. Russell Sprague, Nassau County boss. Sprague is the Republican National Committeeman for New York. Dewey is counting heavily on Sprague to put him over in 1946 and 1948.

Add it all up. What's the answer? Two dead Negro veterans and a whitewash. This is the reeord of a man who doesn't want Bilboism here.

* * *

Tues 9-3-46

There is a strong movement under way to impeach Sen. Bilbo as a disgrace to the Senate, a pariah to our nation, a lawbreaker and violator of the very oath under which he took office. Decent Americans know that Bilboism must be stamped out in America if it is not to infect every state of the nation. That cannot be done without ousting Bilbo from the Senate. Why doesn't Mr. Dewey, titular head of the Republican Party, publicly call on his fellow-Republicans to remove this self-confessed Klansman from the nation's highest legislative body?

The hypocrisy of our Governor strikes at the peoples of his own state. There are Klansmen conspiring against our liberties, plotting violence against Negro, Jew and Catholic—not alone in Mississippi—but in New York. Does our Governor know this? He does.

Forced by exposure in the Daily Worker and pressure by the Communist Party and such organizations as the Freeport Committee, the Dewey Administration—at long last—was forced to dissolve the KKK. Mr. Dewey's attorney general has admitted knowledge to a list of more than 1,000 Klansmen in New York. Unless these names are made public, unless each and every one brought to justice, then Dewey's dissolution of the Klan is an empty formality, his platitudes so much pre-election pap.

* * *

The Communist Party has led the way in fighting for peace. We call for unity between the United States and the Soviet Union as the cornerstone of peace and international security. My party is the ONLY party today warning and mobilizing the American people to save the peace for which our vets fought, bled and died. It is the ONLY party rallying the people against the American imperialists who through reactionaries in both major parties are moving toward war abroad and fascist reaction at home. Tues 9-3-46

Our party in this campaign warns the people of New York against the danger of a reactionary Republican sweep and urges the broadest anti-monopoly, anti-war coalition of labor and the people to avert such a calamity. To create such an effective coalition, a coalition in which the Negro people will play a leading part, the Communists will work unceasingly.

Seamen Spur Petition Campaign for Collins

Daily Worker New York

Charles A. Collins, trade union leader and American Labor Party endorsed candidate for the New York State Senate, yesterday told 1,000 National Maritime Union seamen, **"If I am elected state senator, my orders will come from you, the people."**

Emphasizing that the petition campaign to put him on the ballot was lagging, Collins said that only by vigorous trade union support could he be successful.

Collins

"It is about time that we had a working man in the New York State Senate," he told the seamen. "My people," he continued, "have made many contributions to the wealth and industry of this state, and they intend to have a greater say in its government."

The NMU seamen showed that they meant business by piling into taxi cabs and coming uptown for a day of canvassing.

LOCAL 6 CONTRIBUTES

Prior to the NMU meeting, Collins' own union, Local 6, Hotel and Club Employees, AFL, of which he is vice-president, assigned a full time worker to his campaign staff.

Mike Obermier, Local 6 president, told a general membership meeting at Manhattan Center last Monday night, "It is part of our union duty in fighting discrimination, to back Charlie to the hilt, and to see to it that he can add his voice to our fight for equality to all people."

Dr. George D. Cannon, chairman of the Non-Partisan Citizen's Committee for the Election of Charles A. Collins to the State Senate, issued a statement yesterday declaring that **"the election of Collins to the State Senate will be a great moral factor in the fight for Negro rights."**

Dr. Cannon further pointed out that the issue of a Negro in the New York State Senate was **"part and parcel of the nation's basic needs. Bilbo and Rankin have won again in Mississippi. We need Collins in New York to fight those who would like to imitate those two bigots."**

In outlining the Committee's immediate program, he appealed for "an army of canvassers" to collect petitions placing Collins' name on the ballot. Thereafter he said, a fight to win in all primaries will be conducted.

Fri. 7-5-46

Dewey's Negro Stand 'Hypocrisy'--Ben Davis

Daily Worker New York N.Y.

Communist Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., in a radio broadcast here last night, accused Gov. Dewey of hypocrisy in attacking "Bilboism." Speaking over WMCA, Davis, Communist candidate for U. S. Senator, charged the governor with whitewashing the case against the Freeport policeman who killed two Negro veterans last February, and demanded he reveal the list of Ku Klux Klan members in the state. Attorney-General Gold-stein has already admitted knowledge of more than a thousand Klan members but has refused to make them public. *Fri 8-30-46*

Davis challenged the governor to call publicly for Sen. Bilbo's impeachment and said Dewey's extradition of Negroes in recent years to chain gangs in the South belied the governor's efforts to pose as their friend. The Communist candidate said Dewey's anti-Bilbo "protestations" were only "pre-election pap."

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS

He charged the Dewey-controlled State Legislature has "made a farce of legislation designed to insure equal rights for jobs, education, housing in New York State."

The State FEPC, he said, was passed only after Gov. Dewey had stalled and sidetracked it for three years.

"So bad were Dewey's evasions, so ruthless his sabotage that a leading Negro Republican, Dr. Channing Tobias, and eight other members of the Governor's anti-discrimination commission resigned in 1944," Davis maintained.

The FEPC measure was finally forced through, Davis said, by an outraged, demanding public.

He also stated the Dewey-controlled legislature had killed measures introduced by Assemblyman Hulan Jack, Manhattan Democrat, to bar discrimination in housing, and by two other Democratic legislators to end tax exemption for colleges and other educational institutions that discriminate.

The Communist candidate also cited the history of the fight led by the GOP to prevent the election of a Negro State Senator from Harlem.

He maintained that under Gov. Lehman, reapportionment lines were drawn in such a way as to provide a senatorial district in Harlem from which a Negro State Senator would have been elected. This, however, did not become law.

In 1943, with Dewey as Governor, the lines in Manhattan only were redrawn to prevent the election of a Negro State Senator and to provide a safe district for Gov. Dewey's "reactionary friend," State Sen. Coudert. *Fri 8-30-46*

Despite this, Davis predicted that Charles A. Collins, Negro unionist running on the ALP and People's Rights Party tickets, would win in the 21st Senatorial District in November.

A Harlem Street Meeting

The street forum is a precious tradition in Harlem. More people listen to street speakers in Harlem than in any other urban community in the land. And nowhere in New York's far-flung boroughs are issues of the current election campaign so thoroughly thrashed out—with speaker and audience participation—as they are today around the Harlem sound truck and "soap box." *New York, N.Y.*

It is on the Harlem "soap box" that Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for Attorney General, can be found almost any time now during the pleasant fall evenings. The campaign is at its height. And the Harlem people seem to prefer the informality of the street-corner meeting, where they can have a personal word or two with the candidates and size them up at close range.

"Aside from my job of fighting for my people in the chambers of the City Council," said Davis as he started up Eighth Ave. for his second street-corner rally, "aside from that, there is nothing I consider more important than this close-up campaigning—this meeting the people on the street face to face."

ARTIST HELPS *Mon. 11-4-46*

The meeting was under way when Davis arrived. Charles Keller, noted artist, stood on a small platform before a huge drawing board. By a few quick strokes with a piece of chalk he showed how the meat trusts were taking the people's money, deciding when they could eat, how much, and at what price.

Keller's satirical sketches of Gov. Dewey and others on the GOP team brought shouts of approval from the crowd. When Harlemites like a man's work they tell him to his face. They let him know with equal vigor when they don't.

News travels fast in Harlem. And when the word got out that Councilman Davis was on the corner of 136th St. and Eighth Ave.—that he was going to speak—the crowd thickened. People came from four directions. They kept on coming as the meeting progressed.

"He's right," an elderly Negro man remarked loudly. "Yes, the councilman's right," a woman close to the platform declared. Then from everywhere came the words: "He's right. He's telling the truth. That man's got facts."

This audience approval followed the councilman's charge that "Dewey is a double-talking, two-timing rascal." Davis based his charge on Dewey's campaign declaration that he did "not want Bilboism here" and his failure, meanwhile, to act against jimcrow.

JIMCROW HOUSING PROJECT

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., Davis stated, has started to build the vast Stuyvesant Town Housing Projevt, ruling out Negro residents, with a green light from the Governor. The Governor's refusal to place an anti-discrimination clause in the housing law, the councilman said, forced him (Davis) to place an anti-jimcrow housing law on the city law books.

"We are never going to let that Metropolitan monument to Bilbo open as a jimcrow project," Davis declared. "We'll picket it. We'll fight it. Are you with me?"

Almost to a single man the audience responded: "Yes, yes, we will." "We're with you, Ben." "We sure will."

There's nothing formal or official about a Ben Davis street rally. The councilman will stop in the middle of a speech to introduce people in the audience to each other. On one occasion it was S. Mirajkar, vice-president of the All-India Trade Union Congress. Davis pointed to him on the street, called him up to the platform, where he could be seen, and introduced him.

There's something homey and comradely about these Davis meetings. Before they are ended, everybody seems to know everybody else. People from Georgia, people from everywhere come up and shake hands. A taxi driver asks the councilman to help him with a license problem.

HECKLERS RUN

And there are hecklers, too—cheap political hacks who don't like Davis, don't like Congressman Powell, or Charlie Collins, the Negro running for the State Senate. They are sent from the clubhouses to break up the meetings. But nobody breaks up Davis' meetings in Harlem. It's the hecklers who break and run.

I saw one of those fellows beat a hasty retreat and vanish around a corner on Hallowe'en. He hurled an insulting remark at the councilman.

Davis paused, looked the roughneck square in the eye, and said: "Keep your big mouth shut and get on around the corner."

The heckler looked sheepishly at the six-foot speaker, former Amherst football tackle. He turned to the audience. But he found no comfort there. He was off like a flash. There was laughter. The meeting continued.

Davis Charges Gov. Dewey With Anti-Negro Policies

Daily Worker New York N.Y. Wed. 10-16-46

Opening his upstate campaign tour with two radio broadcasts in Albany and Schenectady, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., Communist candidate for attorney-general, last night denounced Gov. Dewey's anti-Negro policy and ca'led for an overwhelming vote against the Republican candidate for governor.

Also speaking last night was S. W. Gerson, Communist campaign manager, who declared over WMCA here, **"one more myth has to be smashed, the myth of the invincibility of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and his Hooverite Republican machine."**

Speaking first on station WSNY Schenectady, and later on WOKO Albany, Davis charged Dewey was motivated by "cheap politics" in whitewashing the Freeport case. "It was politics," Davis said, "that let a policeman who killed two Negro vets and wounded two more—the four Ferguson brothers—go scot free."

Davis linked J. Russell Sprague, [illegible]olican boss of Nassau County, strongest Republican county in the State, and the site of the Freeport case, with Dewey's refusal to press the trial against the policeman.

He lashed out at the governor's "glibly mouthed phrases" against "once a klansman, always a klansman" Bilbo and demanded Dewey call on the Republican senators in Congress to back the movement against seating the Mississippi KKK senator.

ANTI-NEGRO ACTS

Davis recited a long list of anti-Negro acts taken by Dewey to disprove the Governor's efforts at posing as a friend of the Negro people. "Governor Dewey," Davis accused, "has proved himself an enemy of the Negro people as he is of all who yearn for equal rights, job security, peace."

The Communist Councilman cited Dewey's extradition orders against Lorenzo Reed, George Burrows and James Corley, all Negroes who fled North to escape Southern frame-up "justice" to chain-gangs in Florida and Mississippi.

He said the "hypocrisy of our Governor strikes at the people of his own state" and demanded that Dewey reveal the names of 1,000 Ku Kluxers in New York State.

Communist campaign manager Gerson pointed to the voting increase in "virtually every industrial city upstate" and similar registration trends in the "working-class areas of Brooklyn, Manhattan and the Bronx."

Asserting that it is "nonsense to account for the increased registration" on the meat shortage alone—a charge which the Republicans have been making," Gerson declared that "New Yorkers are troubled about many things, about the problems of war and peace, as posed so well for the nation by Henry Wallace; about mounting inflation; about housing, especially for veterans; and about the curse of race discriminaton."

HOWARD FAST WRITES ON MARCANTONIO:

'. . . He Has Not Failed Them'

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Howard Fast

THE simple fact of it is that I want to live, and I want my children to live, too—not in a prison camp, not in a fascist hell-hole, but in a free America. And because the single factor, the one individual who counts more for freedom in our government today than any other man is a Congressman from New York, Vito Marcantonio by name, I went to him and asked him whether there was not something I could write or say that would help return him to Congress. Mon. 10-28-46

It was not the first time I had met him. For a good many years now, I have known Vito Marcantonio; and for a good manys years before I knew him personally I watched his career in Congress, listened to his speeches and felt a deep pride in the fact that there was with us at least one fighting Congressman, unafraid and in the full tradition of all good things that are our heritage.

In common with millions of other Americans, I slept better because Marcantonio was in Congress. In common with millions of other Americans, I felt confident that so long as Marcantonio could raise his voice in the House of Representatives the average American man and woman would be more secure in their personal liberties.

And, in common with millions of my fellow countrymen, I felt that the worker would never lack an advocate, a defender, so long as Vito Marcantonio could speak out in Congress.

You might say—and with some justice—that is a very tall order for one man to fill. And especially a small man, an unassuming man, a quiet man who belies the fierce anger of which he is capable.

But ask those in Congress who have felt his wrath. Ask Rankin, that spearhead of native fascism, how it feels to be lashed and flayed by this unassuming representative from New York. Ask Rankin how he felt when Marc hurled at him these words:

"May I remind the gentleman from Mississippi that in the Declaration of Independence it was said that all men are created equal. When they said that all men are created equal, they did not say, all men are created equal except Negroes. They did not say all men are created equal except Jews. They did not say all men are created equal except Catholics. They placed no exception in that Declaration of Independence."

So when I came to Marc and told him that I would like to write something about him and ask him what he thought was the single, most burning issue of the day, he answered, naturally enough:

"The fight for peace!"

This is his major fight. That will be his major fight for the next two years—and he is an old hand at fighting for the men nnd women he represents.

As I said, it is no new thing to have Marc in there fighting for the people. He led the fight on the polltax; he led the fight against lynching; he led the fight to keep down the cost of living; he led the fight for labor and against the Case Bill and the anti-labor Truman Bill—bills that would have destroyed organized labor—and one could go on and on, issue after issue where Vito Marcantonio stood on the floor of the House, fighting for the people and for the people's issues.

He knows how to fight, and that's a good thing—because he's in for the greatest fight of his life. The fight to keep the peace. The fight to prevent another world war, a war so terrible that human imagination cannot conceive it, a war in which—in all probabilities—you and I and everyone dear to us would perish.

That's Marc's job for the next two years. In so many words, his job is to see that you and I—and our children, too—remain alive.

I know of no one else who could do that job, no one else but Vito Marcantonio. I know of no one in our government who fights as well, as bravely, as constantly. We cannot afford to lose him; if we do not return him to Congress, then God help us.

Many years ago, a great American, whose name was Altgeld, spoke in Cooper Union in New York City. As he entered the hall, the thousands of people there assembled began to chant:

"We love you for the enemies you have made! We love you for the enemies you have made! We love you for the enemies you have made!"

The trusts, the monopolies, the imperialists, the corrupt newspapers of the time—these were Altgeld's enemies, even as they are Vito Marcantonio's enemies; and there are a million Americans today who could say, simply and clearly, to Vito Marcantonio:

"'We love you for the enemies you have made."

For there is no better assessment of Marc than to catalogue his enemies. Rankin and Bilbo and all of their ilk, they are his enemies. Hearst and McCormick and Patterson, the lords of the American press, fear him and hate him, and because they fear him so their rotten newspapers pour out lies against him. Ford and duPont and Tom Girdler fear him and hate him, and they, too, are his enemies. The Ku Klux Klan and the Christian Front—they are Marc's enemies, and they fear him and hate him because he stands for democracy and the real essence of Christianity, the brotherhood of man.

Every fascist, every anti-Catholic, every anti-Semite, every rotten racist and hate-monger who infests this land of our fears Vito Marcantonio—and they, too, are his enemies.

But the people love him and respect him—because he has not failed them.

Assails Dewey's Anti-Negro Record

By Harry Raymond Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Oct. 20.—New York City Councilman Benjamin Davis, Communist candidate for Attorney General, wound up his one-week up-state campaign tour here with the charge that Gov. Thomas E. Dewey "has proved himself an enemy of the Negro people."

"Dewey," the Councilman said, "is the only Governor in New York State in the last 50 years who extradited Negroes to Southern chain gangs." Mon.

DAVIS

He cited the case of James Sorley, George Burrows and Lorenzo Reed—all shackled to Southern lynchers and extradited to Dixie by the Governor's order. 10-21-46

"Thus," asserted Councilman Davis, "has Dewey trampled on the traditions of New York State—a state which 100 years ago was the 'depot' of the underground railroad; a state that helped Negro slaves into Canada and freedom and protected them against their Southern oppressors."

Arriving here last Friday, Davis was greeted by Communist Party leaders Norman Ross and Lloyd Kinsey. He was guest at a luncheon in McDoles restaurant. Among those attending the luncheon were William Evans, executive secretary of the Urban League; Vincent Suitt, industrial secretary of the League; Dr. Lloyd Burrell, leading Negro physician, and James Miller, secretary of the Bualo CIO Council.

Davis made two more appearances here—one at a mass meeting in the Negro Elks Hall, 311 Williams St., and another at radio station WBEN, where he made a 15 minute broadcast.

He also launched a Communist Party recruiting drive, personally signing the party appliaction of a Buffalo Negro worker. He recruited another Negro into the Communist Party in Syracuse and received pledges to join the party from several more Negroes in other upstate cities.

Dewey's call for Negroes to "come home" to the Republican Party, Davis told the Buffalo audience, would not be heeded.

"The Negro knows where his real home is," he declared. "The real home of the Negro people is not in the Republican bag. It is not in the Democratic bag. But it is side by side with the labor movement."

Sixty percent of the Elks Hall audience were Negroes. Davis made special emphasis in his talk on the position of American Negroes to the U.S. foreign policy of "getting tough with Russia."

"I say 13,000,000 Negroes are not supporting a get tough policy with a great country that has outlawed and abolished discrimination against persons because of race, creed or color," Davis declared.

Davis pointed to the fact that neither President Truman nor Gov. Dewey, leading spokesman for the major parties, have taken issue with the southern polltaxers on Sen. Bilbo, the admitted Ku Kluxer from Mississippi. He proposed a mass march to Washington on Jan. 2, to protest Bilbo's reentry to the U. S. Senate.

The Communist candidate concluded his main Buffalo address with a strong plea 1) for votes for the Communist candidates, and 2) for votes for the labor party ticket.

"Witnessing the meat crisis," Davis added "the people must say: 'How can you live in a country where a meat trust, of not more than 1,000 men, says we cannot have meat.' They must be doing some deep thinking about this.

"And we, the Communists, must show the solution is Socialism. Our job is to build a big Communist Party and help bring Socialism to America."

People's Candidates:

CHARLES EVANS IS AN EXPERT ON PROBLEMS FACING QUEENS

The Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Wed. 10-16-46

Ever hear a candidate for public office declare, with a mixture of righteousness and pathos in his voice, that he "came up the hard way" and therefore deserves to be elected? Actually, most of those gentlemen came up the hard boiled way, via the back rooms of political clubs and the hardest toil they ever committed in their lives was in rooking the public.

There are, however, certain candidates who came up the hard way and are still battling against tough odds. Take Charles Evans for example. Evans is running for City Council out of Queens on the Communist ticket to fill the spot left open when James A. Phillips vacated to run for Congress.

Evans has all the qualifications for holding a position of public trust. He is young, has worked hard for a livelihood in jobs ranging from dishwasher to laborer, has been a member of both the AFL and CIO, served with honor in the 47th Infantry, 9th Division, from the Rhine to the Mulde under fire, and, while only 26 years of age, he has chalked up a splendid record as a foe of oppression and discrimination.

Both of these products of the capitalist system are intimate enemies of Evans, for he is a Negro. Born and raised in Kentucky, the home of blue grass and the bull whip.

Evans came north while still a youngster and worked in restaurants throughout the Midwest and later in the east and became a member of Local 89, AFL Cooks and Countermen, during the war, before he went into the Army, he toiled in the copper smelting works of the Phelps Dodge Co., in Elizabeth, N. J. By virture of his unusual abilities, white and Negro members of Local 441 UE-CIO, elected him financial secretary.

Evans lives in the Queensbridge housing project and is section organizer of the Jamaica area for the Communist Party. He is married and has a little girl, going on to four years old. Her name is Lenora.

"Right now," Evans said, "I'm up to my neck in the campaign. Out here in Queens, we are tackling the immediate problems of the community and among them are the struggle to uproot, expose and throw out the beginnings of the Klan.

"Other important Queens issues are the demand for a Negro on the Board of Education, the battle against the heartles dumping of Negro children into the so-called ungraded clases where they are classified as mentally retarded, the extension of the South Jamaica Housing Project and of course the general battle for nurseries, youth centers and against the sales tax and the threat to raise the subway fare."

Collins Tells Physicians He Will Support All-Out Health Program

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Wed. 10-23-46

Charles A. Collins, American Labor Party and Peoples Rights Party candidate for the State Senate from the 21st Senatorial district yesterday pledged to support vital health and welfare measures if he is elected.

The pledge was made in response to an inquiry from the Physicians Forum, which has urged all organizations to seek the views of candidates for state and national office, on these and similar issues. Dr. Ernest P. Boas is chairman of the Physicians Forum.

Collins pledged to support the following:

1—An increase in hospital facilities in those communities where such facilities are inadequate.

2—An increase in the number of available state-supported beds for mental and chronice diseases.

3—State aid for improvement or creation of health centers in local communities with a view to reducing mortality rates in TB, venereal disease, cancer and other chronic diseases.

4—State aid for creation of mental hygiene clinics in communities where such a need is evident. This is to include institutions for care and guidance of the physically handicapped and aged individuals.

5—Steps to alleviate the shortage of physicians by aiding the integration of returning medical veterans into medical practice. These steps must include plans for housing, office space, priorities for the purchase of automobiles and surplus medical and surgical equipment.

6—An increase in salaries of physicians in all state institutions in order to improve medical care.

7—The enlargement of physician training facilities (medical schools and state hospital training facilities).

8—The elimination of discrimination on the basis of sex, religions, race and nationality existing in present institutions of medical training either partially or wholly state-supported.

9—An increase in remuneration of nursing and allied medical technical personnel in state institutions in order to attract more and better qualified individuals into training in these fields.

10—Adequate remuneration, classifications and training of all other personnel connected with patient care in State institutilons.

When meat controls were lifted, Collins who is vice-president of Local 6, Hotel and Club Employees Union, declared in a wire to President Truman:

"The removal of meat controls is capitulation to reactionary Congressmen, the Republican Party and the big meat packers. It will cause the greatest hardship to the Negro people, especially in Harlem where prices are always about 20 percent higher than the rest of the city. It will be the signal for the breakdown of all controls."

Collins Blasts Dewey For Empty Talk to Vets

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Tues. 1-7-46

Charles A. Collins, Negro trade unionist candidate for the New York State Senate from the 21st Senatorial District, issued a blistering statement yesterday berating Governor Dewey's speech to the convention of the Veterans of Foreign Wars last week.

"Contrary to Mr. Dewey's sweet words," Collins began, "the veterans in this war have come to feel that New York State has forgotten their great part in winning the victory."

Dewey gave a wordy and glorious tribute to New York veterans, and offered them a "veterans counseling service." "Our counselors go and see the veteran in his home if necessary," he said.

Charging Dewey with "making political capital out of veterans' needs," Collins said: "Mr. Dewey makes a great fuss about the counseling service that the state is providing veterans. He says that the counselors go to the veterans homes if necessary. I say that while talking so easily about veterans' homes first let him provide some for the 211,000 in New York State who don't have any.

"Veterans need homes and jobs, not counseling services. And, as far as Negro veterans are concerned, they are not willing to live in overcrowded, hand-me-down fire traps that are from 30 to 50 years old. They have given their blood and their youth and they expect decent homes."

Collins attacked "the little attention given to workers' needs in the on-the-job-training program, to which Dewey points with such pride." "How about training Negroes in the building trades as electricians, plumbers, bricklayers and other skilled jobs. This would make more jobs and at the same time lessen the so-called labor shortage in the building trades."

"As for the pittance of from $50 to $250 the Governor calls a state bonus, it is an insult to the average ex-GI. It will hardly buy a suit of clothes and pay a month's rent. Veterans want and need an adequate bonus to be paid now and not in 1947. Let the Governor put to use some of the millions of dollars of taxpayers' money he had hoarded."

Citing Dewey's assurances of a college education to all qualified veterans, Collins pointed out that "The Governor seems to be unaware of the hundreds of Negro veterans who are seeking a college education, but who are receiving all sorts of excuses and subterfuges when they apply for college courses. Let the Governor put a stop to these un-American practices immediately."

The Collins for State Senate campaign headquarters at 1967 Seventh Ave. has a veteran expert on hand at all times to handle the problems of community veterans.

Earl Conrad

The Defender Chicago, Ill.

Great Confusion

I FIND great confusion in Harlem over the current political scene and the forthcoming election campaign. It is, of course, an unclear moment in the nation's political course, and the people of Harlem have the right to make mistakes along with the rest of the population, but I would hate to see committed the error of jumping from the frying pan into the fire. That is, I would dislike to see the current disillusion with the reactionary Democratic trend converted into a simple passage of the voters over to reactionary Republicanism. Such a voting shift will solve no problem for anyone except the pro-fascist elements in both major parties.

In New York City and New York State the main battle is between Governor Dewey running for re-election in opposition to the Democratic candidate, Senator James M. Meade. I am witnessing the sorry sight of many of the people of Harlem appearing to lean to Gov. Dewey for re-election. They seem to forget Dewey's rotten record of having sabotaged FEPC when it first appeared in the state, his record of extraditing Negroes back to Southern states, his whitewashing of the famous Freeport case and his constantly reiterated "states rights" stand, which is nothing but a brazen affirmation of the outlook of white supremacy as practiced in the Southern bloc of states. They seem to forget that the labor and minority forces of New York City and the State are still grouped about the Democratic Party, and it is within the Democratic Party that a fight can be conducted and is being conducted and it is this party which, at the moment, contains the best hope of progressive action. Meade, incidentally, has pledged to reopen the Freeport case.

Sat. 10-19-46

There are individuals in Harlem who lean to Assemblyman Irving M. Ives, candidate for Senator, in preference to former Governor Herbert H. Lehman. The Republican machine in Harlem is trying to convey the impression that Ives, who introduced the Anti-Discrimination Act which became state law, is a liberal and a friend of the Negro. Ives, like Dewey, was pressured by all the advance forces in New York City before that Act became law, and when it finally did get on the books, it arrived minus any real teeth.

Enormous Pressure

THE PRESSURE from New York City to get

whom had ever work in UNRRA, is well-known, whose natural gro rights. Ives, sympathies as a Jew are on the side of the Nepublican machine couldn't ignore it any longer. been heard of as a fighter for Negro r
Now they are trying to take credit for it. Final- as a friend of the Negro, cannot pos
y, Dewey sabotaged his own law by naming to pare with Lehman, a Jew, whose hu
its administration a conservative commission

the city Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. They have endorsed Meade and Lehman. They have also endorsed for Congress Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Rep. A. Clayton Powell, Eugene P. Connolly, and Myron T. Sulzberger. The Sulzberger endorsement is important in Harlem because he is opposing Frederick Coudert, a reactionary. I hope the voters of East Harlem will help lick Coudert. Coudert is the candidate of the "silk stocking" Park Avenue crowd. It happens that this district lobs over into the minority area of Harlem and it would be silly of the Negro, Spanish and Puerto Rican workers to send to Congress a Park Avenue spokesman when they have a chance to lick him. The liberal records of Powell, Marcantonio and Connolly are well known.

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis Jr. is seeking election as State Attorney General and he should get every vote in Harlem.

Important Election

Finally, it is of extreme importance for Harlem to send to the State Senate Charles Collins, a Negro, who has the American Labor Party's support as well as that of Political Action Committee. A great fight to keep Collins off the ballot has been waged this fall because both conservative Republicans and conservative Democrats do not want a Negro in the State Senate.

Your Voting Post

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues.

Here are the headquarters of the labor-backed candidates in today's primaries; they will be open for getting the voters out and safeguarding the polls, which are open from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.: 8/20/46

Candidate	Address	Telephone
Vito Marcantonio	1484 First Ave. (bet. 77 and 78 Sts.)	RH 4-6450
Joseph C. Baldwin	28 Greenwich Ave. (8th St. & 6th Ave.)	GR 5-9813
Leo Isacson	3230 Bainbridge Ave. (near 205 St.), Bronx	OL 5-9738
George Rooney	160-04 Jamaica Ave., Jamaica (160 St.)	JA 3-5604
	2011 Mott Ave., Far Rockaway	FA 7-1244
	226-05 Merrick Road, Laurelton	LA 5-0728
	92-14 95th Ave., Woodhaven	VI 9-6034
Adam Clayton Powell	132 W. 138 St.	AU 3-1176
Eugene Connolly	4324 Broadway (bet. 184 and 185 Sts.)	WA 3-9284
Charles Collins	1967 Seventh Ave. (near 118 St.)	MO 2-4563
Ada B. Jackson	328 Halsey St., Brooklyn	GL 2-8304
Samuel Kaplan	695 Stone Ave., Brooklyn	DI 2-8506
	349 New Lots Ave., Brooklyn	DI 2-9638
Chester Addison	1175 Boston Road (near 168 St.), Bronx	JE 7-2803

Voters Decide Candidates Today in Crucial Primary

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Tues. 8/20/46

By Max Gordon

Labor's candidates for Congress and State Legislature throughout the city appeared fairly confident as New York's enrolled voters prepared to go to the polls today in the nation's most important primary. The polls will be open from 3 to 10 p.m. Enrollees of particular parties will vote to decide their party's candidates for Congress, state legislature, some judicial posts, delegates to the state conventions next month and inner party positions.

Only those who have previously enrolled in a particular party are allowed to vote in that party's primary.

Most of the key contests are in the two major parties, with candidates backed by labor challenging, in many cases nominees of the two machines.

While confident they had the people with them, candidates would make no predictions. They said all would depend on two things:

(1) Getting out the primary vote, particularly voters pledged to back them.

(2) Safeguarding the polls to prevent wholesale stealing and other trickery.

There are three ALP primary contests. One is in the 21st Senatorial District, where Harold I. Panken, Democratic machine designee, has entered against Charles A. Collins, Negro AFL leader, the official ALP designee.

A second is in the 24th A. D., Brooklyn, where the Democratic machine has entered a candidate, Morris Kaufman, against the ALP designee, Samuel Kaplan. Kaplan has GOP endorsement and is fighting to win the Democratic primary.

In Manhattan's Second A. D., John Lamula, independent Republican, has entered all three primaries against officially-designated candidates.

Center of attention is the campaign in the 18th Congressional District, where Rep. Vito Marcantonio, labor's key Congressman, is facing a gang-up of reaction in both Democratic and Republican primaries. 8/20/46

Rep. Marcantonio sent a wire to Gov. Dewey yesterday charging Tom Curran, Manhattan GOP boss and Secretary of State, has issued instructions to deputy attorney general to **"function as advocates"** of Marcantonio's GOP machine opponent, Frederick V. P. Bryan. Particularly in those districts where Marcantonio is strongest, to try to intimidate voters and slow up the vote.

He demanded that Dewey intervene to see that the deputies act in a "nonpartisan" way.

Rep. A. Clayton Powell wound up his drive for nomination in all three parties in the 22d District with a broadcast over station WMCA. Powell has the ALP and Democratic designations, and is fighting the GOP designee, Grant Reynolds, for the Republican nomination. He has weak opposition in the Democratic primary. 8/20/46

In the 21 congressional district, up in Washington Heights, all observers agreed it was a neck-and-neck tussle between Assemblyman Daniel Flynn, Democratic machine designee, and ALP Councilman Eugene P. Connolly for the Democratic nomination. Tues.

Connolly quarters emphasized the Councilman had enough pledged votes to win. What was lacking, they said, was the guarantee of enough workers to see that all voters who had pledged go to the polls and to protect the polls. If they got that, they said, Connolly would emerge victor.

Similarly, in Queens, George H. Rooney, CIO union official who is bucking Rep. William B. Barry for the Democratic designation in the 4th district, apparently had Barry backed to the wall. Reactionary newspapers and Barry circulars were hysterical yesterday as they red-baited Rooney.

Assemblyman James Crisona, Democratic-ALP nominee for State Senate in the area, yesterday issued a repudiation of a Barry advertisement, carrying Crisona's signature, which charged the ALP with being Communist-dominated. Crisona said he was proud to receive the ALP nomination. 8/20/46

In the hard battle in Manhattan's 17th district, most observers predicted a win for Rep. Joseph Clark Baldwin over the reactionary nominee of the Curran machine, State Sen. Frederick R. Coudert in the GOP primary for Congress.

Out in Brooklyn, Rep. Donald L. O'Toole, who has ALP backing, is in a hard fight with the designee of the anti-labor Sutherland Democratic machine, Arthur F. Hurley, in the Democratic primary in the 13th district.

In Manhattan's 21st senatorial district, where Negroes and white progressives are battling to break through New York's lily-white senate, the Citizens Committee for Charles A. Collins has issued an 11th-hour appeal for workers to help it get out the write-in vote in both major party primaries.

Assemblyman Leo Isacson wound up his campaign for reelection against both major party machines in the 13th assembly district, Bronx, with large and enthusiastic meetings in all parts of the district. Betty Garrett, star of **"Call Me Mister,"** and Edith Atwater, actress of **"Deep are the Roots,"** were speakers at some of these meetings.

In Brooklyn's 17th A. D., supporters of Ada Jackson, Negro civic leader who is ALP designee for Assembly and is fighting for the GOP nomination, are confident she will win. They ask for cars to help them get out the vote. Mrs. Jackson wound up her campaign at a huge street rally at Albany and Fulton streets.

In Bronx 7th, Chester Addison, young Negro war veteran, has put up a whale of a campaign for the GOP nomination for assembly and appears to have an excellent chance of getting it.

Addison is also the ALP nominee and is expected to win in November if he takes the GOP nomination. Should he do so, he will be the first Negro elected from the Bronx.

Two other assembly contests that have aroused interest are the fight against Assembly Minority Leader Irwin Steingut in Brooklyn's 18th assembly district and against Assemblyman Philip J. Schupler in the 19th. Schupler is the ALP designee and has exercised considerable independence in Albany. Stingut has been involved in scandels in which graft has been alleged

This Mean Anything to You, Gov. Dewey?

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 10-11-46

Surely, Gov. Dewey, you remember Lorenzo Reed and George Burrows.

You may want to forget them because as Governor of New York you sent Lorenzo Reed back to a Florida chain gang and Burrows to a Mississippi chain gang.

The evidence showed that Reed had been threatened with murder by his guards. But that did not stop you from signing the extradition papers which sent him back to the tender mercies of that chain gang guard.

Burrows also appealed to you. He told about repeated lynch threats made to him in Missippi.

But you, Gov. Dewey, became the champion of a resurrected "fugitive Slave Law." You betrayed the traditions of our state, which helped fugitive slaves escape on the underground railroad.

You chose to cooperate with the lynchers and chain gang bosses, Gov. Dewey.

The names of Lorenzo Reed and George Burrows will haunt you on election day, Nov. 5.

To oust Dewey on Nov. 5, New York citizens must register before Saturday night. DO NOT DELAY! REGISTER TODAY!

Collins' Campaign--A Winning Ticket

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Mon. 9-30-46

By John Hudson Jones

The Collins campaign is a winning campaign!

And this is not just a slogan, it is a fact based on the recent primary election returns, and the vigorous growth of the Peoples Rights Party, on whose ticket Charles A. Collins is running for the New York State Senate from the 21st senatorial district.

Commenting on the next lap in Collins' race, Howard Johnson, historial campaign manager, said yesterday "A big registration is our immediate job. We want to increase the 21st district registration by 20 per cent over last year's. This will be our working basis for victory."

Here are a few of the outstanding facts Johnson mentioned that show the definite possibility of Col- winning. They are from the primary results and the experience of the Peoples Rights Party.

First of all Collins was thrown off the Democratic and Republican ballots in an attempt to scuttle the chances of a Negro ever going to the State Senate. Despite this the total number of valid votes credited him was 2,783 out of the 10,207 cast for all other candidates.

WOULD BE 1st NEGRO IN STATE SENATE

A breakdown showed 1,061 valid write-in votes to 6,005 for the Democratic machine candidate, Harold Panken; 206 write-ins to 1,204 for Republican machine candidate Joseph Richter; and on the American Labor Party ballot against Panken he polled 1,514 to Panken's 216.

This vote constituted 27 percent of the vote cast in the 21st Senatorial District.

Poll watchers saw machine hirelings refuse to tally the Collins write-ins. Hundreds of good votes were invalidated. So tremendous was the enthusiasm to elect Collins to public office that his name was written in for almost every office on the ballot.

Three days after the primaries, the Peoples Rights Party was launched to continue the struggle for a Negro State Senator. Three thousand valid signatures were needed by Sept. 7, but when the lists were turned in they contained more than 12,000 names.

Declaring that "The greatest threat faced by the Collins campaign was the apathy of progressives toward it," Johnson further stated, "There is still doubt among labor and progressive forces that Collins can win. His opponents have no such doubts; they know he can win if an effective campaign is waged. Our success will depend on the all-out support of labor, the churches and other progressive forces. Give us canvassers, finances and other support and Collins will be the first Negro in the New York State Senate."

The PRP platform is one of action for the economic and social interests of both Negro and whites, and is a reflection of the militancy of the Negro people and their allies in the over-all fight for Negro rights.

If elected Collins will immediately fight for a housing project for veterans and low-income families, and State use of some of its huge surplus for this project; strengthening of the State Commission Against Discrimination to include in its jurisdiction all types of discrimination against Negroes and other minorities, and that it be applied to big league baseball teams so that Negro players can get employment; the maintenance of the [illegible] words of protest when the Nazis "consigned countless human beings" to the "unspeakable obscenities" of the concentration camps and when they bombed Warsaw, Rotterdam and London.

Lehman also insisted that 100,000 Jews be admitted at once into Palestine and criticized the British Government for blocking the plan. He found "entirely inexcusable" British opposition to the proposal.

As a long-term plan on Palestine, Lehman supported a "viable" Jewish state large enough to permit the absorption and maintenance of large further immigration which, while perdominantly Jewish, would "safeguard the rights of the Arabs and other groups."

He described this as a "compromise" in relation to the so-called "Federalization Plan" of the British,

Dewey 'Swaps Justice for Nassau Ballots'

Governor Dewey was charged yesterday with "swapping justice and lives of Negro GIs for ballots" in Nassau County in the coming gubernatorial elections." William H. Taylor, chairman of the United Veterans for Equality, and former army major, likened Dewey's runaround on the Freeport killings to his similar actions on FEPC legislation prior to the last national election.

"At that time," Taylor stated, "he ducked the issue until after his election in an effort to curry favor with southern reactionaries."

Taylor also scored the runaround given by Dewey to the New York Committee for Justice as "evasive subterfuge." Referring to the recent exoneration of Charles Ferguson by the Army Review Board as a "precedent shattering act" on the part of the U. S. Army, which "usually concurs in the findings of civilian courts."

The "order of the day," he said, is for Dewey to feel the "pressure of public opinion" for immediate appointment of a special prosecuting attorney and impaneling of a special grand jury.

Saul Mills, secretary of the Greater New CIO Council, also scored Dewey's continued refusal to investigate the Freeport murder.

His refusal, Mills said, "indicates the degree of concern by the titular head of the Republican Party for protecting Negro citizens from lynch justice."

Elk Leader Named By Republicans For N. Y. Senate

DANVILLE, Va.—Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks J. Finley Wilson disclosed last week that he has accepted Republican nomination for senator in the New York legislature.

Wilson's statement was made before 500 brother Elks in the Virginia State Convention at the Morning Star Lodge No. 189.

He will resign as chief of the Elks if he wins the election in the 23rd district of Manhattan, Wilson stated. He added this would apply even if he were reelected at the Buffalo convention in August.

Wilson, who has headed the 250,000-member fraternity for nearly a quarter of a century, spent three days here attending the state convention. He was accompanied by Judge William C. Houston of Washington, D. C., grand commissioner of Elks education, and R. I. Terrell.

Dr. I. J. McGuffin, South Boston, Va., was elected to represent the state association at the Buffalo Grand Lodge convention. More than 25 lodges were represented by 84 delegates to the four-day parley. The 1947 convention will be held in Suffolk, Va.

Negro Election Body Endorses Collins

By Max Gordon

Charles Collins, Negro AFL leader campaigning for the State Senate in Harlem's 21st senatorial district, was endorsed yesterday by the Citizens Non-Partisan Committee to Elect a Negro to the State Senate. This backing assures Collins, who is fighting the regular party organizations in the Democratic and Republican primaries, of virtually solid Negro support.

Negroes make up about 50 percent of this district, which includes the 7th, 11th and 13th assembly districts.

Collins is also getting wide backing in the white areas.

The American Labor Party has endorsed him. Hotel and Club Employes No. 6, of which he is vice-president, has rallied behind his campaign. Local 144, AFL Hotel and Front Service Employes, is also helping.

The New York CIO COUNCIL, while making no formal endorsement as yet, has proposed to its member unions that they aid in collecting signatures for his nominating petition.

The Committee for a Negro Senator, headed by Rev. James H. Robinson of the Church of the Master and Dr. George D. Cannon, prominent Harlem surgeon, was organized earlier this year because the two major parties refused to name a Negro for the state senate. Harlem was gerrymandered in 1943 to prevent a Negro majority in any one district.

Collins was executive secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee during the war. He attended the Paris Congress of the World Federation of Trade Unions as a delegate from that organization.

His two opponents in the Democratic primary and his opponent in the Republican primary all hail from the white 7th assembly district, which has dominated the senate district.

CAMPAIGN NOTES: I. Philip Zitser, labor attorney who is ALP candidate for assembly in the 6th district, Brooklyn, is circulating nominating petitions for the Democratic primary as well. The district is represented by Assemblyman Robert J. Crews, twin brother of GOP county leader John R. Crews.

In Brooklyn's 24th district, Samuel Kaplan, ALP leader who is also entering the Democratic primary, has over 1,400 signatures on his Democratic petition thus far. **Election workers for both Kaplan and Zitser report many Democrats will not sign the nominating petition until assured the candidate is the ALP choice.**

Assemblyman Leo Isacson, battling the Republican and Democratic machines for reelection in Bronx' 13th assembly district, in a letter to Mayor O'Dwyer yesterday, attacked the recent proposal of the City Planning Commission for a 10-cent fare. He called it the "final act in a scheme to saddle the burden of government on the people least able to pay."

JOE LOUIS BACKING DENIED

Misuse of Prizefighter's Name Powell's Political Foe Charges

MY DECLINATION of the State Senatorial nomination must not be construed as my unwillingness to serve in a publicly elected office. In the highest sense of the term I am a politician. Life in this country is political at its core; a realist must admit this. If in the future my services are needed, and some one better fitted for the job can not be found, I would consider it a privilege to serve. **This time, however, I think Charles A. Collins, indefatigable worker with labor, and stalwart crusader for human freedom, warrants the support of all of our community.** He has mine.

A FINAL WORD

I PROMISED myself and my myriads of friends that I would start a church. One obstacle looms before me. I can't find a building for this purpose in the Harlem area. This is my first love. My present position is within the framework of the ministry, and would work no hardship with active pulpit work, whereas holding an elected office would.

Thanks again for the honor

The charge that the name of Joe Lewis had been used without authority by Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. in promoting his campaign to win the Republican nomination for Congress in the Twenty-second district in the primary election next Tuesday was made last night by Grant Reynolds, Republican designee. In a street-corner speech at 125th Street and Seventh Avenue Mr. Reynolds said the prize fighter had told him "I wish you well, and I hope you win this fight" and that Louis would make his support known in newspaper advertisements.

Mr. Reynolds also charged that Mr. Powell had been absent from Congress many times when legislation important to the Negro people was under consideration. "Powell, your Representative from Harlem, has the worst absentee record in Congress," he declared.

HARLEM WILL RUN NEGRO FOR SENATOR, LEADER AVERS

Scoring the failure of major party leaders to support the movement for a Negro State Senator from Harlem, Rev. James H. Robinson yesterday warned an independent movement would be undertaken, at a press conference in his study at the Church of the Master, 86 Morningside Ave.

In the legislative reapportionment in 1942, Harlem was split so that the four predominantly Negro assembly districts were included in three different Senate districts.

The committee to elect a Negro Senator has decided upon the 21st district, which includes the 7th assembly district, as well as the 11th and 13th, as the one which should be represented by a Negro. The incumbent is Sen. Gordon I. Novod, a Democrat.

On the committee are Rep. Adam C. Powell; Dick Campbell, director of USO Camp Shows; Rev. W. Y. Trigg, Salem Baptist Church; Charles Ford, United Mutual Insurance Co.; Dr. Sidat-Singh; J. A. Rogers, writer and historian; Mr. James Allen, Secretary of the New York State NAACP, and Mr. John H. Sanders.

Rev. Robinson stated two ALP officials were the only ones who replied to his recent letter to the major parties.

POWELL AND COLLINS GET SUPPORT OF YOUTH GROUPS

NEW YORK — Youth groups of the PAC, Columbia University, Hunter and City Colleges and the AYD have organized to support Charles A. Collins for State Senator, and Adam C. Powell for Congress.

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-26-46

One God—One People

• BY BEN RICHARDSON •

A DISTINCT HONOR was accorded me last week. The American Labor Party, through its leaders in the local electoral district invited me to accept the nomination for State Senator. On first consideration I was prompted to do so because:

• I am always eager to embrace new opportunities to serve the people;

• My major interest in the anti-fascist fight is the bringing about of the unity of Negroes and Jews against their common enemy, fascism. An examination of the population makeup of the electoral area involved showed a large Negro and Jewish constituency. I welcomed the chance to be at the service of these two minorities in an especial manner (although not to the exclusion of the interests of other peoples);

• I think the succession election of a Negro to the office of State Senator will mark a forward step in the democratization of our community.

WHY I DECLINED

THE HONOR included the fact that my name would have appeared on both Democratic and Republican petitions, and that I would have run in the three primaries. Although I first consented, and some of the machinery for getting my name on the petitions was set in motion, I found it necessary to rethink the matter of my candidacy. **After doing so, I declined the nomination because I felt that in order to adequately discharge the office of State Senator, it would have to be done much to the exclusion of any other duties that I now perform. I believe that public offices call for statesmanship. Politics is a science and must be approached in this way. From my standpoint, it is not a side chore to be done in spare moments. The destiny of the people who elect you depends on the conscientious fulfillment of their mandates.**

My position with The Protestant enables me to carry on the anti-fascist fight as the executive officer of an organization of morethan 6000 Negro and white clergymen throughout the country, and to write, as one of the associate editors, for a magazine which offers the most courageous commentaries on the world scene; namely, The Protestant. I believe that the office of State Senator can be adequately filled by other men of our community, but I do not think the same is true relative to the position I hold with The Protestant, because my work requires a scholastic religious background, a thorough knowledge of Jewish life and history, some writing skill and an anti-fascist orientation. It takes years to build men for this work. Therefore, in making the choice between continuing in this capacity, or accepting the public office, I chose the former.

TO MY FRIENDS

See Chance to Put Progressive Negro Into State Senate

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Saturday 6-29-46

By John Hudson Jones

New York has the chance to send a progressive Negro to the State Senate from the 21st Senatorial District if—.

"The most important thing now is to get 8,000 petition signatures for Charles A. Collins in less than two weeks, Howard Johnsin, campaign manager, said yesterday.

COLLINS

Collins, AFL official, is entering the Democratic, Republican and American Labor Party primaries. He is already backed by the New York County ALP. Primary Day falls on Aug. 20. Last day for petitions is July 15.

To date, some 1,350 signatures have been obtained by canvassers coming from all parts of the city to Harlem, Johnson said, but an average of 600 signatures have to be collected daily to achieve the goal. Johnson warned against the holiday slump over the July 4 weekend.

There has never been a Negro State Senator in New York.

The 21st Senatorial District includes the 7th, 11th, and 13th Assembly Districts. The 11th A.D., predominantly Democratic, has a 90 percent Negro population. In the 13th, Negroes number about 50 percent, while in the 7th they comprise about 10 percent. 6-29-46

Although in 1943 Harlem was split into three separate Senate districts to prevent the election of a Negro, past campaigns of City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., and Rep. Adam Clayton Powell show a breaking down of artificial racial voting lines.

Collins is vice president of Hotel and Club Employees Local 6. This union has 20,000 members of whom 5,000 are Negroes. The union has fought the widespread practice of different wages for Negroes and whites in the hotel industry.

HEADED LABOR BODY

During World War II Collins was executive secretary of the Negro Labor Victory Committee, and recently represented that body at the World Trade Union Conference in Paris. 6-29-46 Sat.

Campaign manager Johnson feels that unions and other groups should immediately begin mass mobilizations and set up Collins Committees.

Canvassers should report to any of the following ALP clubs: 13th A.D. north, 3682 Broadway at 152d; 13th A.D. south, 3410 Broadway at 138th; 11th A.D., 2132 Seventh Avenue at 127th; 7th A.D., 2688 Broadway at 102d. New York N.Y.

CAMPAIGN NOTES: Campaign workers for Councilman Eugene Connolly, seeking the Democratic nomination for Congress in Manhattan's 21st District met at Audubon Hall Thursday night and mapped an intensified drive for 15,000 signatures. Members of 25 organizations were present.

The Manhattan Democratic County Committee yesterday nominated **William T. Collins** as its candidate for Surrogate; John A. Byrnes and Louis J. Capozzoli as candidates for city court, and Maurice Downing for the city council vacancy. Capozzoli, former congressman, was originally named candidate for State Senator in the district represented by Senate Democratic Leader Elmer F. Quinn in a revolt against Tammany by a group of Italian Democratic leaders. Naming of Capozzoli for city court judge indicates the "revolt" has been amicably settled.

NMU Endorses Collins

Daily Worker

The National Maritime Union has endorsed Charles A. Collins' candidacy for New York State Senator from the 21st Senatorial District, and has promised the support of its political action committee.

Collins and City Councilman Ben Davis yesterday wired President Truman and U.S. Attorney General Clark, **"Senator Bilbo has threatened the Negro voters of Mississippi with violence if they attempt to vote in the July 2d primary. The people of New York, and the Negro people especially do not want to see their friends and relatives in Mississippi brutalized and murdered, because they dare exercise their right to vote. We request an emergency conference with you, Tuesday, July 2, to present our suggestions for guaranteeing the democratic rights of the citizens of Mississippi."** 6-29-46

Charles Collins Enters Harlem Senate Race

By Max Gordon Daily Worker

Charles Collins, AFL official and Negro progressive leader, has been designated by labor and other progressive groups in Harlem as their candidate in the drive for a Negro State Senator, it was learned yesterday.

Collins will run as ALP nominee in the 21st Senatorial District which takes in a large part of Harlem. He will also enter the Republican and Democratic primaries.

There never has been a Negro State Senator in New York. A committee of prominent Harlem citizens was organized recently to ensure one this year. It has decided to throw its support to Collins, the only prominent Negro in the race.

The 21st Senatorial District includes the 7th, 11th and 13th Assemly districts. The 7th is in a white area, the 11th and 13th are in Harlem. Both major parties in the district have been dominated by the leaders of the 7th. New York.

The Republicans have nominated Joseph Richter, white attorney of the 7th District south. The Democrats in the 7th are split. The official leadership has designated Harold Panken, white attorney, to run against the incumbent, Sen. Gordon I. Novod, an "insurgent."

To prevent election of a Negro Senator, Harlem was split so that it falls into three separate Senate districts. The 21st is the only one with a Negro majority.

The Republicans named a Negro, J. Finley Wilson, as their nominee in the 23rd District, where Negro voters are in the minority and where the GOP has no chance to win. 6-29-46

Collins is vice-chairman of the AFL Hotel and Club Employes Union, Local 6, and of the National Negro Congress. He was co-chairman of the Negro Labor Victory Committee which recently merged with the Congress.

In the Bronx, American Labor Party leaders reacted sharply yesterday to reports that all Democratic designees have been requested not to accept ALP nominations. Mirror. 6-13-46

They said strong ALP candidates would be entered in all races, particularly for Congress, and at least in one Congressional primary against a Democratic machine nominee. New York.

The Democratic slate includes the four Congressional incumbents, Representatives Lynch, Rabin, Buckley and Quinn. Quinn was elected in 1944 only because of ALP backing.

The ALP is also fighting the Flynn machine in the 13th assembly district, where ALP Assemblyman Leo Isacson is battling for the nomination in both the Democratic and Republican primaries.

Collins to Run on 'Crusade' Program

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Charles A. Collins, People's Rights Party candidate for the New York State Senate stated yesterday that the program and aims of the anti-lynch crusade have been incorporated into the People Rights platform and program.

In a letter to Paul Robeson, co-chairman of the Crusade, Collins said: Fri. 6-27-46 "The People's Rights Party will not rest until the lynchers are arrested and put on trial, until a strong Federal anti-lynch bill is passed, until Klansman Bilbo is put out of the U. S. Senate."

No Lily-White Primary

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

THE potentates of the Republican and Democratic parties in Manhattan have used the courts to block temporarily the efforts of the Negro people to break through the lily-white State Senate.

This is the meaning of the barring from the Democratic and Republican ballots of Charles Collins, Negro candidate for the State Senate.

They hoped to deprive the Negro people of the right to express themselves in the primaries. If slightly more subtle than in Mississippi, the effect is still that of a "lily-white" primary. 6-15-46

But this is New York. The politicians of the two major parties are finding out that their move has been a boomerang.

The people of Harlem, backed by white progressives in other parts of the district, have been aroused by the court ruling against Charles Collins, Negro candidate for the State Senate, and will answer with the most remarkable write-in campaign New York has ever seen.

Negro Nominee For State Senate

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Saturday 6-15-46

It was reliably reported this week that the American Labor Party will designate Charles A. Collins, vice president of Hotel and Clubmen's Union, AF of L, as candidate to the New York State Senate. The naming of Collins to the Senate seat for ALP. comes after Rev.

Ben Richardson declined the designation in his favor last Thursday. Rev. Richardson first accepted the offer to run but later declined, feeling that his present duties would not permit him time to thoroughly execute the Senate post if elected. Sat.

GOP has already designated J. Finley Wilson, Elks grand exalted ruler, as its 23d Senatorial District candidate, but Democrat sources indicate that no Negro designation is forthcoming from that party.

Feelers in political circles indicate that the ALP candidate will be able to gather tremendous support from many quarters.

See Rev. Ben Richardson's comment on his declining of ALP's nomination in favor of Charles Collins in the column "One God, One People," page 11. New York.

Councilman Ben Davis, jr, Communist Party, endorsed the ALP candidate, and it is believed that support from many quarters will be indicated.

Petitions for Collins had not been issued, but are expected to be released shortly. Sat. 6-15-46

Rev. James W. Robinson, Church of The Master and head of a Committee To Elect A Negro to The State Senate, declared that Collins had his support if nominated. City

Red Caps Hail Ben Davis At Syracuse Station

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Sat. 10-19-46

By Harry Raymond

SYRACUSE, N.Y., Oct. 18.—It began yesterday with a spontaneous demonstration at the railroad station.

The west-bound New York Central train the Iroquois, had just pulled up to a stop. A red-capped Negro porter squeezed his way through the milling travelers. He grabbed a few bags, threw them on a hand truck, then he stopped. He waved a calloused hand to the one man who towered above all the passengers alighting from the coach section.

DAVIS

"Hey, there, Councilman Davis," the red cap shouted.

And as Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for attorney general, walked down the long platform to be greeted by George Sheldrick, Onondaga county Communist Party leader, Pullman porters, Negro dining car cooks and waiters crowded into open car doors.

"Hello, Ben. Good luck, Mr. Davis. How's the Councilman?" they shouted. Some came down for a brief hand-shake.

Heartened by this warm reception, Councilman Davis, on upstate campaign tour, issued two stirring appeals to the people in this Republican vote center. In an Onondaga hotel rally and a radio broadcast later he urged:

1. A big Communist vote.

2. An overwhelming Labor party vote to retire Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

Those who attended the rally and the thousands who listened to the radio broadcast later heard a new and important local voice speaking for the Communist candidate.

It was the voice of Norman Hamilton, Negro war veteran of the 93rd Division, leader of the National Association for Advancement of Colored People and Syracuse University post-graduate sociology student.

Hamilton is not a member of the Communist Party. But he came to Party headquarters offering his services in the Davis campaign. He accepted the job of introducing Davis at the rally and to the radio audience.

This 25-year-old Negro war veteran, sharing the platform with the Communist candidate, told how he and his buddies fought a war against fascism and then returned home "to discover to their dismay the menace of fascism lurking in the confines of America."

Hamilton called on the people of Syracuse, particularly the Negro people, to vote for Davis because he has a record of fighting the **"cowardly savages who hide behind the hood of the Ku Klux Klan."**

ASSAILS DEWEY

Davis followed with an attack against Gov. Dewey's failure to take firm action in driving the Ku Klux Klan out of New York state.

"Forced by exposure in the Daily Worker and pressure by the Communist Party and such organizations as the Freeport Committee," Davis declared, "the Dewey administration — at long last—was forced to dissolve the KKK. Mr. Dewey's attorney general had admitted knowledge of a list of more than 1,000 Klansmen in New York. Unless these names are made public, unless each and every one is brought to justice, then Dewey's dissolution of the Klan is an empty formality. His platitudes are so much re-election pap."

Following the meeting and broadcast, members of the Clock-Watch Social Club, local Negro fraternal group, invited Councilman Davis to attend a club dance. When the Communist candidate stepped on the dance floor the music stopped. He was called to the stage where he made a three-minute speech.

Ironically, the Communist Party had tried several weeks ago to rent the hall where the dance was held for the Davis meeting. But the Social-Democratic Federation, which owns the hall, refused to rent it for a Communist meeting. The Negroes, who later rented the hall for their dance, turned the tables on the Social Democrats. They made a special effort to invite Davis to their affair.

Albany Pastor Defies Effort to Gag Davis

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 10-18-46

By Harry Raymond

ALBANY, Oct. 17.—All arrangements had been made for suppression of the meeting and the speech. But one detail was overlooked, a mighty big and important detail at that—the Rev. Samuel B. Reed, pastor of the Israel AME Church. It was in the Rev. Reed's church—most popular of Albany's Negro houses of worship—that the meeting had been scheduled. Microphones of radio station WOKO had been set up beside the pulpit. Everything was ready. Then something happened.

A campaign of violent red baiting broke loose. Telephone calls were made. Pressure came from many directions.

The speaker was to be a New York City official, a councilman. He had been elected by overwhelming vote. But he was a Communist. And he was going to talk about that Freeport case. That's the case where a cop shot and killed Charles Ferguson, Negro GI, and his brother Alfonzo—the case later whitewashed by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey.

Somebody in Albany, perhaps the Governor, didn't want to hear any more about the Fergusons.

SPEECH GOES ON

But the good citizens of Albany, white and Negro, who came to the little church last Tuesday night, and those listening to their radios heard the story of the Governor and the Freeport case.

The speaker, Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for Attorney General, was introduced to the radio audience by the Rev. Reed on schedule. There was applause as the Negro leader stepped behind the pulpit. The Communist Party upstate campaign was under way.

The black-robed choir, the organist turned to listen. Men and women sitting in the neat rows of pews absorbed every word as the speaker lashed into the Freeport case.

"It was politics that whitewashed the Freeport case," declared Councilman Davis, "politics that let a policeman who killed two Negro vets and wounded two more, go scot free.

"Freeport is in Nassau County. Nassau County gave Dewey the largest plurality in the nation in 1944. It is THE Republican stronghold in New York State and one of the powers in county politics is none other than District Attorney James N. Gehrig, the man Dewey wouldn't remove. Gehrig's close pal is J. Russell Sprague, Nassau County boss. Sprague is the Republican National Committeeman from New York. Dewey is counting heavily on Sprague to put him over in 1946 and 1948

THE HEAT WAS ON

"Add it all up. What's the answer? Two dead Negroes and a whitewash. This is the reward of a man who doesn't want Bilboism here."

All arrangements for the meeting and radio broadcast had been made some time ago under the auspices of the Israel AME Church Forum, Pastor Reed explained. No opposition came from within the church. The Rev. Reed, indeed, has long been a leader of the Albany Committee for Justice in Freeport.

But as time for the opening of the meeting neared, heavy political pressures were brought to bear on church leaders. This necessitated the calling of a conference of the board of deacons a few hours before the scheduled broadcast. The Rev. Reed was advised to close his church doors, to call off the meeting and broadcast.

But the Rev. Reed is not a man to be swerved from his purpose by cheap and reactionary politicians. He would have no part in any evil conspiracy to trample underfoot free speech. A New York City official and Communist leader, who has fought over the long years for full and equal citizenship of the Negro people and all oppressed persons, would not be insulted in his church. The Communist message, the true story of Freeport, must reach the people. The Governor and other politicians might not like it. But that's the way the Rev. Reed felt about it. And the meeting went on according to schedule.

The Rev. Reed did not have to search for any scriptural or other authority for his decision to defy the would-be censors. But if he needed any, it was there in his church. A large service flag bearing 31 blue stars and one of gold hangs aloft near the small pipe organ. This symbol of sacrifice for democracy is mightier than all the cheap blustering threats of any one little man or group of little men in Albany today.

On Wednesday night in Public School 232 in East Flatbush, Mr. Di Giovanna spoke today on Thomas E. Dewey to the effect that "all children of the State must have equal educational opportunities regardless of race or religion." Mr. Di Giovanna, a member of the City Council from Brooklyn, added: their unanimous vote would send Herbert H. Lehman to the United States Senate "as the first Jew ever to be elected to the Senate." While Mr. Lehman was reported privately as being disturbed over the appeal for him for votes on such a basis, he has not publicly disavowed the form of Mr. Steingut's appeal for votes.

Mr. Di Giovanna spoke today on Brooklyn, Irwin Steingut, minority leader of the State Assembly, the same dais with the former member of the told an overflow audience that Governor and Spencer C. Young Brooklyn, added: their unanimous vote would send of Queens, candidate for State rt of the man Herbert H. Lehman to the United Controller. Some of his remarks sidential cam- States Senate "as the first Jew threw his own adherents into con- talize on racial ever to be elected to the Senate," fusion, and one of them remarked: to pose as a While Mr. Lehman was reported and religious privately as being disturbed over "We just lost one thousand votes here."

While Mr. Di Giovanna was icrous in view the appeal for him for votes on such a basis, he has not publicly speaking out against discrimina-

Assailing Dewey on Racial Bias, Speaker Stirs Reaction in Audience

The Times, N.Y. Sat. 10-26-46

By WILLIAM R. CONKLIN

Special to The Times

HAMILTON, N. Y., Oct. 25— Attorney General, told a luncheon audience here that he favored removal of tax exemption from any thrown as an issue was educational institution which discriminated against applicants on the ground of race, color or creed. Quoting a statement from Gov. Dewey to the second time today when Anthony Di Giovanna, candidate for

"This belated effort of Mr. Dewey, during his Presidential campaign, sought to capitalize on racial and religious hatred, to pose as a champion of racial and religious freedom is truly ludicrous in view of the record."

tion in colleges, one of the 800 former service men, who form a majority of Colgate University's enrollment of 1,250, slipped a note to the candidate's supporters which said: The Times

"He just lost 150 votes right there."

In his luncheon speech before an audience of 325 in this quiet college town Councilman Di Giovanna reviewed recent testimony before the Council Committee to investigate racial discrimination, with particular reference to spokesmen for Columbia University and Cornell Medical School.

He taxed both institutions with having set up "quota systems" on a racial basis and said that if he were elected attorney general he would enforce provisions of the civil rights law, which prescribe penalties for discrimination.

New York, N.Y.

Describes Hearing on Charges

The Brooklyn councilman in his Hamilton speech covered virtually the same ground he went over at an Albany Democratic rally Wednesday where he said:

"I was the co-sponsor of a bill in the New York City Council to investigate alleged discrimination in the colleges and professional schools in the city of New York against applications — discrimination based upon racial background, color, or creed. As chairman of this committee I called the first hearing yesterday (Tuesday), in New York's City Hall and I was shocked at some of the disclosures.

"These indicated that the charges were well-founded. It was proved that discrimination does exist, and has existed, in the selection and admission of students to professional schools."

Immediately after Mr. Di Giovanna spoke, newspapermen covering the campaign asked Colgate University for an official statement of policy on discrimination from its president, Dr. Everett Case. Dr. Case was reported out of town and no statement from him had been received late tonight.

Later Councilman Di Giovanna was asked for a transcript of his Hamilton speech and replied that he had none. Sat. 10-26-46

In response to a question from the press he said he opposed a quota system in any educational institution on any ground other than scholarship, though he conceded that other qualifications were equally important.

He denied the right of any educational institution, regardless of background, to choose its own students in proportion to population groups in the community.

Harlem Church Support 100% for Clayton Powell

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Wed. 10-30-46

The Inter-denominational Ministers Conference of Greater New York endorsed Rep. Adam Clayton Powell for re-election at its Harlem YMCA meeting Monday. Powell was endorsed by the Baptist Ministers Conference of Greater New York several weeks ago. This action by the two religious groups, representing all of New York's Negro churches, gives him unprecedented backing, by assuring him nearly 100 percent support from the ministers and their congregations.

POWELL

Another significant development was the personal endorsement of Powell by two prominent Republican ministers, Rev. Thomas Harten of the Holy Trinity Church, and Rev. George H. Sims, of the Union Baptist Church.

Rev. Harten denounced the Republican Party and its candidate, Grant Reynolds, who is opposing Powell. "It is an insult to us Negroes to have a man like Powell's opponent forced on us by party bosses," Rev. Harten said. "This man (Reynolds) has never done one thing to help the Negro, and he hasn't even promised anything. Powell has done more for the Negro people in 18 months than any other Congressman in 10 years.

Rev. Sims declared, "We must give consideration to Dr. Powell because his voice is raised in Washington for the Negro people."

The issues of the campaign are being brought nightly to the people of Harlem by the Powell Band Wagon, which has begun in intensive street corner campaign.

For the past two weeks Reynolds has engaged in vicious personal slanders against Powell, while avoiding taking a stand on the specific issues facing the voters of Harlem.

These issues were discussed by Powell at a Mead-Lehman rally at the Golden Gate Ballroom last Sunday. Reynolds has attempted to play on the Negro people's indignation over the lynching of Negroes in the South and turning it into a mass switch to the GOP.

The recent murder of the Ferguson brothers in Freeport and the whitewash of the killer cop, Joseph Romeika, by Nassau District Attorney James N. Gehrig, GOP bigwig, is never mentioned by Reynolds.

The critical need for housing and the tremendous number of boarded up houses in Harlem are likewise avoided by Reynolds out of deference to Gov. Dewey who blames the Federal government for his own deceit on housing matters.

Powell has publicly charged that American Action is out to eliminate him from Congress and that the Republican Party is pouring thousands of dollars into Harlem in an effort to defeat him.

Mrs. Staupers Backs Collins for Senate

The afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — Mabel Staupers prominent Republican and retired Executive Secretary of the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses today endorsed Charles A. Collins, vice-president of the National Negro Congress, to be elected as the first colored person to the New York State Senate. Mrs. Staupers was a pioneer in the organization of colored nurses and their integration in the city's hospitals, and during the last war spearheaded the drive for inclusion of colored nurses in the Army Nurse Corps. Sat. 10-26-46

Mrs. Staupers' statement read:

"For 169 years, since the New York State Senate was organized, there has never been a colored member of that legislative body. I think that the time has come when we should be thinking of upsetting that lily-white tradition. We have the opportunity of doing so by electing Charles A. Collins who is the candidate of the American Labor and the Peoples Rights Party for State Senator in the 21st Senatorial District."

The Man Who Shook Hands With Ben Davis' Father

The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-3-46

By Harry Raymond

As the big sound truck pulled up to the corner of Franklin and Deer Sts., in Brooklyn's 11th Assembly District, I noticed a man wearing a dark soft hat edge through the crowd to where he could get a good view of the speaker.

Georgia-born Benjamin J. Davis lone Negro member of the City Council and Communist candidate for Attorney General, mounted the platform. Dark-skinned men and women—people from the Jimcrow Bedford-Stuyvesant area—pressed around the truck, absorbing every word of the speaker, applauding, shouting, approving.

But the man who seemed to be enjoying it more than all the rest was the man in the dark soft hat.

"Communists and Negroes must be elected to the highest offices in the land," declared Davis, his voice carrying four blocks, in four directions, through the dark streets.

Davis concluded, amid bursts of applause, telling the Bedford-Stuyvesant voters not only to vote Communist and Labor next Tuesday, but to join the Communist Party and make it strong and big. The man in the dark soft hat applauded vigorously. He vanished through the rim of the audience.

★

I WAS WONDERING who he was, why he seemed to stand out under the street light in such a big crowd. His face was lighter than most of the rest. Perhaps that was the reason. Perhaps it was the intense interest he displayed in the speaker. But there was no answer.

Then a voice called out the name: "Mr. Davis." The Councilman had entered an automobile that was to speed him to Brooklyn's biggest Communist election rally in Williamsburg's Lorraine Manor.

"Mr. Davis," the voice called, **"I want to ask you a question."**

It was the man in the dark soft hat. He spoke with a marked Georgia accent.

"My name's Smith," the man said, **"Smith from Atlanta. I've been in the Air Corps in India. I'm living with my family in Brooklyn now. I knew your father. Was taken up to shake hands with him when I was a little boy. But he was a big capitalist, a Republican. Tell me how you became a Communist."**

★

"I LEARNED LONG AGO," Davis replied, shaking Smith's hand. **"I learned that the Negroes, my people, are finding their freedom and will eventually find it through alliance with the labor movement and not the Republican and Democratic parties of the big capitalists. The Communist Party has proved through deeds, through uncompromising battles against Jimcrow and the lynchers, through its fight for the common man and its program of socialism—it has proved it is the party of the Negro people."**

The man in the dark hat beamed. Under the street lights he appeared more Caucasian than Negro. The next 10 minutes were packed with warm conversation about the home folks in Atlanta. The man in the dark hat made a date to meet the Councilman again in the latter's Harlem office.

"That's fine," said Smith. "I've been thinking that way myself here in Brooklyn and in India and all over the world. I learned a lot in the Army. I'm going to vote for you. And I'm getting my friends to vote for the Communist candidates, too."

The Davis campaign car moved off toward Williamsburg. Smith took off his hat and waved it.

★

"GOOD BYE," he said. "Good luck, Ben. I'll be seeing you at your next meeting. And I'm bringing a friend."

During this election campaign I have seen dozens of little dramas like the meeting of Councilman Davis and Mr. Smith. In Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Schenectady, men, laborers, came up to shake for full freedom of the Negro people—for a better in the far-flung five boroughs of the hand of the Communist Coun- and all common people—for a better New York City—everywhere the cilman, to pledge him their support democratic world, for socialism. Communist candidate for Attorney and their votes.

General appeared, Negro workers, But Councilman Davis always men and women, came up to him on asks his well-wishes to do something more than vote for him and the street, cornered him in railroad his running-mate, Robert Thompdepots, on trains and at meeting son, candidate for Comptroller. He halls. tells them to get into the Communist Party and fight along with him

Redcaps, Pullman porters, clergy-

45a 1946

Campaigns (New York)

Collins Ruled Off Primary Ballots On Flimsy Pretext

Daily Worker
Thursday - 8-1-46
New York, New York

Amid angry protests from Negroes and trade unionists present, the Board of Elections yesterday ruled Charles A. Collins, Negro AFL leader, off the Democratic and Republican primary ballots for State Senate in Manhattan's 21st district.

The Election Board acted yesterday after a bitter hearing marked by open threats and anti-Negro bias on the part of David B. Costuma, Republican Board member.

Collins, who is the regular American Labor Party designee for state senate, will appeal to the Supreme Court Friday to reverse the Board decision.

Negro organizations and trade unions throughout the city were ready to go to bat on behalf of Collins' appeal before the court.

The Board decision in the case of the Democratic primary petition, which is the decisive one since the district is Democratic, was on the flimsiest of grounds.

It was based on the testimony of Clemente E. Jacobi, secretary-treasurer of the printing firm of Collinson & Klingman, 301 Adams Ave., Brooklyn, who printed the petitions. Thurs. 8-1-46

Prodded by attorney for Harold I. Panken, Democratic machine designee against Collins who brought the suit, Jacobi told the Board he had delivered two sets of petitions to Collins headquarters, on June 12 and June 24, Panken contended the signatures on the petitions were predated.

Panken insisted 160 of the 513 petition sheets for Collins were fraudulent. He did not, however, challenge the validity of the 1,369 signatures on the other sheets, more than enough to qualify Collins.

Nathan Dambroff, appearing as Collins' attorney, refused to testify on the grounds the Board of Elections was not a court of law, had no legal right to disqualify the petitions, but had to accept them as sufficient on their face.

The action against the Negro trade union leader jolted a crowded hearing room on the fourth floor of the Board of Election offices at 400 Broome St. into demonstrative protests. New York N.Y.

Costuma, making no pretense of his animosity against Collins, acted as Republican hatchet-man for the

COLLINS

Democrats at the hearing yesterday. He refused to permit Dombroff to offer rebuttal against charges of "fraud" and "crime" and "forgery" made by Nathan J. Stein, attorney for Panken. Thurs. 8-1-46

Dombroff challenged the board's arbitrary rulings and accused the board of abetting the lynch spirit running rampant throughout the South. Costuma blandly told Dombroff to "take it up with President Truman." The angry campaign workers for Collins—unionists, church members, representatives of mass organizations—who jammed the hearing, roared back, "We're taking it up with you, Costuma."

The Republican Board of Elections Commissioner even attempted to tell Collins how to run his campaign. "You're covering up the word 'Negro' on your signs in my district," he shouted, implying that Collins was seeking to secure votes from white residents by hiding his identity. New York N.Y.

Collins tossed the implication right back at Costuma and told the commissioner to stick to his job and "not intimidate me into how to run my campaign or print my signs."

Collins to File Final Brief Today

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

Counsel for Charles Collins, state senatorial candidate, will file a final brief today (Monday) with State Supreme Court Justice Samuel Dickstein, asking validation of Collins' Democratic primary petitions. The petitions were thrown out by the Board of Elections on a technicality.

Today's action follows last week's hearings before the judge. Collins' opponent, Harold I. Panken, Democratic machine candidate, will also file a brief. New York 8-9-46

Foes' Tricks Adding Vim to Collins Drive

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Wed. 8-7-45

By Max Gordon

Democratic machine efforts to tie up in the courts the state senatorial campaign for Charles A. Collins in Manhattan's 21st district are proving a boomerang.

Collins, Negro AFL leader, is fighting for the Democratic nomination in the Aug. 20 primaries. His machine opponent is Harold I. Panken.

Collins has the American Labor Party designation.

Panken and the Democratic organization are trying to knock out the Collins petition on technical grounds. They got the Board of Eelections to go along, and the case is now before State Supreme Court Justice Samuel Dickstein.

The tactic of the Democratic organization is to keep the court procedure going as long as possible. The idea is that as long as it is not certain whether or not Collins will be on the Democratic primary ballot, workers will be reluctant to campaign for him.

CAN WIN STRAIGHT FIGHT

The organization knows that in a straight-out drive among the 42,000 Democratic enrollees, Collins would probably win the primary. Not only are a majority of these voters Negroes, anxious to break through the lily-white traditions of the State Senate, but many white progressive Democrats are giving their support to the Negro laborite.

Collins and his campaign staff, headed by director Howard Johnson, have been busy exposing the Democratic tactic. The result is that instead of paralyzing election workers, it has increased their fighting, **and the number of election workers has increased in the past several days.**

In addition to the Democratic primary fight, Collins plans to start circulating an independent party nominating petition in the next few days. If he should be ruled off the ballot, he will appear in the November elections both as the ALP nominee and the candidate of an independent party.

"Regardless of the court hearings, I am in this fight to stay," Collins told the Daily Worker yesterday. "It is not an individual battle. It is a struggle to break down the lily-white state Senate in what is supposed to be the most enlightened state in the Union.

"It is a battle against the major party political bosses who, like Talmadge and Bilbo, will use any method to block the Negro's participation in politics on an equal basis. Whether or not I take the Democratic primary, I will be in the fight to win on Election Day."

congressional nomination in the 21st District spoke at several open air rallies over the week-end on the National Negro Congress and the Gethsemane Baptist Church.

There are 3,000 enrolled Republicans in the district, half of whom are Negro. Canvassers report excellent response from the white Republicans in the area.

Headquarters for Addison have been set up at 1175 Boston Road. The 7th A.D., covers the Boston Road and Crotona Park areas. Active in the drive are Harry Warner, chairman of the Progressive Republican District Committee for the Nomination of Chester Addison and Ruth Hopkins, campaign manager.

Roy Soden, co-manager of the Laundry Workers Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and ALP district leader, is backing Addison.

CAMPAIGN NOTES: Councilman Eugene V. Connolly seeking the two major parties

Addison Fights Machine Grip On Negro Negro in Bronx

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Tues. 7-9-46
By Louise Mitchell

Bronx progressives are working to break the Jimcrow hold the two major parties have on the political life of the borough. They see an excellent chance to send the first Negro from the Bronx to the State Assembly in the coming election.

Chester Addison, veteran of World War II, is seeking the Republican nomination in the 7th A.D., located in the center of the Bronx, fairly evenly divided between Negroes and whites. The majority of the Negroes in the 7th A.D. live in the Bronx, fairly

Addison is the candidate of the Progressive Republican Committee formed last year. The group broke away from the Bronx GOP after the county organization rejected a district suggestion by Abraham Levy.

Addison was educated at the University of Virginia and is a member of the Marine Division of the American Communications Association. He is associated with the Re-Negro from the Bronx started the campaign on their own initiative. They have been assisted by Labor Party which is publican Committee for the Nomination of Chester Addison and ALP nominee Ruth Hopkins, campaign manager.

Roy Soden, co-manager of the Laundry Workers Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and ALP district leader, is backing Addison.

CAMPAIGN NOTES: Councilman Eugene V. Connolly seeking the

Write-In Drive for Collins: Candidate's Petition Denied

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Under the slogan of "No lily-white primary," an aroused Harlem electorate embarked yesterday on the first mass write-in campaign in its history. Purpose of the campaign is to name Charles A. Collins, Negro AFL leader, as the people's candidate in both the Democratic and Republican primaries in the 21st Senatorial district next Tuesday.

The write-in campaign was made necessary because the Board of Elections threw out Collins' primary petitions on the flimsiest technicalities in an effort to block the drive for the election of the first Negro state senator in New York history.

Judge Samuel Dickstein yesterday upheld the Election Board's action in the case of the Democratic petitions. Wed 8-14-46

COLLINS
Write-In Candidate

Campaigners Needed

Howard Johnson, campaign managr for Charles A. Collins, appealed yesterday for election workers to aid in the fight against the "lily-white primary" and the "lily-white senate" of New York. Collins headquarters are at 1967 Seventh Ave., in Harlem. They are open every day and evening.

Collins' attorneys have declared they will take their case to the highest court in the state, if necessary.

Meanwhile, however, in response to the demands of thousands of Harlem citizens who have attended open air rallies and meetings for Collins, his campaign committee has decided to proceed with a mass write-in drive.

The Negro trade unionist is the official designee of the American Labor Party. His Democratic opponent, Harold I. Panken, who initiated the action to have his Democratic petitions invalidated, has also filed in the ALP primary.

Collins' backers intend to swamp Panken with an avalanche of ALP primary votes on August 20.

Wed 8-14-46

"Failure to conduct such a write-in campaign would deprive the Negro people of all primary expression in the major parties," Howard Johnson, campaign manager of Collins, said yesterday. **"There are 571,000 Negroes in the state and there has never been a single Negro state senator. We want no lily-white primaries and no lily-white senate in the State of New York."**

City CIO-PAC Director Daniel Allen promised full backing to the write-in campaign, which he said, was the **"best political weapon the Negroes have in this primary."**

The committee has decided to place full page ads in several of the metropolitan and Negro press; it is proceeding with a sticker campaign, sound trucks in the streets seven hours a day at six locations in Harlem, mailings to the entire enrolled electorate of the two major parties, radio broadcasts and circulars.

It is depending a great deal, however, on a large turnout of canvassers to reach the tens of thousands of enrolled voters this final week of the primary drive.

Collins' opponent in the GOP primary is Joseph Richter, white attorney.

MEAD CALLS DEWEY LAX ON 'BILBOISM'

Times New York, N.Y.
Mon. 10-28-46

Harlem Crowd Cheers Allusion to Freeport Case—Record of 'Do-Nothing' Laid to Rival

By CLAYTON KNOWLES

With victory won on the battle-front, the "unfinished business of democracy" is to achieve equality of opportunity and civil rights "right here in America," Senator James M. Mead declared yesterday afternoon. He addressed a crowd of 2,000 at an American Labor party rally in Harlem's Golden Gate Ballroom.

The Democratic-American Labor-Liberal candidate for Governor, calling for equal rights for all to employment, the electoral franchise, decent housing, adequate minimum wages, education and a generally broader plan of social security, denounced lynching as an "unspeakable crime constituting the foremost threat to free government in America."

"And I mean lynching wherever it is found; I mean it in New York State as much as in Mississippi," he said to the thunder of the crowd's applause.

Dewey's Liberalism Questioned

This evident reference to the Ferguson case in Freeport, L. I., where two Negro brothers were killed by a patrolman who later was exonerated in an investigation ordered by Governor Dewey, led the candidate into a full-scale attack on his Republican opponent, whom he labeled a "self-pronounced liberal."

"It is pretty safe to attack Bilboism in Mississippi from the Executive Mansion in Albany for political reasons," Mr. Mead said. "But Mr. Dewey's failure to take a stand on Bilboism in the State of New York and in Washington, D. C., nails the lies to his campaign-produced, falsely proclaimed liberal record."

The Senator charged that Mr. Dewey stood idle as fifteen Republican members of the House of Representatives from New York State voted to continue the Dies-Wood-Rankin Committee on Un-American Activities and was still idle as fourteen of them voted against the Fair Employment Practice Commission Bill. He said the Committee on Un-American Activities was "notorious for its smearing and baiting of liberal and labor organizations and of racial minorities."

Recalling that Governor Dewey had ordered one of his own appointees in Queens dismissed when it was learned that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan, Mr. Mead demanded to know why the Governor had not then published the names of more than 1,000 persons on the Ku Klux Klan membership list.

"Why, too, haven't there been prosecutions under the Walker Act?" he asked. "These are questions that remain unanswered."

Later, at another large rally conducted by the Council of Polish-American Democratic Clubs of Queens, the Democratic candidate scored the "Dewey-do-nothing" record.

The Times

"The opportunity to provide true leadership has been before Governor Dewey since he took the oath of office, but he has failed to grasp this opportunity," Senator Mead said. "Instead, he has had his eyes glued on the White House, and everything in New York State, every need of the people, every demand of the times has been held in abeyance until he was ready to move."

New York, N.Y.

Charging Mr. Dewey with "constant unconstructive heckling," the Senator asserted that the Governor "stood by and did nothing while his Republican partisans in the Congress stalled and delayed on every bit of constructive legislation offered to them in the past year."

Mon. 10-28-46

"I charge that in four years of stirring struggle for our very lives, Mr. Dewey did not contribute one single thing to the cause of victory," he declared. "I charge that now that victory has been won, Mr. Dewey is not contributing a fair measure of the resources of the State to those who won the victory."

A Claghorn Grows in Brooklyn

The News and Courier

Senator Claghorn, whose campaign oratory tilts against the Yankees, has his counterpart in the North. Some gifted comic ought to caricature in sound the Northern version of radio's popular figure. To start the ball rolling, we nominate as a possible model Attorney General Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Republican candidate for re-election in New York State. He sounds like a New Dealer appealing to the city mob. As usual, he is running in the North against fancied enemies in the South.

Charleston, S.C.

Hear Mr. Goldstein, entrenched on the frigid side of the Mason and Dixon Line, trumpeting the Battle Cry of Freedom through a news article in the New York Herald Tribune:

Mon. 10-28-46

"There never will be any room in this state for the sheet-robed night riders of Bilboism so long as the Dewey administration remains in power to safeguard the rights of all the people—irrespective of race, color or creed... I was proud to smash the attempt of the Ku Klux Klan to raise its ugly head in these parts... The day is not far off when the reactionaries who have managed to railroad every liberal measure will feel the wrath of the American people. Yes, in Brooklyn we have a proper name for that kind of railroad. We call it the B-R-T, and I don't mean Brooklyn Rapid Transit. I mean B for Bilbo, R for Rankin and T for Talmadge. The people of America are weary of Southern Democrats who block an anti-poll tax measure, an anti-lynching bill and a Fair Employment Practices act. They are tired of empty promises and lip service on the part of the party in power in Washington."

Mr. Goldstein is appealing to the groups that wield the balance of power, and high among them are the inhabitants of Harlem. It is estimated that 50 per cent of the negro vote in New York state is concentrated on Manhattan island within shouting distance of his Brooklyn platform. In a close election the negroes might swing the margin of victory.

Though a Republican, Mr. Goldstein is talking the New Democratic language. He runs against Bilbo not in Mississippi, but in New York. It might be Claude Pepper or Ellis Arnall or Marcantonio, Walter White or Dr. Foreman talking.

Rep. Powell Opens Campaign; Cites Gains for Negroes

New York, N. Y.
Daily Worker

The independent non-partisan committee for the re-election of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., to Congress formally launched its campaign yesterday with an initial committee meeting at the Abyssinian Baptist Church.

In his first campaign speech Rep. Powell spoke on "Things I have accomplished during my 18 months in Congress."

Citing a long list of actions taken in behalf of his constituents and on matters of vital interest to the Negro people and others, he specified:

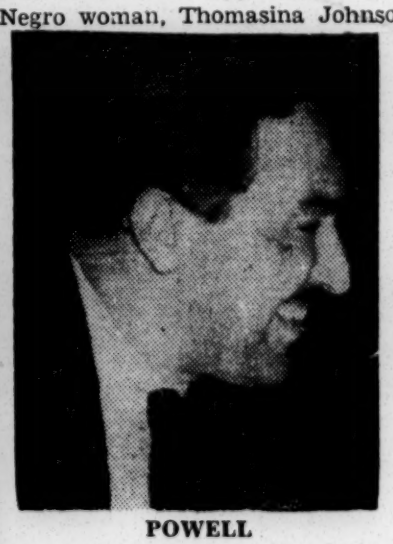
1. The appointment to the Annapolis Naval Academy of Weslie Brown, the first Negro to complete one year at that institution.

2. Proposed an amendment to the federal educational bill barring aid to states discriminating against Negro children in the allocation of lunch expenditures. This was the first piece of legislation proposed by a Negro to be passed in Congress since the days of Reconstruction.

3. Secured, with Rep. Marcantonio, a resolution by the House labor committee to take up FEPC on every calendar Wednesday.

4. Proposed a bill to abolish Jimcrow in interstate transportation which was defeated by a Republican-Democratic coalition. 7-8-46

5. Secured the appointment of a Negro woman, Thomasina Johnson,



POWELL

to the minorities branch of the labor department, making her the highest paid woman in United States government service. 7-8-46

Another victory in New York City involved the appointment of a Negro, Louis Chisholm, as a secretary to the fire commissioner. On his voting record he voted for Bretton Woods, for the increase of post office employes' salaries, for the continuation of OPA and against the booby trap OPA. He voted against the abolition of the National Labor Relations Board.

He also voted against the Barsky contempt citation, and against the Case Bill.

He explained that his three longest absences from Congress were on the occasion of his mother's death, an illness just after the Negro freedom rally, and the death of his wife's mother. Monday

Secretary of Commerce Henry Wallace and Councilman Benjamin Davis have endorsed Powell.

Joe Louis has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the re-election committee. Hon. vice chairman is J. Finley Wilson, Republican Grand Exalted Ruler of the Elks. Campaign chairman is Dr. Godfrey Nurse, Democrat. Mrs. Angelina Blocker, Republican, is co-chairman, Odell Clerk, American Labor Party, vice chairman, Rev. George Sims, Jr., Republican vice chairman, Mrs. Elizabeth Ross Haynes, Democrat, is recording secretary; Wilford Lewin, Republican, corresponding secretary. Treasurers are Charles Buchanan, **Peoples Voice** publisher and Frank Shiffman, owner of the Apollo Theatre.

The Conspiracy Against Harlem

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Wed 7-17-46

By Benjamin J. Davis

The candidacy of Charles A. Collins, militant young Negro AFL leader, from the 21st Senatorial District, represents the determination of the people to break down the reactionary lily-white barriers which have thus far prevented a Negro from being elected to the highest legislative body in New York—the State Senate.

His election would promote the cause of Negro rights, democracy and unity, and further the anti-fascist people's coalition on a national scale.

In the State Senate, Collins would be a forceful voice in the interest of peace, for the rights of labor, for the outlawing of jimcrow and anti-Semitism, and for combatting the rapacious onslaught of the big monopolies upon the living standards of the people of our state.

Unlike the machine-picked hacks who appear on the political horizon the night before the election campaign, Collins has been in the midst of the peoples struggles in Harlem for more than a decade. He has become well-known as a spokesman and leader of the fight for decent housing and jobs and for the end of the second-class citizenship which still plagues Negro Americans.

Violence is not the only means through which Negroes have been denied their democratic rights in the electoral field. There are more subtle means too. The latter have been employed by the political bosses in order to keep Negroes out of the State Senate. In the area of the 21st Senatorial District there has been over the years a "gentlemen's agreement" between the two major parties which has operated as a conspiracy preventing any Negro from being elected to the State Senate. This area has been carefully gerrymandered by agreement between the two parties to prevent the lily-white precedent of the State Senate from being broken.

This "gentlemen's agreement" has been faithfully observed by the Dewey-controlled Republican machine and by the reactionaries who dominate the Democratic Party.

Even when a non-partisan citizens committee, Negro and white—including many Republicans and Democrats—wrote letters to the two major parties asking them to designate a Negro for the Senate from this area, the committee was discourteously and, in a very ungentlemanly fashion, ignored. What kind of "gentleman" can these be who behave in this manner and who conspire for more than a quarter of a century to deny the Negro people full-fledged representation in the State Senate?

While Collins is the American Labor Party nominee, he is backed by a broad group of citizens from all parties and walks of life, including independent Democrats and Republicans who are fed up with spineless, unrepresentative, boss-picked candidates.

Collins is the unity candidate—the people's candidate. All labor and people's forces—Negro and white—should rally to his support to guarantee that he makes a clean sweep of the three primaries on Aug. 20. It's a tough job but it can be done. It is a part of the aggressive campaign of the Negro people and supported by their labor and progressive allies, against mounting political reaction and bigotry.

Charles Collins Fights Trick To Bar Him From Demo Primary

The New Yorker

New Yorkers were shocked this week when the Board of Elections, in an obviously biased move, ruled out the Democratic primary petitions of Charles A. Collins, Negro AFL leader running for State Senate in Manhattan's 21st District.

Collins is the first Negro nominee for Senate in the State's history with a chance to be elected. He is also a prominent trade union official. Sun. 8-4-46

The ruling of the board was on the flimsiest of grounds. It was charged that a handful of Collins' signatures were dated before they were actually gotten. Even if the challenged signatures were invalidated, there were far more than enough remaining to make him eligible for the primaries. All courts have ruled that petitions are valid if there are enough valid signatures.

The board ruling is being challenged in the courts.

WIN OR LOSE, the fight to elect Collins will go on with increased vigor, his backers have stated, with the possibility that they will put an independent Negro unity line in the field besides his ALP nomination. They may also conduct a write-in drive for him in the Democratic primary if the courts should rule against him, which his supporters do not expect.

The district is about 50 percent Negro Senator. 8-4-46
Negro. Among the whites are many progressives who are bitter about the jimcrow character of the board's decision and will back Collins to the hilt.

Both major parties have worked in collusion for years to keep the Negro people from gaining political equality. They have succeeded thus far in blocking the election of a candidate will win the election.

Beat the Tories In the Primaries

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.
Mon. 8/19/46

TOMORROW'S New York primaries are the high point in the 1946 pre-election contests held throughout the nation these several months.

The swing to reaction, which monopoly had confidently expected in these Congressional primaries, has thus far failed to materialize. While there has been no decisive change in the character of Congress, all significant changes that have taken place, except for the defeat of Luther Patrick in Alabama, have been in the direction of progress.

It is within the power of the citizens of New York to see to it that the changes made continue in that direction without setbacks.

To a greater extent, perhaps, than elsewhere, labor and its progressive allies have united to see that the most advanced spokesmen for progress in Congress and the State Legislature are re-elected and that others are added.

Of top significance for the nation is the drive to re-elect Rep. Vito Marcantonio in the 18th Congressional District. No member of Congress can approach the record Rep. Marcantonio has rung up on every issue affecting the lives of the American people.

He was among the organizers of the Congressional committee to win the peace and of the Congressional committee to protect the consumer. He led the floor fight against the atrocious first OPA bill which President Truman later vetoed and was among those who fought most bitterly for extension of OPA without amendments.

Sponsor and manager of the anti-polltax bill, he steered it through the House on several occasions, only to be blocked by the filibuster in the Senate.

Bitterly and persistently has he fought the Southern tories and their Northern allies to try to put through the permanent FEPC.

It was he who steered the floor fight to sustain the Truman veto of the anti-union Case bill. He was one of a tiny handful of courageous Congressmen who did not permit themselves to be stampeded into voting for the Truman draft-strikers measure.

The veterans have had no more persistent champion in Congress in the struggle for housing, for liberalization of the GI Bill of Rights, for aid to disabled vets. Almost single-handedly he compelled Rep. John Rankin to accept the bill to give special care to veteran amputees after the Mississippi polltaxer tried to bottle up the measure in his committee.

His nomination in all primaries becomes the first job of all trade unionists and other progressives in New York.

In the 17th, a small band of liberal Republicans is bucking the powerful Dewey GOP machine in order to return to Congress one of the few Republicans, Rep. Joseph Clark Baldwin, who took seriously the platform pledges which the GOP had made by way of demagogy in 1944. It is characteristic of the GOP that the machine has chosen as the man to defeat Baldwin State Sen. Fredreactionary, whose law firm was associated with the notorious collaborationist regime of France.

In the 22d, Rep. A. Clayton Powell, first Negro to be elected to Congress in the East, is fighting for re-election. It may be argued that his chief opponent, Grant Reynolds, is also a Negro. But there is something deeply suspicious about a Negro candidate running under the banner of GOP Boss Tom Curran, whose sole campaign issue is "absenteeism" of his opponent and not the struggle against Bilboism and all that it means in America.

In Queens' 4th and Manhattan's 21st, the two labor candidates, Eugene P. Connolly and George Rooney, are battling against foes whose chief backer is the Christian Front.

Mon. 8/19/46

Outstanding in the battle for labor's legislative candidates is the high degree of unity between labor and the Negro people. That unity is expressed in the fight to break through the lily-white traditions of the State Legislature with a candidate who is a leading AFL official. It is expressed, too, in the effort to elect Negro officials for the first time from Brooklyn and the Bronx.

In the Bronx, labor is battling for the re-election of the most progressive fighter the Legislature has seen in many years, Leo Isacson. That campaign is also directed at weakening the hold of Democratic Boss Ed Flynn on the politics of the county, a hold he has sought to use to prevent coalition of progressive Democrats with labor.

The issues involved in this primary struggle are all the issues that confront the people in Congress and the State Legislature. Victory for the labor-backed nominees will inevitably strengthen the coalition of labor and its allies and the influence of that coalition in the struggle for its progress.

That victory can be won, provided the trade unionists and other progressives turn out en masse tomorrow to get out the vote and guard the polls.

N.Y. Offers Candidates in All Major Divisions

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 7-27-46

NEW YORK (ANP).—For the first time in New York's political history, there are candidates to the three legislative offices in the State Assembly, State Senate and Congress with the office of city councilman already filled by a colored man.

Candidates for the State Assembly are Golden Brown (Republican) and Cyril Stephens (Democrat) from the 11th District, Wilis N. Mitchell (Republican) and James J. Ravenall (Democrat) in the 12th District, and in the 14th, Hulan E. Jack (Democrat).

A little higher on the political rung is the State Senate for which J. Finley Wilson, grand exalted ruler of the Elks, is the Republican designee in the 23rd District. His Democratic opponent is white.

Collins Seeks Nomination

In the 21st, Charles A. Collins has both the Republican and Democrat endorsements, it is said, while the Rev. Benjamin Richardson, recent columnist for the People's Voice, seeks the designation in this district also.

Adam Powell is seeking a second term, although Grant Reynolds, who, unlike Adam, has a good war record, has the support of the veterans and Republicans. Powell has the church on his side and the "people."

NY Board Rules Negro Off Ballot

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 8-10-46

1,369 Valid Backers Of Collins Voided

NEW YORK — Political tensions mixed with heavy overtones of traditional Dixie Jim Crowism hit here last week when the Board of Election commissioners ruled Charles A. Collins, American Labor party candidate for state senator, off the primary ballot.

Nat Danbroff, attorney for Collins, said after the meeting that a show cause order, returnable on Aug. 5, had been filed in the Supreme court through which he hoped to have the Collins' petitions declared valid.

The decision of the board was greeted by more than 200 supporters of Charles Collins with cries of "Go Down to Georgia!" and "You belong with Bilbo and Talmadge!"

Although Collins originally filed 3400 names on his petition for a place on the Democratic ticket, 1,369 of which were found valid, the entire nominating petition was declared void by the election board.

Anti-Negro sentiments were voiced and a Tammany nominee present voiced the argument heretofore heard only below the Mason-Dixon line that the N. Y. Democratic party was an "exclusive club for members only."

After the board had ruled out the 1369 valid signatures, which would have put Collins' name on the ballot since only 700 are needed, without giving any reason for so doing, Harold I. Pankin, regular Democratic nominee, tried to further influence the board in a second case by introducing false charges against Collins. Perkins claimed that the entire petition was thereby voided. The printer testified he had altered only a few names on the petitions.

Dambroff declared that the whole procedure was entirely irregular and represented a conspiracy to keep a Negro off the ballot. Not one single signature, he said, was obtained before the printing of the petitions. The election board has gone beyond its intended functions and is usurping the powers of a court, the attorney declared.

During the course of the meeting, Commissioner David B. Costuma showed his anti-Negro bias by criticising the posters of the Collins campaign which called for "the election of the first Negro to the State Senate." Costuma, who is one of the regular Republican leaders in the 21st district, in which Collins is running is apparently determined to prevent his election even if he has to use Bilbo tactics to do it.

Capt. Myron Sulzburger Jr., World War veteran and regular Democratic nominee for representative in the 17th congressional district at the meeting criticized Joseph Clark Baldwin for attempting to get the Democratic nomination after his petition had been voided by the board.

Sulzburger said that it was time to put a stop to attempts of those not regularly enrolled in a political party to raid it and defeat the wishes of a vast majority of the voters at a primary. He claimed the two party system was devised for and should benefit those who belong to it and the primary was designed to afford those who belong to the party and believe in its principles the opportunity to select candidates in the general election.

The Rev. Robert Williams of the Shiloh Church of Christ in Harlem said, "This is lynch rule, Northern style. I am shocked beyond words at the high handed attempt to keep Collins off the ballot. The Negro people of Harlem and their white brethren in the 21st senatorial district will not take this lying down. Collins is vice president of the Hotel and Club Employees union, local 6, AFL. He declared after the meeting of the board that the ruling was a deliberate attempt to keep Negroes away from the polls.

Harlem Turns Thumbs Down on Dewey

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Gov. Dewey showed the Negro people what a "friend" he is to them last Saturday night at the Golden Gate ballroom in Harlem, when he called three Negro veterans "the scum of the earth." The veterans were beaten and thrown into the street by strong-arm men who came with Dewey. In the top picture, the cops are shown breaking up a picket line in front of the ballroom. Below, the people who saw the cops and detectives break up the picket line are turning thumbs down on Dewey. They are listening to Dorothy Langston of the Committee for Justice in Freeport tell how Dewey refused to bring to justice the cop who killed the Ferguson

Confusing the Issues

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

New York People's Voice reports in a news story that Congressman Adam Powell, running as a Democrat in the recent Republican-Democratic Primaries, polled 9,811 votes. The combined vote of all his opponents was 2,855.

The Congressman won the Democratic nomination but lost the Republican nomination to former Army Chaplain Grant Reynolds.

The campaign was picturesque. A news story reports one instance in which Mr. Reynolds and Congressman Powell spoke from the same truck near the Theresa Hotel.

The story quotes Mr. Reynolds somewhat along this line:

"Congressman Powell is a good friend of mine but why did he leave his wife? Congressman Powell and I go out to take a drink together occasionally, but he ought to decide whether he is going to be a minister or a Congressman."

That kind of campaign speech might be effective in New York but every thoughtful person would admit that it does not get down to the issues involved.

Now as to Mr. Powell. An official statement from his office said: Sat. 9-7-46

"Reports have reached this office that the Rankin-Bilbo Southern group is preparing to pour money into Harlem to elect Congressman Powell's opponent. In the language of Bilbo,

'I would rather see any colored man in Congress than Powell.'"

I should say that this is about as much nonsense and as far off the beaten track as Mr. Reynolds's discussion of Congressman Powell's private life.

Every thinking person knows that the Bilbo-Rankin group is not going to put any money in Harlem to fight Powell or elect Reynolds. The Bilbo-Rankin group hasn't any money.

The last time Bilbo got out of office he had to take a newspaper clipping job in Washington to get bread and butter.

William Hale Thompson got himself elected mayor of Chicago by promising to punch the king of England in the nose on sight. Bilbo gets elected by saying that if he is sent to Congress he will do his best to fight guys like Powell.

Now Powell proposes to get elected by making his constituents fearful that the Bilbo influence is likely to come into New York.

Davis Assails Dewey At Freeport Rally

Daily Worker New York, N. Y.

Wed. 10-30-46

FREEPORT, N. Y., Oct. 29.—Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Communist candidate for attorney general, told an election rally last night that had it not been for the Communist Party the shooting to death here last February of Charles Ferguson, Negro GI, and his brother would have been "hushed up" and forgotten.

Davis spoke in Cotton Inn, on Sunrise Highway, a short distance from the bus terminal where Policeman Joseph Romeika, without provocation, turned his blazing gun on the Fergusons.

He recited the history of the Ferguson case—how a few Freeport Communists launched the fight in behalf of the bereaved Negro family, rallying Negro and white workers throughout the state and nation demanding punishment of the slayer.

"You have raised the question whether or not we shall have lynch justice in New York," Davis told the audience, mostly Negroes, which filled the Cotton Inn.

"You raised the question whether or not the most liberal state, New York, shall continue to have as its Governor a man who whitewashed the lynching of the two Ferguson brothers, a man who permits the policeman who lynched them to continue to walk the beat. You should be proud you fought that case.

"And, even though we haven't yet won that case, the fact that you fought for justice has put every Governor in the United States on notice, every policeman, that Negroes cannot be shot down and lynched on our streets. You have stuck by your guns. I am sure you will stick by your guns. And that means one thing: Romeika's removal from the police department, his indictment and prosecution.

Davis called on Nassau County voters to:

1. Vote, first, Row E for the Communist candidates.

2. Pile up a tremendous American Labor Party vote on Row C to defeat Dewey and the Republican Party of the Freeport whitewash.

But Negro and white workers have to do more than vote, Davis told the Nassau County audience. He asked them to become members of the Communist Party.

Several lined up to receive party application cards after Davis declared: "I know, even if you are not a member of the Communist Party, you are saying: 'Thank God we had a Communist Party in these parts.' Gov. Dewey doesn't want you to join the Communist Party, Joseph Romeika doesn't want you to join. That's a good reason for you to join. If a small Communist Party in Freeport can make so many big shots worry, just what could we accomplish with a big Communist Party?"

When the meeting ended, Negro workers gathered around the Councilman to get his signature on their applications.

JUSTICE? WHAT'S THAT?

Daily Worker

Manhattan Supreme Court Justices, presumably operating under the same law, delivered the following decisions regarding primary petitions in two different races:

(1) **Patrick J. Hannigan**, Democratic opponent of Rep. Vito Marcantonio, had submitted 3,100 signatures on his nominating petition to the Board of Elections. The board found that 1,460 were not enrolled Democrats and their signatures were, therefore, no good. That left 1,640, with only 750 needed. 8-15-46

Rep. Marcantonio appealed to the courts on the grounds most of the others were obtained by forgery, fraud, etc. He proved to the court's satisfaction that about 600 were fraudulently gotten.

Despite this proof, Justice Felix C. Benvenga ruled there were over 1,000 "valid" signatures and upheld the petition. Thursday

(2) **Charles Collins**, Negro AFL leader, submitted 3,504 signatures for the Democratic primary in the 21st Senate District. About 1,400 were alleged to be non-registered and a maximum of 479 were challenged as having been dated incorrectly, **leaving 1,665 not even challenged, with 750 required.** The Board of Elections threw out Collins' petition and he went to the courts. New York, N.Y.

Without a single bit of evidence that there was any fraud, without hearing a single witness, despite the fact that 1,666 signatures were unchallenged, or more than twice the amount needed, Justice Samuel Dickstein ruled Collins' petition invalid. Thursday

Georgia's Unit Vote Taken to Supreme Court

The Times New York, N.Y. Tues. 9-24-46

By The Associated Press.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — The Supreme Court was asked today to rule on validity of Georgia's county unit vote system, under which Eugene Talmadge recently won the Democratic nomination for Governor.

Three Georgia voters filed appeals from a special three-judge Federal District Court in Atlanta which ruled that the system violated no constitutional guarantees of equal rights. Under the unit vote system, the candidate carrying the county gets the unit vote and the total unit votes determine the nomination.

It is expected that the Supreseme Court will announce sometime in the latter part of October whether it will consider the appeals.

Get 3504 Names for Collins in 1 Day

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 9-6-46

By Theodore Ward

The drive to send Charles A. Collins to the State Senate surged forward yesterday when 3,504 signatures were collected in Harlem by the trade unionists and other progressives.

Representing labor's answer to the Daily Worker's appeal issued Tuesday, 172 volunteers from 23 unions, 15 community clubs, 3 veterans organizations, and 2 youths groups set up tables along 125th and did a real job.

The unions represented Furniture, Fur, Food, Marine, Building, Teachers, Actors, Electrical, Hotel, Garment Warehouse, Iron Workers, and Office workers.

"We've only 4,000 to go, and it's all out Friday," Vicki Best said, expressing the joy and enthusiasm of the workers and leaders at campaign headquarters, 1967 Seventh Ave.

Miss Best is Executive Secretary of the Manhattan Council of the National Negro Congress and on loan from that body to the Collins campaign.

The blind Polish leader, Thaddeus Radwanski, was led into Headquarters by a young Spanish Vet. Years ago he had served as editor of the Russian **Novy Mir**, as well as of **The Workers Tribune** and the **Peoples Voice** of Detroit.

A member of the Jack Johnston Club, 201 2nd Ave., for hours, the tall, venerable old Communist, had been out on the street corners speaking in behalf of Collins and the signature drive.

Collins Drive Signs Up Negro, White Voters

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 7-11-46

CANVASS SHOWS UNION LEADER CAN WIN

By John Hudson Jones

An evening's canvassing to place the name of Charles A. Collins, Negro trade unionist, on the ballot for State Senate from the 21st District is convincing proof that he can win.

I was teamed up with Everett "Teak" Thomas, Harlem director of the American Youth for Democracy. As we left the campaign headquarters, a Collins sound truck pulled away with loudspeaker blaring and headed for a series of street corner meetings.

We had been assigned West 123rd Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, and our first name was Mrs. Edith Jackson, a Democrat. She was at home and immediately welcomed us in when we explained that we were seeking petition signers for a Negro State Senator.

REMEMBERED RALLY

Mrs. Jackson didn't remember Collins by name, but when "Teak" mentioned the Negro Freedom Rally, and the Negro Labor Victory Committee, that settled it. She then called in her mother, Mrs. Carrie F. Brown. We didn't have her name or her husband's name, and Mrs. Brown was amazed.

"Why we have been Democrats for 12 years, even before my daughter here. Why don't you have us? We want to see a good colored working man in office who'll speak up for his folks!"

We assured her that we would check the lists and see to it that a canvasser called the next day.

'CRIME WAVE'

After a short chat about Collins' candidacy we went to the door. On the way out Mrs. Brown said, **"I hear old Bilbo got re-elected down in Mississippi."**

"Yes," I said, "that's a crime, isn't it?"

Mrs. Brown shook her head sadly and said, **"That's worse than a crime, son. It's a crime wave!"**

Mrs. Rosa Lake of 208 W. 123rd St. was glad to sign for **"somebody who'll help to fight for us Negroes. We oughta make 'em give us back OPA. All these people charging a dollar a pound for meat outghta be run outa town. If he'll go up there and stop 'em from robbing us po' colored folks, he'll get my vote!"**

ALL SIGNED

Not a single person out of the 12 we found at home refused to sign. They all were enthusiastic about a Negro going to the State Senate. We asked Miss Faithy Loman if she thought a Negro could represent both whites and Negroes. **"What's the difference? White folks represent us, don't they?"**

When we finished 123 St. "Teak" had to go to a meeting, so I asked him for a statement from the AYD.

"Tell them," he said, **"that the youth of Harlem and of New York City want Collins to go to Albany. We have gotten the cold shoulder many times when we took delegations there. Another strong Progressive voice will help change that."**

We had been working in the 11th Assembly District. Going back to the headquarters I teamed up with Carol Bandes, UOPWA member, and Dave Evans, an American Legionnaire, for some time canvassing out of the ALP headquarters in the 13th A. D. south, at Broadway and 102 St. It was not until we got over there that the calculated viciousness of the gerrymandering that has split Harlem between three Senatorial districts became fully clear.

COLOR LINES

We were in a predominantly white community, with a big Democratic majority. All our names were in one big apartment house and they were mostly Spanish, Irish and Jewish.

Alicia Nicoba, a Porto Rican said: **"It doesn't make any difference to me what he is, I'll help put him on the ballot."**

Mrs. Foulds had to **"see our party people before we sign anything."**

Gary and Margaret Tampone carefully read the leaflets we had and asked several questions about Collins' trade union record, and what he had done during the war. They both signed. Mr. Tampone said: **"If a man is capable of being a leader what's his skin color got to do with his running for a public office?"** Thurs. 7-11-46

This Senate district is composed of three assembly districts, the 7th, 11th and 13th. The 7th is predominantly white, while the 11th and the 13th are mostly Negro. The past experience of the Ben Davis and Adam Powell elections has shown that when Negro candidates fight on issues of benefit to both Negroes and whites, artificial race lines are broken and people vote for the best man.

The Constitution

Tangled Web

Atlanta, Ga. Wed. 10-9-46

Editor Constitution: There has been a lot of talk and "much ado" about the White Primary in Georgia, court actions and decisions of judges about Negroes voting in the White Primary, other actions and suits filed about the County Unit System.

The courts have no jurisdiction over primaries. That is a caucus and any crowd has the right to meet and vote on whom they want and it can be the white voters, the colored voters, the Indians or any body of voters under any clan or party. Only in the general election have the court officials anything to do with who can vote. Should the Baptists want to hold a primary and select a candidate for any place in the general election, then any other person not a member of the Baptist Church would have no right to vote in that primary. The Methodist or any other church or clan could hold a primary and select a candidate to suit them. It looks silly to me to read a lot that is being done and how the courts allow suits to be filed that they know have no foundation. If the Democrats set up a system such as the County Unit System and agree on the outcome of a primary so held then it is just as binding and so far as that is concerned just as much right as any result otherwise. If the system is wrong correct it before another election and not yelp after the results are in. If there are enough people left out of the election that could not vote in the primary they can vote as they please in the general election. That is for all.

The real issues were not mentioned in our recent primary. That is issues that should have been discussed. A lot of trouble could be avoided if there had been a sounder and more sane platform adopted. The Democratic nominee is conceded to be the next Governor. He will go in and proceed to trade with the criminals or at least with the lawyers for the criminals. The felons will be loosed on the public and when it gets too noticeable he will yell "Nigger" or some other fighting words and call out the National Guard and smother some fellow that disagrees with him and get the attention focused on another point. Wed. 10-9-46

Taxes. Well that is best answered by a distinguished saying: "Oh what a tangled web we weave when first we practice to deceive." JOHN F. CAREY.

Cornelia.

Ben Davis, Communist Candidate for Senate

The Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 8-9-46

NEW YORK — (ANP) — The Communist party has placed before the public the name of Ben Davis as its candidate for the United States senatorship from New York.

Mr. Davis, who was elected to the city council on the Communist ticket, is the son of the former Republican State committeeman from Georgia, a graduate of Amherst college and Harvard university. At one time, he was a member of the staff of the Daily Worker succeeding Adam Powell whose support he had in the city council.

He has been in great demand as a speaker at numerous racial affairs and while it had been predicted in some quarters he would be a candidate for congress to oppose Adam Powell, this did not materialize and instead he is opposing the Democratic and Republican candidates for senator.

Challenge to Talmadge

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 8-24-46

When Southern politicians invoke the Fourteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution, that definitely is news.

That is exactly what happened last week when private citizens of Georgia, representing defeated candidates in the recent Democratic primaries, filed two Federal suits, one of which would invalidate the nomination of Eugene Talmadge as Democratic candidate for Governor, and the other which would prevent certification of Judge James C. Davis as Democratic nominee for Congress from the Fifth District, and was filed in behalf of Representative Helen Douglas Mankin.

Both suits are aimed at the Georgia county-unit system of tabulating Georgia primary votes as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, which provides that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States."

The private citizens who filed the complaints allege that their votes, cast in the primary election, received less than their due weight, under the county-unit system, and that their Federal rights were thus abridged.

Both Talmadge and Davis received less than a majority of the popular vote, and both received a majority of the county-unit votes. The complaint against Talmadge alleges that the vote of a citizen of Fulton County had less than one per cent of the value of a vote cast in Chattahoochee County in the primary.

Both sides (the State and the complainants) have mobilized the finest legal talent in the Commonwealth and a brilliant row is now going on with three Federal judges sitting on the case.

The complainants seem to have a good case, and it can be well imagined that 'Gene Talmadge is not snapping his red suspenders, unless it be in impatience and chagrin.

If the complainants win the case the whole Georgia voting system will be thrown into confusion, as the State Constitution makes no provisions for such a contingency; and if the last primary is held to be unconstitutional, Arnall, the present Governor, may be entitled to serve another four-year term or to serve until the State Lgislature acts on the matter.

Thus does the handiwork of the post-Civil War legislation rise to plague the Ku Klux political machine of the Dixie demagogues.

This may well be the beginning of a new day in Southern politics, and Negro voters have much to gain by it.

Rule on Collins Ouster Today; To Run Regardless of Outcome

Daily Worker Fri. 8-2-46 New York

The State Supreme Court will rule today on the validity of the Democratic nominating petition for Charles A. Collins, Negro labor candidate for state senate from Harlem. Regardless of the outcome of the court fight, Collins stands an excellent chance of becoming the first Negro in the Upper House in New York history.

Leaders of the Collins campaign have intimated that regardless of how the court fight will go, and they expect to win, the drive to elect Collins will go on with increased tempo, perhaps with an independent Negro justice ticket in the field besides the ALP designation.

Fri. 8-2-46

The hearing will start at 10 a. m. in the Supreme Court Building at Foley Square, third floor, Special Term, Part 1. Many Negro and trade union representatives are expected to attend since Collins' candidacy has aroused wide interest.

The nominating petition was thrown out by the Board of Election in a bi-partisan move to block Collins' election to the Senate.

The board's procedure in throwing out the petition was denounced as "highly irregular" by Nathan Dambroff, Collin's attorney, as well as by several other lawyers.

Dambroff maintained that the board is not permitted by law to rule on the validity of signatures unless they are irregular on their face. The board heard evidence on the Collins' petition as if it were a court.

New York

Collins' campaign managers reported that New York County Democratic leaders are boasting openly that the barring of his petitions is already "fixed" and an adverse court decision already agreed upon.

CHESTER ADDISON
Fights Conspiracy

Rev. Robert Williams of the Shiloh Church of Christ, who was present Wednesday when the board ruled on the Collins' petition, said, **"This is lynch rule, northern style. I am shocked beyond words at the unlawful and highhanded attempt to keep Collins from running. The Negro people of Harlem and their white brethren will not take this lying down."**

In the Bronx a similar conspiracy of Republican and Democratic county leaders is operating to try to keep Chester Addison, young Negro war vet, from running in the Republican primary in the 7th District. Addison is conceded an excellent chance to win.

So the GOP county committee, which turned down his nomination in the first place because he is Negro, is concentrating on outlawing his primary petition despite the fact that as a Negro and designee of the American Labor Party, he can win while the regular Republican candidate cannot.

DAVIS ASKS NEGRO PEOPLE'S AID TO GET HIM ON BALLOT

8/20/46 Daily Worker New York

Councilman Benjamin J. Davis has served two terms and, with Brooklyn Communist Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, submitted measures against job discrimination and anti-Semitism, upheld the cause of labor and been one of the leaders in the fight against the Bilbos and the Talmadges."

Citing the Communist Party's record of struggle against "lynch terror, mob rule and Ku Klux Klan racism," Davis declared "today the Communist Party carries on the fight against the Bilbos and the Talmadges."

7000 Names Needed NOW To Put Collins on Ballot

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y. June 9-3-46

The Independent Citizens Committee of Harlem which launched the drive to put Charles A. Collins on the Peoples Rights Party for state Senator today announced that unless 7,000 signatures are obtained in this election is clear.

in the next three days, Collins' name may not appear on the independent ticket.

"Now that the summer vacations are over," campaign manager Howard Johnson stated, "there is an opportunity for every unionist, PAC member, shop steward and progressive to pitch in and insure the election of the first Negro to the State Senate. Labor's stake

people's democratic rights waged. June 9-3-46

"This can be accomplished the Collins headquarters at Seventh Ave. (near 118 St.) "The presence of a fighting labor flooded with volunteers. There are leader like Charles A. Collins in the three days left to help make political history. We urgently need your aid."

New York State Senate will insure the fearless voice like Collins' will go far to attain homes for veterans and strict vice control.

"With Collins in public office we have the best guarantee that a vigorous fight against Jimcrow and anti-Semitism and for all of the

45a 1946 Campaigns, New York

Negroes Blaze Trail in City Pri

Daily Worker - N. Times Aug. 7-31-46

By Max Gordon

If the three primary campaigns involving Negro candidates for the State Legislature are won Aug. 20, the Negro people may gain representation in the Legislature almost equal to their population ratio. The campaigns involve Chester Addison and Ada B. Jackson in the Republican assembly primaries in the Bronx 7th district and Brooklyn's 17th district; and Charles Collins in Manhattan's 21st senatorial district.

HULAN JACK

Negro state senator in New York history. While the Negro people, judging from numbers, ought to have at least one more, his election will be a historic advance.

At present there are three Negro assemblymen, the most in the state's history. They are William Prince, William T. Andrews and Hulan Jack from the 11th, 12th and 14th districts, all in Harlem. The three districts will return Negro assemblymen this year.

In addition, the Democrats in the 13th district, also in Harlem, have named Harold Stevens, a Negro who is virtually certain of election.

If Addison and Mrs. Jackson, both of whom are ALP designees, take their GOP primaries, they stand a good chance of winning in the fall, increasing the number of Negro assemblymen to six out of 150. This is 4 percent, while the Negro population in the state is about 4½ percent. Mirror 7-31-46

Addison and Jackson victories will, if they occur, also mark the first time Negro legislators will be elected from either the Bronx or Brooklyn.

A victory for Collins in the Democratic primary will make virtually certain the election of the first

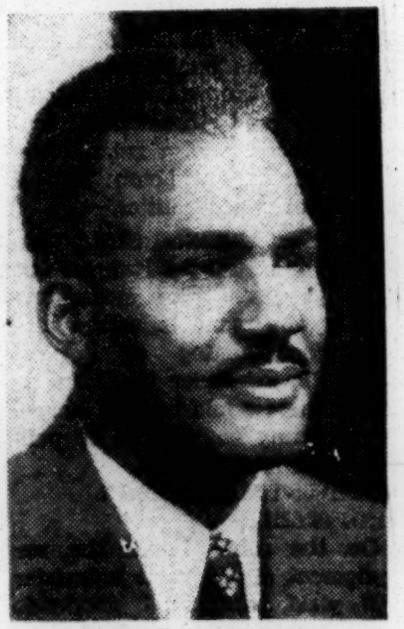
MRS. ADA JACKSON

away from naming Negro candidates except as a gesture. If there is a chance to advance Negro political equality, it is solely because of the initiative of the ALP and of the progressive trade union movement.

In the Bronx, both major parties have emphatically rejected Negro candidates. Local GOP leaders wanted to designate Addison officially in the 7th but were turned down by the county leadership, which works in cahoots with the Democratic Flynn machine. Mirror 7-31-46

In Brooklyn, the Republicans named Maude Richardson, Negro woman, to run against Mrs. Jackson after Mrs. Jackson had entered the GOP primary. Mrs. Richardson cannot be elected if she takes the GOP primary because she does not have the ALP endorsement and will not be able to get it.

In Manhattan, the GOP named a Negro, J. Finley Wilson, for state senate in the 23rd district, where both Negroes and Republicans constitute a small minority of the voters and cannot win.



CHARLES COLLINS

All three nominees can win in their respective primaries if the opportunity is realized by laborites, progressives, the Negro people and any others who want to see them elected. Mirror

The weakness is that many progressives including unionists, do not grasp the fact that primary campaigns can be decisive in deciding elections and that they can be won only with leg work

In the Collins campaign, for instance, there are 42,000 enrolled Democrats. Ordinarily, fewer than 10,000 would come out to vote in a primary. With a sharp contest about 15,000 to 20,000 may come out.

Because of an internal Democratic organization fight, Collins has two white opponents. His campaign leaders feel he can win handily if they can get 8,000 pledged votes by Primary Day, three weeks off.

Of the 42,000 enrolled voters, nearly 25,000 are Negro.

Both in the Jackson and Addison campaigns, which take in less territory, about 1,500 pledged votes are needed from enrolled Republicans by the 20th.

With the exception of the Harlem districts already represented by Negroes, both major parties have shied

Court Upholds Georgia Unit Vote System

Times-Union Jacksonville Fla.

U. S. Judges Refuse Injunction Asked in Effort to Void Primary Results.

Times 8-27-46

ATLANTA, Aug. 26, (UP)—Without dissent, a three-judge Federal court today upheld the Georgia system of nominating state officials by county units instead of by popular vote.

Ten days after a hearing, the tribunal denied an injunction asked in a suit seeking to void the county unit system as unconstitutional and to cancel the July 17 primary in which Eugene Talmadge was nominated for governor. Talmadge trailed James V. Carmichael in popular votes but gained a wide margin in unit votes.

The court, composed of Federal Judges Samuel Sibley of Atlanta, Frank Scarlett of Brunswick, Ga., and Louie Strum of Jacksonville, Fla., also denied a similar injunction seeking to nullify the Fifth District congressional primary in which Judge James C. Davis was nominated over incumbent Helen Douglas Mankin. Mrs. Mankin polled most popular votes but Davis got most unit votes.

Appeals Planned.

Both decisions will be appealed to the U. S. Supreme Court, attorneys said. They have 30 days to file.

Petitioners in both cases challenged constitutionality of the present system under which any candidate polling a simple plurality of a county's popular votes gets all that county's unit votes. They said this did not give equal value to votes cast in a big county like Fulton, (Atlanta), which has six unit votes, and small Chattahoochee County, which has two. They claimed the equal protection provision of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution was violated.

"Our system of government, State and Federal," said the judges, "has never sought or demanded that each voter should have equal voting influence, though that might seem the ideal for democracy. In our Federal Government, each State has in the Senate, two 'unit' votes, wholly regardless of population, in the making of all laws, and in confirming treaties and appointment to Federal office."

Glaring Inequality.

These unit votes also appear in the electoral college in choosing a president, the court continued, and presidents have been elected without polling a popular majority.

"It is undeniably true that there is a glaring inequality between Fulton County and Chattahoochee County in representation in the legislature," the judges wrote. "But the remedy for those exceptional situations is to be sought through changes in the law, rather than by appeal to courts of equity to upset the law as unconstitutional because of a hardship that has arisen."

HAROLD L. ICKES

The Constitution

No Politics

Atlanta, Ga.

In Court!

Mon. 10-7-46

NEW YORK—When the three "learned" Federal judges sitting en banque (or should it be in bunk?) bewailed the fact that they were helpless to do anything about the abridgment of the right of citizens of Georgia to vote as the result of the thimble-rigging county unit law in that State, they proved, if nothing else, that Georgia can be made famous for something else than its peaches.

The court would have been much smarter than it was if, in upholding the right of Talmadge, the Negro-baiter, to be nominated by a minority vote, it had relied upon the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Colegrove, et al., v. Green, et al., decided on June 10 last. This decision also strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel, although with better grace and more persuasively than did the three judges who decided in favor of Talmadge and his political larceny.

THIS CASE WILL come before the Supreme Court in the next few weeks. I am glad because I would like that Court to have a chance to reverse its outrageous decision in the Colegrove v. Green case. Perhaps with the full Court sitting the country will at least be treated to a decision representing the views of the majority of the Justices. Of course by that time Talmadge will undoubtedly have been re-elected on the basis of his sleight-of-hand nomination, but this issue ought to come up over and over again until the Court decides that the political rights of a citizen may not be either denied or abridged.

In the Colegrove case, there was involved the question whether one voter in the Fifth Congressional District of the State of Illinois, with a population of 112,116, was to have approximately nine times the voting power of a citizen in the Seventh District containing 914,053 citizens. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, speaking for a minority of four, found that the question involved was a "political" one, to step over which the sacrosanct Supreme Court would have to raise delicately, and perhaps indecorously, the hem of its judicial robe.

THERE IS SUPPOSED to be a remedy for every wrong. This is another of those legal fictions that 99.4 percent pure judges are able to sterilize. For a remedy in this outrageous case, the learned Justice deftly passed the buck to the Legislature of Illinois or to the Congress. He did not care which of the two relieved him of this hot potato. However, the State Legislature will not act because

violated no constitutional guarantees of equal rights.

Talmadge's nomination in the July 17 Democratic primary, tantamount of election in one-party Georgia, had been challenged by two citizens of populous Fulton and Dekalb Counties (Atlanta), on grounds that the unit vote system denied them equal voice in the electorate with citizens of less

Georgia's Unit Vote System Is Upheld by Federal Court

Richmond Times-Dispatch Aug. 27-46

madge won a fourth term as Governor without popular approval was upheld today by a three-judge Federal Court which said it

ATLANTA, Aug. 26—(AP)—The county unit vote system which Eugene Talmadge won a fourth term as Gov. on populous counties. Rec. 8-27-46

IT IS HOSTILE to a democratic system to involve the judiciary in the politics of the people," declares Mr. Justice Frankfurter, as he draws his robe more protectingly about him. Tut! Tut! Mr. Justice, how would you

authority if it the "politics of the people"?

Under the system the candidate carrying the county gets the unit vote, and the unit vote determines the nomination. Fulton County, with a population of 406,865, has six unit votes. Chattahoochee County with 1,463 people has two unit votes.

Proponents of the system say it prevents control of the State by big-city political machines.

Compared to Senate

The three judges, in a unanimous opinion, said "our system of government, State and Federal, has never sought nor demanded that each voter should have equal voting influence, though that might seem an ideal of democracy.

"In our Federal government under its Constitution each State has in the Senate two 'unit votes' wholly regardless of population, in the making of all laws and in confirming treaties and appointments to Federal office.

"These unit votes also appear in the electoral college in choosing a President, so that there have been Presidents who did not receive a majority of the popular vote."

The court, composed of Circuit Judge Samuel H. Sibley and District Judges Frank M. Scarlett and Louie W. Strum, also declined to interfere with the Democratic primary result in the Fifth Congressional District where Earl P. Cook, a college student, claimed his constitutional rights had been violated.

Both Names to Appear

Representative Helen Douglas Mankin won the popular vote in this race, but Judge James C. Davis got the unit vote majority. The State Democratic Executive Committee has ordered names of both candidates on the general election ballot in November.

Attorneys said the United States Supreme Court would be asked to make a final ruling in both cases.

The Talmadge suit was filed by Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, political science professor at Emory University, and Mrs. Robert Lee Turman, former president of the Atlanta League of Women Voters.

The court declared that there is a "glaring inequality" between application of the unit vote system in Fulton and Chattahoochee Counties, but said "the remedy for these exceptional situations is to be sought through changes in the law, rather than by appeal to courts of equity to upset the law as unconstitutional because of a hardship that has arisen."

Talmadge defeated young James V. Carmichael, who had the backing of Governor Ellis Arnall, in the primary, although Carmichael won the popular vote.

Communists Name Davis For Attorney General

Daily Worker New York, N. Y.
Thurs. 9-12-46

City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., was named Communist candidate for State Attorney General yesterday, at the Secretary of State's office in Albany. He was substituted for Dr. Bella V. Dodd, who had previously been nominated by 20,000 voters on independent nominating petitions.

The Communists now have two candidates in the field, Robert Thompson, Distinguished Service Cross winner in World War II, for Comptroller, and Councilman Davis.

The Communist campaign committe said:

"In projecting the candidacy of Councilman Davis, the Communist Party is advancing a leading figure, not only among the Negro people, but also among all sections of the working people and progressive-minded citizens of New York.

"Councilman Davis' entrance into the campaign is a contribution to

BEN DAVIS
CP Candidate

the growing anti-Dewey electoral front. Councilman Davis will wage an energetic fight to unmask Republican hypocrisy, as evidenced by the outrageous whitewash by the Dewey administration of the killers of the Negro Ferguson brothers in Freeport, L. I.

"Councilman Davis' candidacy will meet the needs of the coalition of independent labor and progressive forces by projecting full recognition of the equality, dignity and tremendous role which the Negro people will play in the anti-Dewey electoral front."

Liberal Party Knifes Negro Candidates

The Liberal Party's nomination of Thomas G. Young, Negro AFL official, for State Senate, against Charles A. Collins perils the drive for the election of a Negro state Senator, Dr. George D. Cannon, outstanding Negro surgeon and Harlem civic leader warned yesterday.

Dr. Cannon was a leader of the movement to unite Harlem for the election of the first Negro state Senator in New York history last spring.

This resulted in united support of Charles A. Collins, vice-president of the AFL Hotel and Club Employes Union, who was named by the American Labor Party and was entered into the major party primaries. Juls. 8-6-46

"Entering of another Negro into the senate race lessens the chance of election of either," Dr. Cannon said. "Young should refuse the nomination and support Collins in view of the fact that Collins' campaign is under way and neither has a chance to win if the Negro and labor vote is split."

Young, named over the weekend by the Liberal Party, is an official of the Liberal Party and headed one of its convention committees in June. New York, N. Y.

SUPPORTER OF DEWEY

He is one of the AFL officials on the recently-organized labor committee for Thomas E. Dewey for Governor, formed to win official AFL backing for the leader of the GOP state machine.

Collins is running against white opponents officially named by both major parties. With the district just about 50 percent Negro, he can win, irrespective of the results of primary contests, if a unified Negro-labor campaign can be developed behind him. Juls. 8-6-46

The Liberal Party's move in naming another Negro unionist is aimed at preventing Collins' election.

The Liberal Party also endorsed Deweyite Republicans against two other ALP-backed nominees for Congress in Manhattan. It gave its blessings to Grant Reynolds, Gov. Dewey's new spokesman among the Negro people, who is Republican designee against Rep. A. Clayton Powell in the 22d District

ENDORSES JAVITZ

In the 21st, it endorsed Jacob Javitz. Labor's candidate in that district is Councilman Eugene P. Connolly, who is accorded a good chance to win the Democratic primary. Liberal Party leaders prefer a Dewey Republican and will fight bitterly to prevent Connolly's election. Juls. 8-6-46

In the 17th, where laborites and other progressives are planning a large-scale campaign against the local reactionary GOP machine headed by State Sen. Frederic R. Coudert, the Liberals entered Harold Baer, county vice-chairman, as an independent. New York.

In the 18th, represented by Vito Marcantonio, the Liberals entered Amos Basel as an independent nominee. The party backed three Democrats, John Burry in the 16th, Arthur Klein in the 19th and Sol Bloom in the 20th.

Attention, Daily Worker
Gov. Dewey
New York, N.Y.

It being election time, Mr. Dewey, we notice how you freely throw words around about how you mean to fight against discrimination and Bilboism all over the lot.

But let's take a squint at the year-round record Governor.

Some parts of it have been talked about by other people and don't need repeating here: about how you had Negro victims of Southern "justice" sent back to chain gangs and worse; how you covered up the Freeport killings; how your Legislature killed all bills outlawing discrimination in housing and education; how you managed to squelch real enforcement of state FEPC.

But let's be cruel enough to remind you of a bit of an incident you would like us to forget. It happened in May, 1944.

The U. S. Senate was about to vote, after weeks of bitter debate, on shutting off the Bilboian filibuster of the anti-poll-tax bill.

They counted noses in advance and found that if the Republicans lined up for cloture, they would have the two-thirds vote needed.

So Walter White, head of the NAACP, sent you a wire asking you to use your influence on these coy gentlemen of your party to get them to vote for cloture. What you said is so much like you that they have a new word in the language to describe it—a Deweyism they call it. Here it is:

"I have always fought against the polltax and every other device to deprive free people of their votes." Mon. 10-21-46

As White said after he got your wire, even Sen. George of Georgia was "against" the polltax. Only he was against any action to kill it, too.

Do you remember Walter White's answer, Mr. Dewey? Here it is:

"Do you favor the Federal polltax now before the Senate? Do you favor cloture? Will you urge on the 23 Republican Senators who virtually hold the fate of the bill in their hands that they vote next Monday for cloture?"

You never answered that one, did you, Mr. Dewey? And there is still a polltax in Bilbo country. And now your pal, Irving Ives, still ducks when anyone asks him if he will vote for cloture on the polltax and Federal FEPC bills.

To defeat Dewey and Ives, vote Communist, and then vote Labor on Row C on Election Day.

Negroes do all right in Ohio state primaries

Tribune
Los Angeles, Cal.

CLEVELAND—At least 7 Negroes running for nomination to the Ohio state legislature were successful in the recent state primaries, it was learned this week. 5-26-46

In Cincinnati, a young Negro Democrat named Waites, endorsed by CIO-PAC, amassed more than 7,000 votes in his Hamilton county candidacy for the Ohio house of representatives.

In Columbus, Frank Shearer, attorney, was among six Franklin county Democrats winning places on next Fall's ballot. Shearer is also seeking a representative's seat. Incumbent Rev. Jacob Ashburn was one of the two Republicans who failed to qualify.

Here in Cleveland, five Negroes, all Republicans, were among 18 Cuyahoga county candidates put in the running. House nominees were William B. Saunders, attorney, whose 22,204 votes were topped only by two white candidates; Frank C. Lyons, attorney, 20,984; and Farneis E. Young, retired postal clerk, 13,330. Successful aspirants for the senate were Chester K. Gillespie, attorney and legislative veteran, 20,477 votes, and Harry E. Davis, 19,385, who placed second and third among six winners. 5-25-46

However, Cuyahoga county Democrats, who have never nominated a Negro, eliminated four Negroes, Clarence Bond, Norman McGhee, Harry Bonaparte, and Admiral Kirkpatrick.

Ohio GOP's Name Five Candidates, Rival None

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

CLEVELAND (ANP)—Republican leaders here are basing part of their campaign in the coming election on the fact that five candidates were nominated for the State Legislature on he Republican ticket, while Democrats barred all colored.

Two of the nominees, Harry E. Davis and Chester Gillespie, attorneys, have previously served in the State Legislature. Both are aspirants for the Senate. The others, running for the House, are Frank C. Lyons, and William B. Saunders, attorneys, and Francis E. Young. Sat. 10-26-46

ARNOLD JOHNSON

ABE LEWIS

EDWARD CHAKA

Ohio CP Candidates Battle For People's Program

The Worker
New York, N. Y.
Sun. 11-3-46

CLEVELAND.—Among the Ohio Communists seeking election to the State Legislature on the Independent Party ticket are two World War II veterans, a vet of the Spanish War and two candidates with long records of struggle in defense of the people's rights.

Running for the State Senate is Arnold S. Johnson, Ohio state chairman of the Communist Party. For 15 years Johnson fought against evictions in Cleveland, was a leader of the unemployed and helped organize the Workers Alliance, which he led from 1932 to 1940 in its struggles for improved relief standards, jobs and unemployment insurance.

When Bricker was Governor, Johnson was out front in opposition to his starvation relief policy and during the current campaign has conducted a brilliant factual fight against the former GOP Governor, who is seeking the U. S. Senate seat against Democrat James Huffman. As candidate for the Board of Education Johnson polled 57,000 votes and his popularity has grown during the present campaign.

Among the veterans are Abe Lewis, veteran of the Spanish War, a Negro who has championed the cause of democracy and against Jimcrow for 16 years. He is the Communist Party chairman in the Cedar-Central section.

Edward Chaka, a doughfoot in the 89th Inantry Division, who participated in the battles of the Rhine and Central Germany. He has been connected with the labor movement for 20 years, active in Local 218 of the AFL Molders Union and one of the leaders in the All-Slav Congress. He was born, raised and educated in Cleveland.

Finally there's Bernard Marks, a machine gunner in a tank outfit in this war, a young veteran of 25, who served in the European theater of operations. He was a leader in the Akron labor movement prior to his induction into the armed forces.

All three veterans are seeking election to the State General Assembly on a program for a state housing program, social security for all, veterans' rights, including the bonus; a State FEPC and a tax program "according to the ability to pay," demanding an end to the payroll tax and the vicious Ohio sales tax.

Finally there is Anton Krchmarek, candidate for the General Assembly, who has had more than 20 years in the labor movement, battling for the people's rights.

In Ohio the Communist Party, where it hasn't placed its own candidates in the field, is exerting its efforts in getting progressive candidates elected and focusing its major fire upon the reactionary Republicans, especially seeking the defeat of arch-reactionary John Bricker.

More than a million pieces of campaign literature have been distributed, setting forth the party's 10-point program for peace, a return to the New Deal policies of FDR on the home front and on foreign policy and expansion of state responsibility for education, demanding a $3,000 minimum for teachers' salaries; abolition of discrimination on any grounds in the Ohio schools.

Vote Against This Man Grady

The Black Dispatch cannot say that everything that has gone on in the office of the county superintendent, since Mrs. Ethel Dowell's elevation to that office, entirely to our liking, for it has not; but whenever we have been in disagreement with the policies of the incumbent superintendent we have always realized that there was no fundamental race issue involved wherein the county superintendent was attempting to do something, or adopt a pattern that did substantial violence to educational advancement. We have always given Mrs. Dowell credit for assuming she was doing the best as her vision and understanding guided her. That is her sworn duty as a public officer. We think in Mrs. Dowell the county has a fine public official who should be retained in office.

But the Black Dispatch cannot say the same thing about Mrs. Dowell's opponent. This writer has had personal experience with C. E. Grady which convinces us he is reactionary, and if given the authority he seeks, would be inclined to hinder the progress of Negroes in the educational structure. Mr. Grady has been in the public school system of Oklahoma City for a number of years, and while principal of Classen high school, sought in a national high school student oratorical contest over which he had oversight, to jim crow and force Caleb Peterson, a brilliant Negro youth, of Peekskill, New York, to deliver his oration in Douglass high school, alone, and before three jim crow judges selected by Mr. Grady.

This writer spent one whole day helping correct this wrong. Peterson, along with Dr. A. P. Bethel, came to this writer asking for relief. We first went to Douglass school and advised the assembled jim crow judges that Peterson would not take his preliminaries there, and we demanded that he be given opportunity to enter the preliminaries at Classen, in the same atmosphere and at the same time, with the other contestants, who were white.

We finally had to repair to Classen, and after a wild-goose chase all over the building located Principal Grady. The moment Peterson entered the hall the fine white students surrounded him and began to fraternize with the young fellow. This man Grady, who is now making speeches in the Negro district, telling what he wants to do for the Negro schools, trembled, shivered and hesitated for almost an hour, warning of trouble that might develop if a Negro, representing a mixed school from the North, spoke on the platform in Oklahoma City with Southern whites. The man was adamant until he went up in the hallway, at our request, and saw the white boys and girls almost devouring Peterson with friendship and good fellowship.

Needless to say, Peterson that afternoon had his preliminary along with the other contestants at Classen. He swept the judges off their feet with his powerful forensic ability and superb training. Two nights later the same son of a black mother astonished a public audience in Oklahoma City to become the national forensic champion.

For the past five years young Peterson had been in Hollywood. Last week he left for New York to take his place as the central figure in a new dramatic effort being staged there. We think the fight we had to make against this man Grady was the turning point in the life of Caleb Peterson. Grady, following the pattern of the South, wanted to turn his back on the brightest jewel among the contestants. He sought to suppress black genius. He believed in jim crow and segregation.

The Black Dispatch wonders whether or not, if Mr. Grady were to land in the office of county superintendent, he would wear the same jim crow glasses he wore when he was principal of Classen high? We wonder whether in voting for him Negroes in Oklahoma would not be giving this man Grady the privilege and power to do in a collective way the same thin ghe sought to do to Caleb Peterson as an individual? The safe thing for Negroes to do in this primary election is to vote for the retention of Mrs. Ethel Dowell.

Vote For Bob Peebley

Negroes in Oklahoma county should feel very kindly this year towards the three county commissioners. When we recall that in a recent election Negro schools received $700,000 with which to expand the physical plant, we should remember that this election could not have been called unless the commissioners called it. They did not have to call the election. Performing this task remained entirely within their discretion.

As a result of this election, Oklahoma City Negroes will acquire almost a half million dorrar new high school while the remainder will be distributed between Luther, Arcadia and Choctaw schools. A good solid vote in the Negro precincts this year will be a fine record in later years to show to other county commissioners, reflecting the loyalty and gratitude of citizens to public officials who give substantial assistance to minority groups.

Most of the Negroes in Oklahoma county reside in Commissioner Bob Peebley"s district, where all of the schools are located. We happen to know that Commissioner Peebley was unusually sympathetic in the effort to get the recent school bond issue going, and took the lead in pressing for its passage. Aside from this, Mr. Peebley has shown keen interest in other problems of minority groups. It should not be overlooked that it was Bob Peebley, who some twenty years ago, when in charge of the election machinery of the county, created the many voting precincts in the Negro section of the city. Turn-about is fair play. Bob Peebley has been on hand to help Negroes whenever there was need. Just now he needs you.

Vote For John Brett

John Brett, candidate for the Criminal Court of Appeals, is, in the judgment of the Black Dispatch, a candidate in whom Negroes and minority groups may well place their trust. We recall serving two weeks federal jury service several years ago, at a time when Mr. Brett was assistant U. S. district attorney. During that two-week period, Mr. Brett never took occasion to reject J. T. Armstrong, Luther, or this writer from serving on any of the cases brought to the attention of the court. The opposition did so in a number of instances; but on no occasion did Mr. Brett indicate unwillingness to rest major cases in the hands of Negro jurors.

This is a fine record, when we call to mind that Mr. Brett's principal opponent was, during the same period, a member of the state attorney general's staff, during which time he was assigned to oppose the NAACP in most of the cases where constitutional questions of black men were being resolved in Oklahoma. In most of the cases tried by the NAACP effort is made to get solid footing in the courts through exposing systematic jury exclusion of black citizens. It just so happens that Mr. Brett, who believes in the right of Negroes to sit on juries, is opposed by a man who has spent the past ten years upholding the right of the state to deny Negroes jury service.

It may be entirely a coincidence, but Negroes cannot fail to remember, when they go into the polling places in July to cost their votes for a man to be elevated to the Criminal Court of Appeals, that Attorney Brett, while U. S. district attorney, proved beyond a reasonable doubt that he believes in Negroes serving on juries, while Sam Lattimore, his principal opponent, has been assigned by the attorney general's office to oppose all of the court actions launched by the NAACP for the past ten years and in each one of these cases, Sam Lattimore's talents have been utilized to prove to the court that Negroes do not have the right to sit on juries.

Rainey's Hat In Ring

PHILADELPHIA, Pa. (NNPA) — Magistrate Joseph W. Rainey is one of five candidates offered for consideration in the fourth Congressional district of Pennsylvania, now represented in Congress by Representative John E. Sheridan, who is a candidate to succeed himself.

Dr. Rice Enters Congress Fight

PHILADELPHIA

Endorsed by a group of citizens in the Fourth Congressional District, Dr. John K. Rice, president of the North Philadelphia Civic League, this week entered the race for Democratic nomination for Congress in that District in the May 21 primary.

10 Named In Philly Primary

Apathy Marks Vote For Legislators

PHILADELPHIA—Ten Negroes were nominated as candidates for the state legislature here last week in one of the dullest primary elections within the last 20 years.

Bitterest fight was in South Philadelphia, where William A. Upsher, an undertaker and prominent socialite, soundly defeated Ralph H. Jones, 2585 to 362 votes.

Upshur was endorsed by the Republican organization, while Jones, editor of the Philadelphia Independent, tabloid newspaper, ran as an independent.

Despite the overwhelming margin by which Upshur defeated Jones, the campaign in that district—the seventh—was the most heated.

Upshur's Democratic opponent in the fall elections will be Thomas J. Trent, incumbent, who rolled up 862 votes on the Democratic ticket.

In the 18th district, in West Philadelphia, the Rev. Dennie W. Hoggard, pastor of Mt. Carmel Baptist Church and incumbent Democratic legislator, was renominated.

Rev. Hoggard will be opposed by Howard W. Henry, Republican nominee and veteran politician, who garnered 862 votes.

Rev. Smith Nominated

In the 21st District—in sprawling North Philadelphia—another clergyman was nominated, this time on the Republican ticket. He is Rev. Clarence M. Smith, pastor of Wayland Baptist Temple. He polled 6066 votes, with the active support of Magistrate Hobson R. Reynolds, exalted ruler of Chris J. Perry Elks Lodge.

Nominated on the Democratic ticket in the same district was J. Thomas Pettigrew, incumbent. He won 2085 votes.

In the sixth district, embracing part of the swanky mid-city section, Lewis M. Mintess, former Republican legislator, got 2085 ballots. On the Democratic side, Mrs. Mayme J. Jason, making her first bid for political office, garnered a scant 475 votes.

In the 13th district, Dr. Edwin F. Thompson, former Democratic member of the legislature who recently switched to the Republican party, polled 8005 votes. His Democratic opponent in the fall elections will be Lee P. Myhan, a comparative newcomer to politics. Myhan got 2175 votes.

White Counties, White Party

News & Courier

That 11 candidates are offering for governor should cause the enrolment for the primaries to be unusually heavy and the vote polled in them large in this year critical for the White Party. The invasion of the South by the C. I. O.-PAC from the North, armed with bushels of money, is a threat to the government by the white people. The colored people are registering. That is their right. Most of them call themselves "Democrats", and an independent candidate, in the general election, calling himself "Democrat", would be the "Democratic" candidate of the colored people. This man would solicit the colored vote as a "Democrat", and some of the white voters, not having voted in the primary, would be deceived by the specious plea.

The C. I. O.-PAC is in the field as a white-negro political movement.

That 11 men are in the "race" is a good augury for enrolment, voting and pledge-taking in the primaries.

In South Carolina about half the white population live in 13 or 14 northern, or Piedmont, counties. Roughly, the area of these counties is a third of the total area of the 46 counties. Two counties, Greenville and Spartanburg, which offer no candidates for governor this year, have nearly one-fifth of the state's white people.

Of the 11 candidates, three are from "Upcountry" counties, Anderson, Cherokee and Union. The other eight hail from the central and more southerly districts.

Four of the candidates are from two cities, Florence and Columbia, and in them the white vote is numerous.

It is urgently important that the enrolment and voting be heavy in Greenville, Spartanburg, York, Cherokee, Lancaster, Chester, Chesterfield, Union, Laurens, Pickens, Oconee, Anderson, Greenwood, Lexington, Abbeville, Newberry.

It were as well for all the white people of the state to recognize that the maintenance of the white party in power depends more upon people in those counties than upon those of other counties, which is not to say that Edgefield, Richland, Charleston, Barnwell, Sumter, Florence and other counties are not also indispensable.

Horry, by the way, is one of the counties of largest white population and always votes straight.

Imported Negroes

To The News and Courier:

Candidate for governor John D Long's utterance concerning the importation of Jamaician negroes, and planting them upon us, seems to me the most important utterance made in the campaign now progressing in this state, and I sincerely and earnestly hope you will discuss it and him editorially.

THEODORE D. JERVEY.

Charleston.

Negro Republican Faction Nominates Undertaker

News-Courier

Columbia, Aug. 5.—(AP): I. S. Leevy, owner of a negro funeral home here, was nominated Monday by the Tolbert-Leevy faction of the Republican party in the Second congressional district as the Republican candidate for United States congress.

Sun. 8-6-46

Leevy will run against the Democratic Congressman John J. Riley, of Sumter, unopposed for the Democratic nomination, in the general election.

Charleston S.C.

Richland county Republicans meeting at the same time nominated seven Columbia negroes for the state house of representatives, and H. S. Hawkins, Columbia business man, for the senate.

Negro Group Wants Maybank to Resign From Committee

The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C. Wed. 7-3-46

Washington, July 2.—(AP): The National Negro council, through its director, Edgar G. Brown, released today a letter to Senator McKellar, Democrat, Tennessee, president pro-tem of the senate, asking him to order the special senate elections committee to investigate 1946 senatorial campaigns.

The letter also asked McKellar to insist upon the resignation from the committee of Senator Maybank, Democrat, South Carolina, because of a statement which the council attributed to him concerning the supreme court decision on Democratic "white" primaries.

The letter said:

"Senator Maybank, like Senator Bilbo, has long been an advocate of racial injustice in his own state of South Carolina and in Chicago in 1944 appeared at the Democratic national convention and was successful in keeping negro delegates of the party from being seated. Certainly no person of such open and active racial intolerance should be trusted to represent the senate on investigations into legal citizenship and constitutional rights of Americans and war veterans such as the 100,000 negroes in Mississippi being subjected to appeals for violence and disfranchisement, at the primary election today".

Two Negroes May Oppose Mendel Rivers

News & Courier, Charleston, S.C. Sat. 8-10-46

At least one negro opponent for Representative L. Mendel Rivers in the November general election was assured yesterday by announcement that the Rev. Jesse E. Beard, of Charleston, would be the candidate of the Tolbert-Leevy Republican faction for member of congress from the First district.

Word of the Rev. Beard's designation came from Columbia, where I. S. Leevy, operator of a negro funeral establishment, said that he (Leevy) would seek a congress seat, running against Representative John J. Riley, of Sumter.

Will Oppose Rivers

Dr. W. W. Jones, chairman of the Charleston county Progressive Democratic (negro) executive committee, said yesterday that his group would decide after the white Democrats' primary whether to endorse the Rev. Beard or put up a man of their own.

"There is no question," he said, "that we will be against Congressman Rivers."

Mr. Rivers is unopposed for the Democratic nomination.

Dr. Jones continued that "we definitely expect to have candidates in the field, but we don't know yet whether we will endorse the Rev. Beard or put up our own man."

Sat. 8-10-46

He said there would be a slate of Progressive Democratic candidates for county offices in the November election. He declined to say which offices would be sought, adding that he does not want to influence the outcome of Tuesday's primary election by telling which offices will be contested.

Former Progressive Democrat

The Rev. Beard, who opposed the late Representative Thomas S. MacMillan several years ago as a Republican, has worked with the Progressive Democrats recently. At a meeting in the Fireproof building, last April 13, he addressed the negro Democratic committee on the desirability of having at least one negro alderman in the city. He sought to send the group into contest against the white Democrats but was told the decision had been reached to try for membership. Subsequently, enrolment of negroes in the Democratic clubs was denied.

Dr. Jones said the Rev. Beard had been a member of the Progressive Democrats but had reverted to the Tolbert-Leevy Republican faction, which is not recognized by the national party. At his home yesterday, it was said he is in Chicago.

The Columbia announcement said Tolbert-Leevy candidates would be named for the state house of representatives in Sumter, Orangeburg, Lexington, Richland, Charleston and Georgetown counties; and state senate candidates in Sumter, Richland, Charleston and Georgetown.

Race Question Broached in S. C. Campaign

Thurmond, Taylor, Long Discuss Subject; Drive For Votes Near an End

By W. D. W.

Newberry, July 23: The race question surged to the front this afternoon in several of the speeches made by candidates for governor. They spoke before approximately 300 persons in the Newberry high school auditorium.

County Chairman B. V. Chapman presided.

In one of his few references to the race question during the county-to-county campaign, J. Strom Thurmond said he favored strict segregation of the races.

"I will never favor mixing the races in schools, in churches, theaters, restaurants and elsewhere," he said.

"I will never sign a bill to mix the races."

As did other candidates, he spoke of the sentiment in other parts of the country which was complicating racial matters in the South.

Jim Crow Law Author

John C. Taylor, continuing in the same vein he employed at Lexington, attacked Yankee meddling in the affairs of the South. He charged at Lexington and at Newberry that the C. I. O. political action committee was seeking to "return us to the same plight from which Wade Hampton delivered us in 1876".

John D. Long spoke out against "outside interference", and cited his having been author of the first "Jim Crow" bus law in South Carolina.

"It hasn't worried the white people or the negro people of South Carolina nearly so much as it has a group of people living north of the Mason-Dixon line," he said. "The intelligent white people of Mississippi and Georgia have just nailed down the lid on Yankee domination and negro voting in those two states."

Three Names Stand Out

Veering to the political history of South Carolina, he said "in the panorama of South Carolina politics since the War Between the States, the names of three men loom largest: Wade Hampton, who effected the overthrow of scalawags and carpetbaggers and restored white rule in South Carolina; Ben Tillman, who brought about the liberation of the farmer, and Cole L. Blease, who made the textile workers conscious of their political power."

Mr. Long customarily refers to Hampton, Tillman and Blease as men "who made the governor's office amount to something" and examples of what he means when he says "there is more in the man than in the office".

The campaign party moves on tomorrow morning to Abbeville and in the afternoon to McCormick. Thursday the candidates will speak at Aiken. The last meeting of the week and the final engagement before the climax August 8 at Columbia will be Friday night in Charleston.

White Party on Notice

The News and Courier, Charleston, S.C.

The attack of the "National Negro council" on Senator Maybank is ridiculous, and so is its demand that he be removed from the committee on elections. It is no more than a routine gesture of Big Town negroes and white Liberalites in Northern states. Soon or late they will extend it to all Southern congressmen except Senator Pepper and possibly, Mr. Lister Hill, the virtuous Alabamian. Everybody in Charleston, colored as well as white, knows that Senator Maybank is not a negro baiter, not a negro hater.

The reference of the negro, whose name is Brown, to the exclusion of negroes of South Carolina from the national Democratic convention in 1944 (it was called "Democratic") contains a warning to Mr. Maybank and other leaders of white people in South Carolina.

Thurs. 7-4-46

The white man's party, now in process of nominating state and county officers, is not a part of the national Democratic organization. It is now a society of white people not unlawful and not of legal establishment or recognition.

By repeal of laws relating to primaries, it has saved itself from interference by Justice Hugo Black's and Justice Robert Jackson's august court. If it shall continue to act as a part of the national Democratic convention by electing delegates to the national convention of that organization it will queer itself. It will give the Blacks another chance.

The right of negroes to be "Democrats" is not to be disputed. They enjoy no right to be white people or to enter white men's political societies against white men's will.

The white party of South Carolina is separate from the national Democratic party and would better get away from it even if by so doing some of its members be reduced in importance as national suppliants and leaders.

Immediately, this year, the white people should hold a convention and organize, naming committees, withdrawing from the so-called Democratic party.

Drew Pearson

When Sen. Olin Johnston was governor of South Carolina during President Roosevelt's first term, he made the unprecedented move of permitting Negroes to contribute funds to the Democratic state committee.

With pathos in his voice, the then governor of South Carolina used to tell visitors how these fine colored folks stood in line to contribute 25 cents or a dollar to Democratic campaign funds.

News, Birmingham, Ala

"Some of them can spare only 10 cents," Johnston told this columnist. "But we don't care how much it is. We want 'em in the Democratic party just the same. It's a fine thing."

Sun 9-9-46

Johnston, who began life as a humble textile worker, and always has campaigned as the great friend of the working man, has successfully climbed various political ladders. He was reelected governor, now is serving in the United States Senate. To do so he had to defeat the late Sen. "Cotton Ed" Smith, an open and vigorous opponent of the Negro, who once walked out of a Democratic national convention in Philadelphia when a Negro seconded F. D. R.'s nomination. During Smith's opposition to the Negro, Gov. Johnston posed as the Negro's sympathetic friend. This week, however, during a closed-door session of the Senate committee on privileges and elections, Sen. Johnston sang a different tune. Sen. Glen Taylor, of Idaho, was presenting his complaint against Sen. Bilbo's threats of physical violence to Negroes in Mississippi. Finally Sen. Johnston broke in.

"Now, look here," he said, "you people are playing around with dynamite. Niggers just

don't vote in the South and they never have."

Several senators started to argue, and the former friend of the Negro corrected himself.

"Yes, they vote," he said, "but they have their primary and we have ours. They have their own party and we have ours. They just don't belong in the Democratic primaries."

Candidate Prioleau To Receive Hometown Send-Off

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sat. 10-5-46

GEORGETOWN, S. C. — James E. Prioleau, local school teacher and barbershop proprietor who was nominated for Congress from the 6th district by Progressive Democrats during a district convention here last Wednesday night, will get a big sendoff on his campaign tour of the district next Wednesday night (Oct. 9) in a rally at Mt Olive Baptist Church.

The meeting, scheduled to begin at 8 o'clock, is sponsored by precinct one, of which candidate Prioleau is chairman and the Rev. M. J. Richardson secretary. However, all city precincts are to attend the meeting and send their native son off to political wars with cheers ringing in his ears.

45a 1946

Campaigns (Tennessee)

Lone woman running for Tenn. governor gets KKK threat

The Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.
Jan 8-3-46

MEMPHIS — Young (30) Mrs. Lee Richardson, the only woman running for the Tennessee governorship, reported last week that she had received a letter which hoped that the Ku Klux Klan would "get" her.

The letter was mailed from New York, Mrs. Richardson said, and although it was hardly legible, she managed to decipher the following, "I hope the KKK, or good men without jobs, will get your rotten heart. If your husband doesn't beat you up, somebody else should."

Defends Primary

Editor Constitution: In the Texas case (Smith vs. Allwright) in 1944 the Supreme Court of the United States overruled an earlier Texas case (Grovey vs. Townsend), upholding a Texas statute declaring that no Negro should be eligible to participate in a Democratic party primary election in that state.

The last decision, annulling the Texas statute, was based upon the ground that in the earlier case, the Texas statute was concerned only with membership in a party, and therefore did not offend against the constitutional provisions protecting the Negro's right to vote in general elections.

Whether or not the distinction was a sound one, Judge Sibley, in writing the opinion of the Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit in the King case, in which the Supreme Court has just declined to grant its writ of certiorari to review it, adopted it since, as he well says, "We are aware of no statute, State or Federal, which undertakes to limit the right of citizens who form a political party to select those who shall participate in it."

This being true, how is any subterfuge, evasion, artifice or impropriety invoked in the Democratic party in Georgia limiting its membership to white persons? How is any right of suffrage to which the Negro is entitled in general elections—or in his own primary—denied?

WINFIELD P. JONES.

Atlanta.

The Editor Says

Get It Straight

THE GOVERNORSHIP

The five candidates who are considered the major contenders in the governor's race have formally opened their campaigns and presented their platforms to the electorate. Four of them have made commitments on the provision of university education for colored youth. Jester, Rainey, Sellers, and Saddler have declared their intention to work for such a provision should they be elected. Three of the candidates have declared themselves against the Ku Klux Klan—Rainey, Sellers, and Saddler. Smith and Jester are against the CIO. Sellers is a little vague in his opposition to "CIO domination." Saddler talks about making labor and management equally responsible.

Everybody is for the improvement of educational facilities in the state and increase of teachers' salaries. Everybody is for increase in old-age pensions. Everybody is for the farmer. Everybody is for the veteran. It will be later in the campaign before a sharp distinction can be drawn among the several candidates on the basis of what may appear to be real issues in this campaign.

TOP TEXAS PRIMARY POLL

Jester and Rainey Are Likely to Face Run-Off for Governor

DALLAS, July 27 (AP)—A runoff on Aug. 24 between Beauford Jester and Homer P. Rainey in the Governorship race was indicated tonight by primary election returns from 52 of 254 counties which gave Jester 26,897 votes to 17,652 for Rainey.

The Texas Election Bureau returns gave Grover Sellers 9,988 votes, John Lee Smith 6,486 and Jerry Sadler 5,863. Nine others trailed.

Senator Tom Connally, running for re-election had 10,517 votes in early returns as compared with a total of 3,178 for four opponents.

They Should Have Let That Texan Alone

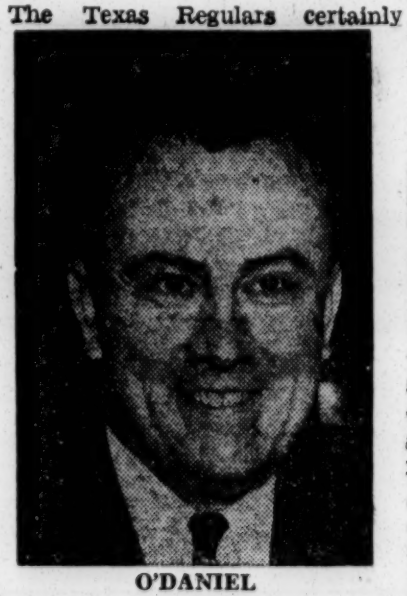
Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, May 29. — Gov. Coke Stevenson of Texas and the wealthy oil men and planters he put on the University Board of Regents are rueing the day they fired Homer P. Rainey as president of the University of Texas. For on that day they launched Dr. Rainey as leader of a liberal political movement which now threatens to sweep him into the Governor's mansion and the Texas Regulars into oblivion. This is the word reaching here from Texas.

P-Day (Primary day) is July 27 in Texas for all but Congressional candidates.

POOR PICKINGS

Although the liberal progressive groups have already united on Dr. Rainey as their candidate, the Texas Regulars and the big oil interests have not yet been able to agree on any one of the five assorted reactionaries who have filed. With June 3 the deadline for filing, some of the old guard are working feverishly to persuade Sen. W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniell to run for governor as the only man with a chance to defeat the popular ex-university president.



O'DANIEL

The Texas Regulars certainly have poor pickings. There is Coke Stevenson, the incumbent, whom some consider their best candidate because of his tight control on the county machinery. There is Buford Jester, a World War II vet, who has filed for governor but holds on to his job with the railroad commission. Jester's strength, according to his supporters, lies in his influence on the commission which must decide cases involving gas, oil, refining plants, and other matters affecting intra-state commerce.

Jerry Sadler has high hopes because he has a hill billy band, like Pappy, and a reactionary program, also like Pappy. John Lee Smith's supporters contend that his record as an outspoken opponent of FDR, labor and the Negro people, should qualify him.

Dr. Rainey's campaign is calculated to prove most embarrassing to the Texas Regulars. For the past two years he has spoken repeatedly over state-wide radio hook-ups. In a break-of-day broadcast he has reached hundreds of thousands of farmers. He has crossed the state several times on speaking tours, addressing large audiences three or four times a week.

HITS SORE POINTS

His message is simple and direct. Big business has control of the educational institutions, the governmental power and the economic development of the state, he declares. Vast wealth in natural resources is piped out of the state enriching Wall Street corporations and impoverishing the Texans. The Board of Regents and the majority of the state politicos represent these alien interests instead of the people of the state. The government of Texas must be returned to its people.

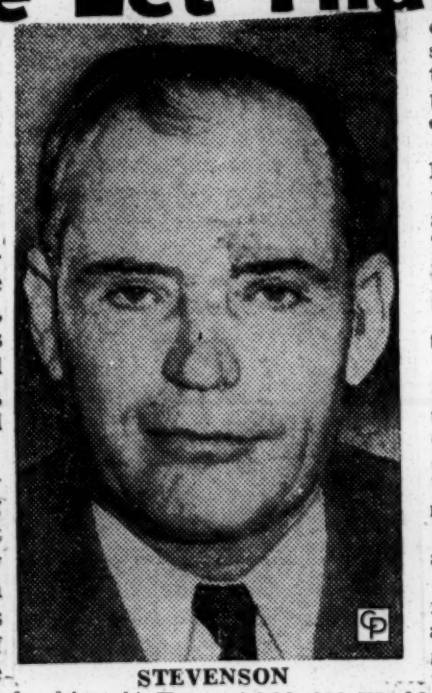
He has discussed in detail such questions as price control, housing, taxation, and that sore point among Southern farmers and small business men: the freight rate differential.

The grass-roots support Dr. Rainey is receiving would be thrilling even to a veteran campaigner. He gets more than 300 letters a day from farmers and particularly young people. The powerful Young Democrats, headed by Jack Carter of Fort Worth, are solid behind him. Rainey for Governor clubs have sprung up all over the state. The Women's Committee on Academic Freedom, with some 2,000 crusading members, backs him. At the University of Texas, there are 15,000 students who idolize the doctor and who are urging their parents to vote for him. At Texas A&M, 300 World War II veterans, studying under the GI Bill of Rights, invited Dr. Rainey to speak and when he concluded rose to their feet cheering.

CIO, AFL and Negro groups are also reported backing Dr. Rainey.

Some of the Texas Regulars urged Jimmy Allred, the former "boy governor" of Texas, to enter the race, hoping he would split Rainey's vote. But Allred went on the radio a fortnight ago to blast Stevenson and to squash rumors of his candidacy.

The Texas Regulars came into the picture in 1944 as an aggregation of wealthy Republicans who, with Bourbon Democrats, hoped to capture the Democratic Party in the state. They were trounced then. It looks as if they are facing an even more obliterating defeat in 1946.



STEVENSON

Rainey Offers Solution To South's Problem

DENISON — Presenting a broad social welfare program for Texas, Dr. Homer P. Rainey opened his campaign for governor in a speech made from the pitchre's mound of the ball park between Sherman and Denison, Tuesday night.

One passage in his speech touched on the race issue in which he offered a "Southern solution to this southern problem" of higher education for Negroes. Taking a position practically identical with that taken by Gubernatorial Candidate Beauford H. Jester on Saturday, Dr Rainey declared he would uphold the constitution and quoted the passage from the constitution calling for "separate" but "impartial" provision of education for white and colored citizens.

On the subject of Negro education, Dr. Rainey said:

"As Christians and citizens, we owe a responsibility toward our Negro population. We must build adequate schools and colleges of their own. We must train Negro doctors. We must train Negro teachers. We must stamp out disease and poverty among our Negro populaiton—disease and poverty which threaten us all.

"I favor the establishment of a first-class Negro university, managed and controlled by an all-Negro Board of Trustees —a university which can help guide our Negro population toward a decent standard of living for their own people— to develop their own institutions— to develop pride in their own race and its accomplishments."

Arthur DeWitty of Austin, who is a warm supporter of Dr. Rainey, pointed out that his platform promises many advantages for Negroes even though they are not specifically mentioned in connection with the welfare items stressed. Dr. Rainey declared himself to be opposed to socialized medicine but proposed to seek the cooperation of the medical profession in Texas to life out public health program from its rank of 43rd in the nation to the finest in America.

Housing, farmers, and veterans were given attention in Dr. Rainey's speech.

Answering the question as to how the money was to be gotten to pay for the things he wanted to do, he proposed a one cent per thousand fathering tax on natural gas, tax on crude oil, ad taxes on luxuries.

Beginning his campaign for the run-off, Dr Rainey has made proposal which we do not appreciate. He has made a part of his campaign might be considered as alienating the colored support he had. Negro vote. As a matter of fact several of his utterances in the campaign, Dr. Rainey cannot be accused of courting the

NOW, DR. RAINEY

(AN EDITORIAL)

Houston, Texas

We well realize that Negro votes alone cannot elect a governor of Texas. Negroes gave a large part of their support to Dr. Homer Price Rainey in the first primary. This support came because of Dr. Raisey's position on issues prior to the governor's campaign. Dur-

John Lee Smith or Grover Sellers. Sat.

Dr. Rainey might bear in mind that violation of one's personality does not enhance his stature. Will Dr Rainey's bid for some of the votes of the supporters of Smith and Sellers lead him into by-ways into which no honorable and self-respecting candidate would care to venture?

EDITORIALLY SPEAKING

Dr. Homer Rainey Texas

Rainey's "Southern Solution"

Sat 9-6-46

According to a news dispatch Dr. Homer P. Rainey, in his campaign for governor of Texas, has offered what he called a "Southern solution to this Southern problem" of higher education for Negroes. Just how much political expediency was mixed up in this appellation will probably be never known. But it is of interest to find one of Dr. Rainey's reputation for liberalism describing solutions to deep-seated American and human problems as "Southern".

Dr. Rainey said: "As Christians and citizens, we owe a responsibility toward our Negro population. We must build adequate schools and colleges of their own. We must train Negro doctors. We must train Negro teachers. We must stamp out disease and poverty among our Negro population—disease and poverty which threaten us all. He advocated "a first-class Negro university" in Texas. 9-6-46

True it is that all of these things are sorely and bitterly needed in Texas and in other Southern states as well. But it would seem that there is nothing peculiarly Southern about their solution. They are American problems, since America is founded upon the principle of equal rights and opportunity for all. They are Christian problems, since to deny these things to Negroes, would be the sheerest hypocrisy on the part of those who profess to be followers of Christ. They are problems of American citizenship. To describe them as "Southern" seems to imply something less than this.

Negro Files For Houston City Council

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-12-46

HOUSTON—For the first time since Reconstruction days following the Civil War, a Negro has filed here as a candidate for elective city office in the democratic primaries here.

The Rev. L. H. Simpson, pastor of Friendship Baptist Church and president of the Baptist Ministerial Alliance, has made application to the city Democratic executive committee to have his name on the ballot as candidate for councilman-at-large.

The application was accompanied by a check for $500 covering filing fees, drawn against the account of the Ministerial Association's relief fund, and countersigned by Association officers.

E. R. Coffee, chairman of the city Democratic committee, accepted the check and application, and indicated that he would "check Simpson's qualifications." The city charter requires five years' residence and that the candidate shall have owned real estate in the city for a two-year period.

Executives Call Meeting

But, in addition to "checking eligibility" the Democratic executives called a special meeting to discuss the matter. They were told by their attorney, Charles E. Kamp, that Simpson, while breaking precedent in the South, could certainly become a candidate if he fulfilled all eligibility qualifications. Simpson's application indicated that he had lived in Houston five years and had been a taxpayer for more than two.

Commenting upon the possibility of Simpson and another Negro, Milton King, becoming candidates, Arthur Mandell, Houston attorney and an officer of the National Civil Rights Congress, said that since 10 to 15 percent of the population is Negro, they "feel they are entitled to representation on the city council."

May Name Two Candidates

King's possible candidacy, also for councilman-at-large, was rumored. Lucy White, an active member of the NAACP, was reported to have been chosen as chairman for King's campaign.

Six whites had already filed for councilman-at-large in the Democratic primary. Three are to be chosen in a city-wide vote, and will constitute the Democratic party's nominees.

Campaigns (Virginia)

Danville Man Files For City Council Race

DANVILLE, Va.—Charles K. Coleman, one of the outstanding young men of this city, was unanimously nominated by the Danville Voters League Feb. 12 to be a candidate for the Council election in June. He is the son of Mrs. Vetie B. Coleman and the late C. C. Coleman.

CHARLES K. COLEMAN

Mr. Coleman received his high school education in Danville and Washington, D. C. His college work was done at Howard University, from which he won his A. B. and A. M. degrees. He received his legal training from LaSalle Extension University, Chicago, Ill. For nine years he was an instructor in history and political science at the John M. Langston high school before leaving to engage in business.

POSITIONS HELD

Mr. Coleman is president of the local chapter of the NAACP, president of the Danville Voters League, vice president of the John M. Langston PTA, treasurer of the Westmoreland Elementary School PTA, member of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and the Committee for Virginia SCHW.

The candidate has many civic accomplishments to his credit. He led the movement to secure a school and transportation for Pittsylvania county school children, aided in the establishment of an adult night school in Danville, fought for recognition of the Negro worker in the CIO Textile Workers Union of America by appointment of a Negro to business staff, was a leader in the campaign for Negro policemen, and within a year has been some change towards Negro aspirations.

Coleman, who is of the quiet studious type, enunciates a policy which has never been heard above a whisper since the days of reconstruction—that the Negro pays taxes, that his race has its problems and that his people are due racial representation on the body which governs the city.

The Danville situation is not isolated and Coleman, in his talks, lays emphasis on another point—that Norfolk, Lynchburg and Charlottesville are bracketed with Danville in that these cities all have local Negro candidates for Council.

Friends of Coleman believe that the 600 Negro votes in Danville will be found solidly behind their candidate. There are some who even say that the Negro candidate will have some white support especially from the ranks of the endorsers of the local inter-racial commission, which for some years has been trying to harmonize relations between the two races.

Students of the local political scene differ as to whether a solid "down-the-line vote" by the Negroes might slip Coleman into the administrative body with the normal white vote split by the remaining nine white candidates seeking five posts.

Racial tolerance has been increasing here for several years due to a new outlook towards Negro aspirations. One of the first signs of it was the mass demand by Negro school teachers that they be paid a salary equal to white teachers. That goal has not yet been achieved here, the school records show, but the gap is steadily narrowing.

Another development was the consistent refusal of Negro people to occupy the gallery of the City Auditorium which invariably has been set aside for Negroes, who formerly were not allowed to sit downstairs. At present noteworthy presentations find certain seats reserved for Negroes.

During the recent World Day Prayer held at Epiphany Church, which has always been conservative in its habits, certain Negroes entered the body of the church and passed into pews and sat with white people.

In the courts it is a common sight now to see a Negro juror on the petit jury and even the grand jury. This has been the rule for many years in the United States Court.

Norfolk Candidate Gains Wide Support in Race for Council

NORFOLK, Va. (ANP).—Victor J. Ashe, candidate for the city council who is running on a platform promising a clean and democratic administration without regard to race, is rapidly gaining the backing of various civic, social and labor groups in the city.

A war veteran, Mr. Ashe is chairman of the recently organized Colored Democrats of the 2nd Congressional District, which is sponsoring a campaign to obtain more voters in the district. The election will be held on June 11.

Negro Seeks Council Seat At Danville

Campaign Assumes Unusual Aspects

DANVILLE, March 23—Danville's unusual councilmanic campaign which will be concluded June 11 when five members of the nine-man Administrative Board are elected, is claiming interest already.

This time, it is not an issue between Danville's long estranged political factions—the Good Government Club and the Independents, but because a Negro candidate, Charles Kenneth Coleman is openly bidding for the support not only of his racial followers but of the liberal element of Danville's political ideology.

Coleman a grocer, a university man, and for some years leader of the new Negro generation, which clamors more vociferously for its rights, has already opened his campaign and has spoken to one meeting of 300 Negroes at which time he said that this election would be a test of the public attitude towards the Negro in a test of whether the traditional lines will be tightly drawn, or if there

Norfolk Vote May Put Negro On City Seat

31-Year-Old Attorney Wins Wide Support

Special Correspondence

NORFOLK, Va., May 6.—This old Southern seaport is agog over the possibility of having the first Negro on its five-man City Council after the June elections. Nine men already have announced their candidacy for the three vacancies, and among them is Victor J. Ashe, 31-year-old attorney and the only Negro in the field.

Ashe

Political observers here are predicting victory for Ashe, an ex-sailor, mainly on the basis of support of labor groups, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, and several Negro organizations. His campaign manager is David Alston, AFL organizer and chairman of the Hampton Roads District Council of the International Longshoremen's Assn.

Ashe, a native of Norfolk, is running on a platform which includes improvement in housing facilities, improved handling of juvenile delinquency and vagrancy problems and increased salaries for police to insure adequate law enforcement.

The Times-Dispatch and Byrd

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

You have won a name for yourself throughout the country as one of the few progressive editors in the South. We all remember the courageous stand which you have taken in previous years for increase in the State's education budget, for the abolition of the poll tax, for an end to segregation on common carriers, and other progressive measures. It was therefore quite a shock to me when I returned to Richmond after some time and picked up The Times-Dispatch.

You have been supporting Senator Byrd in the primary. You have praised his "good" record, without telling us in detail which part of his record you endorse and what you reject. You have failed completely to discuss any of the charges that have been made against Byrd's record by progressive circles in the State. Don't you know Senator Byrd's "good" record? Don't you know that Senator Byrd has fought against almost every measure which you have supported? Don't you know that Senator Byrd, who has sided almost consistently with the Republicans against every progressive administration bill, has voted against the abolition of the poll tax, and more recently against a strong, or for that matter even a weak workable, OPA, and against the British loan, all measures which you once endorsed?

The Times-Dispatch must no longer be willing to take an independent stand and to be honest with itself in its editorial policy. It seems that you have joined the ranks of Senator Byrd's obedient yes-men.

GEORG G. IGGERS.

Richmond

Negro Group Enlists Aid To Hutchinson

NORFOLK, Aug. 5—(AP)—Victor J. Ashe, chairman of the Second District Negro Democrats, announced today his organization was supporting Martin A. Hutchinson for the Senate and Porter Hardy, Jr., for the House of Representatives seat now held by Representative Ralph H. Daughton. The organization probably represents between 5,000 and 6,000 votes in the district, said Ashe, who was an unsuccessful candidate in the recent Norfolk councilmanic election.

Supporters of Daughton and Hardy brought the congressional primary campaign to close tonight with several radio talks, including one in behalf of Hardy's candidacy by Charles B. Godwin, Nansemond County Commonwealth's attorney and campaign manager there for Senator Harry F. Byrd.

Large Vote Expected

Political leaders estimated the district vote tomorrow would total 24,000 or 25,000, compared with approximately 19,000 in the 1944 primary when Daughton was nominated by a narrow margin in a contest with Vivian L. Page, of Norfolk, and Hardy, a Norfolk County farmer.

Grover C. Outland, Daughton's campaign manager, said today Daughton's prospects had improved greatly in the past several days and "are better now than they have ever been." Outland said he believed Daughton would benefit elsewhere in the district from last week's switch of Princess Anne leaders from Daughton to Hardy.

George H. Bowers, Hardy's campaign manager, expressed belief the Princess Anne switch had improved Hardy's prospects elsewhere in the district.

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AMERICA REVISITED

New Era For Norfolk?

Chicago Defender

SEEKS VA. OFFICE

By ENOC WATERS

NORFOLK, Va.—Victor J. Ashe is a candidate for a seat in the city council of Norfolk, Va.

Chicago Def.

Not many Negroes have had the courage to run for office in this state since the 1890's when James R. Holmes of Charlotte County, a Negro candidate for the state senate, was shot and killed by a white man while making a campaign speech.

Since the war C. V. Wilson, an undertaker in Lynchburg; Dr. B. A. Coles, a dentist in Charlottesville, and Charles Coleman in Danville, announced their candidacy for public office. Sat. 5-11-46

The background of Victor Ashe's candidacy has never been told to the country. The backing of this keen, 32-year-old, Norfolk-born attorney symbolizes a new spirit among the Negroes in this city.

Looking almost a year ahead to the June 11 elections, at least two Negro organizations of this city—The Norfolk Council of Clubs and Organizations and the Second Congressional District Colored Democrats—instituted a city-wide pay-your-poll-tax campaign that resulted in betweeen 3,500 and 4,000 Negroes paying their poll tax before the deadline last December.

It was a record never before equalled, and white Norfolk knew something was in the air.

With that step taken, another campaign was instituted to teach Negroes how to register for the June 11 city elections. It is still going on and will continue until May 21.

In February of this year a city-wide citizens committee was formed with S. H. Bell, manager of the local branch of the Southern Aid Society, as chairman.

Consisting roughly of 100 persons, it represented almost every possible cross-section.

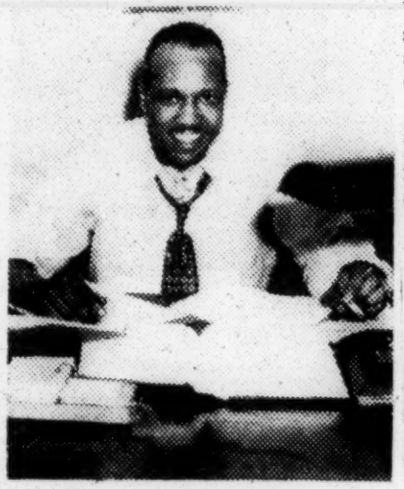
The committee had two purposes clearly outlined from its inception: (1) To select a Negro candidate for the city council, and (2) to elect him.

A nominating sub-committee accepted all suggestions, then presented three names to the full body. Ashe was chosen.

He has a splendid chance of winning one of the vacant council seats. The council here is composed of five men elected to four year terms on a city wide basis. The office pays $1,200 annually.

Normally between 3,000 and 4,000 votes are sufficient to guarantee a candidate a seat. Because an extra heavy vote is anticipated, the number of votes needed to win might be higher. However, there is a possibility of this being offset because there are nine candidates in the field, including the three incumbents. Sat - 5-11-46

With the Negro community solidly behind Ashe, and a large number of diligent workers ringing doorbells every day, it is expected that practically all of the 3,000 or 4,000 eligible Negro voters will march to the polls June 11.



VICTOR ASHE

Keen 32-year-old Norfolk-born attorney whose candidacy for a seat in the Norfolk City Council "symbolizes a new spirit among the Negroes of that city."

Another favorable factor is the exemption from the poll tax requirement of all veterans discharged from the service since January 1, 1945 who will be 21 years of age or over by the election date.

Into this category fall approximately 4,500 Negro veterans who raise the total possible Negro voting strength to near 9,000. Further, there is a definite move on hand to "single shot" Ashe. By this technique—voting for only one instead of three candidates—the strength of the Negro vote can be tripled. Only 28,000 persons can participate in this election.

David Alston, chairman of the district council of the International Longshoremen's Association, a powerful AFL union, who is Ashe's campaign manager, anticipates no difficulty in financing the campaign expected to cost about $2,500.

The community Democratic Club of which Dr. S. F. Coppage is president, has contributed $200. A gambler walked in and left a crisp $50 bill on Ashe's desk "with no strings attached."

He was preparing a case for the Princess Anne County Parent Teacher Association of which C. I. Silers, headwaiter of the Cavalier Hotel, is president.

The PTA is planning to enter suit to force the county school board to equalize and standardize schools.

Meanwhile in his outer office 35-year-old Charles W. Gray, founder and treasurer of the United Veterans of World War II, was hard at work instructing a number of veterans in campaign techniques.

"I think Negro veterans alone can swing this thing and I'm working on the theory that it all depends on us," he said.

Recently a white organization, the Citizens Civic League, invited all nine candidates to appear before a mass meeting. One or two of the white candidates, presumably the incumbents, declared they would not occupy the same stage with a Negro. The organization, then, withdrew its invitation to Ashe.

However, another white organization, the Progressive Independent Voters League, that had extended similar invitations to all candidates, stood pat when three whites declined to appear with Ashe.

Those that are reported to have refused the invitation are Dr. J. W. Reed, C. E. Wright, an auto salesman, and Atty. Richard W. Ruffin, all incumbents. Sat. 5-11-46

The concern of some whites that Ashe will be elected is seen in the report that several of the weaker white candidates are being urged to withdraw with the hope that their votes will raise the totals of those remaining in the race. To date, however, there have been no withdrawals.

The daily papers have been rather impartial, except in one case where Ashe was lauded for his platform which, the paper said, is "a social document of importance."

One white organization, interested in honest elections, has informed Ashe that it is preparing to have white watchers at polls throughout the city to see that none of his votes are stolen.

Whether Ashe wins or not, one thing has happened to the Negro in Norfolk. For the first time in the memory of the oldest inhabitants, Negroes are presenting a united front.

Georgia Democrats Vote to Exclude Negroes From Primary Elections

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.
Thurs. 10-10-46

Woman Barred From Race

Macon, Ga., Oct. 9 (AP)—Georgia Democrats in state convention unanimously indorsed today the pledge of Eugene Talmadge that Negroes shall be excluded from Georgia primaries, and agreed to limit future franchise to "white persons who are Democrats."

The convention, almost entirely composed of hand-picked Talmadge adherents, whooped, stomped, and clapped as a procession of speakers promised to preserve "white supremacy." It cheered the acceptance speech of Governor-nominate Talmadge, ailing in a Jacksonville hospital, which was read by his son, Herman.

Nomination Annulled.

The convention ordered the secretary of state to "withdraw and annul" the nomination of Representative Helen Douglas Mankin (D., Ga.) and declared Judge James C. Davis, Decatur, as the party nominee.

Previously the party's executive committee certified both candidates as nominees after Mrs. Mankin won a majority of the primary-election votes and Judge Davis received the bulk of the county-unit votes.

After adopting Davis as the Fifth Congressional District candidate, the delegates approved a resolution that rules out of the party any public official who fails to place the names of convention nominees on the general-election ballot.

In Atlanta, Mrs. Mankin described the convention resolution as "intimidation" and added, "The party cannot instruct a public official to do something illegal.

Insists on Running.

"I'm running for Congress just the same," Mrs. Makin said. "The Democratic Party has said I'm a Democratic nominee and I am."

Talmadge, declaring that Negroes are not yet educated for voting, told the convention: "We Democrats who believe in the democracy of our forefathers believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in our Southland."

The convention, which earlier had abolished all existing party rules, immediately adopted new regulations paralleling Georgia's election code, but limiting party membership and election participation to white persons acceptable to party executives.

In effect, the convention's action follows the lead of South Carolina, which expunged all mention of primaries from State law, and made such elections "club affairs" controlled entirely by the Democratic Party.

Cox Sets Keynote.

The key section of Georgia's party regulations provides: "Any white person who is qualified to vote under the laws of Georgia may become a member of the Democratic Party by indicating his willingness to become a member and subscribing to the tenets and beliefs of the Democratic Party of Georgia, as pronounced by it in its last platform of declarations of policy."

Keynote of the convention was set by Representative Eugene Cox (D., Ga.) in a bitter denunciation of Northern "interference in Georgia affairs." Cox castigated outgoing Governor Ellis Arnall, as one who had invited invasion by the C.I.O. Political Action Committee which he described as "the hand of Stalin in our ballot boxes."

But the convention gave only mild applause when Cox declared that the South should break with its traditional support of the national Democratic Party if it persisted in associating with the P.A.C. and with "alien-minded doctrinations."

In Tennessee

Talmadge Re-states 'White Primary' Plan

Courier Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 8-10-46

CHATTANOOGA, Tenn. —(ANP)— Georgia's Governor-nominate Eugene Talmadge, is attempting to spread his hate doctrine to his neighbor state of Tennessee. Here on business early last week, Talmadge said that machinery to make Georgia's Democratic elections a 'white man's primary" would be set up at the party's forthcoming State convention. Talmadge declared that under Georgia law he could appoint 246 of the 410 delegates to the convention to be held in Macon, Ga., in October.

According to Talmadge, who ran on a "white supremacy" platform, plans to organize a "white man's primary" were already under study and would be ready when the convention delegates assemble. He said:

"We want to set up rules for the Democratic party in Georgia to eliminate Negro voters from our primary. That will be the main purpose of the convention." Continuing, Talmadge said:

"The convention will adopt a resolution requesting the Georgia General Assembly to repeal the Neil Primary Law. With that out of the way, future Democratic primaries in Georgia will be under party control instead of under State control. That will satisfy the findings of Federal Courts. South Carolina has a similar set for its Democratic primary, and Tennessee ought to have the same thing."

'Ol' Gene thus was pointing the way for spread of his hate doctrine to other portions of the South.

The Democratic Convention

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 10-9-46

The State Democratic Convention gets under way in Macon today.

The red-gallused supporters of Eugene Talmadge will be as completely in control as were the followers of Ellis Arnall four years ago. It is party practice to allow the victorious gubernatorial nominee to name all delegates. It is a good practice. It makes for a unanimity of action and a lack of futile squabbling. Thus the State's liberal factions—and, whatever impression a stranger might gather at today's convention, they are not inconsiderable—will be as conspicuous by their absence as were the Talmadge legions in '42.

It will be, as it should be, a Talmadge convention.

The keynote speaker, Rep. Eugene Cox, can be depended upon to supply the indicated fireworks. The Second District's fiery Congressman will berate, and capably, opposing philosophy within the party. He will read the quadriennial final rites for the fallen foe and the huzzas will be as loud in the street as though all intra-party conflicts were actually ended forever.

The platform of the victorious candidate will likewise be adopted without evidence of opposition. Gov. Talmadge was renominated on promises whish included:

1. Establishment of a white primary.
2. Preservation of the County Unit System.
3. Continuation of the 50 percent teacher salary increase.
4. Appropriation of $1,000,000 annually for hospitals.
5. The largest road-building program in the State's history.
6. Free business and drivers' license and five-year ad valorem tax exemption for veterans.
7. Increased welfare pensions.
8. Economy in government.

His platform, having been approved by the people, will become the party's platform, thus being officially recommended for enactment to the forthcoming session of the State Legislature.

While they have no official standing, the party's recommendations in such matters are usually followed by members of the General Assembly. For this reason, it is to be hoped those charged with the responsibility will think long and well before urging too drastic changes in State statutes. Let them remember, while the lush of victory is upon them, that they are recommending laws to suit, not just this, but every occasion. Let them ask themselves if potential dangers in that which they recommend outweigh the benefits they seek to accomplish. Let them not forget that this is a rapidly changing world, that the shoe may well be on the other foot tomorrow, that actions taken in haste and vindictiveness have a habit of backfiring.

It is our hope and belief that the Governor to be nominated in Macon today will have the full co-operation of all Georgians, whether they supported him politically or not, in his efforts to make this State a better place in which to live.

It is our further belief that the Democratic nominee, whose election in November is a foregone conclusion, has an unprecedented opportunity to render service to Georgia and himself. Certainly we shall strive to aid him in taking advantage of it.

The jubilation at Macon today is justified and understandable.

But let cooler heads remember, in the councils of the party hierarchy, that the really important thing is to provide conditions in which citizens of every political leaning can work together to build a greater Georgia. Wed. 10-9-46

Negro Won't Vote in White Primary Again, Gene Says

MACON, Ga., Oct. 9 (AP)—Governor-nominate Eugene Talmadge promised the Georgia Democratic Convention today that Negroes would not be permitted to vote in a state Democratic primary.

Talmadge, still in a Jacksonville hospital for treatment of a stomach ailment, sent his speech to be read to the convention by his son, Herman.

"We Democrats," he said, "who believe in the democracy of our forefathers, believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in our southland."

Acknowledging great progress on the part of Negroes, Talmadge nevertheless insisted "the Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." He asserted this was proven in the recent Democratic primary, when "despite the fact that there were four candidates for the office of governor, one candidate received 99 per cent of the Negro vote."

Talmadge continued: "Such block voting by an uneducated group does not further the cause of good government and is not in accordance with the wishes of Georgia Democrats."

Talmadge said all candidates for governor campaigned on essentially the same platform, except for one plank—white supremacy." I am very happy," he said, "that the majority of the white Democrats of Georgia agreed with the platfarm that I advocated and gave me more than one hundred thousand majority vote of the white Democrats of this state."

(Talmadge polled 305,777 popular votes, compared with 314,421 for his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael. His supporters claim that approximately 100,000 opposition votes were cast by Negroes).

"The paramount issues upon which I campaigned" continued Talmadge, "will be written into the platform of the Democratic party of Georgia by this convention. This platform is written not only for the successful candidate for governor but is written for every Democratic nominee within this state, no matter to what office he sapires."

Talmadge said he wishes to see Georgia Negroes have better schools, equal justice, a better health program, a better opportunity of advancement, and better standards of living.

But, he continued, "I do not repeat not wish to have radical organizations that follow the party line of Moscow come into our state and corral this vote for some candidate that wishes to change the form of government in this state from the time of Edward Oglethorpe. . . . I do not repeat nor want to see the doctrines of Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes become the guiding beacon of government in Georgia."

Talmadge pledged perpetuation of the county-unit system of voting "as long as I am governor" and urged rejection in the general election of a proposed constitutional amendment for a 12-man board of public welfare.

Talmadge said he opposed it because "the sole purpose and scheme of this constitutional amendment is an effort by the present administration to freeze into office the present director of public welfare (A. J. Hartley) for an additional seven years."

In conclusion, Talmadge extended a figurative hand to his opponents, saying: "Let us in victory and all of those who opposed us, join hands for four years of efficient administration of government for the benefit of all Georgia people."

Georgians Call Talmadge's Illness 'Act of Providence'

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-19-46

ATLANTA (ANP)—Some people have stated that Providence took an upper hand in Georgia political affairs just one week before the Oct. 9 meeting of the Democratic State Convention in Macon, when Eugene Talmadge, gubernatorial nominee, was stricken ill in Jacksonville, Fla.

It was pointed out that the Talmadge forces were set to ask the General Assembly to remove all laws relating to the primary in order to prevent colored people from voting again. Talmadge had planned a personal appearance before the convention.

According to reports, he was seized by stomach hemorrhages at a resort where he went to rebuild his strength for his new term of office. The illness interrupted work on his acceptance speech, which his son, Herman, read after his father missed the convention.

Ga. Democrats Defy U.S., Establish White Primary

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 10-19-45

ATLANTA, Ga.—Eugene Talmadge was formally nominated for Governor and an all-white democratic primary established by the Georgia State Democratic Convention this week.

As a precaution in the event the U.S. Supreme Court rules that the State's unit vote system is unconstitutional, the delegates voted to continue the convention as a functioning organization by adjourning subject to the call of the chairman.

"Just in Case"

If the unit system is ruled out Talmadge's nomination would be invalidated. By continuing to function, the convention could then renominate him.

The delegation unanimously adopted the resolution setting up a white primary under the county unit system. Repeal of primary laws will now be required to let elections be held under supervision of the party's State executive committee.

Because he is confined to a Jacksonville Hospital with a stomach ailment, Talmadge's acceptance speech was made by his son, Herman, who served as his campaign manager.

In it Talmadge said he wanted colored people to have better schools, equal justice, better health programs, opportunities and living standards.

"However, I do not want the doctrines of Henry Wallace or Harold Ickes to become the guiding beacons for government in Georgia," he added.

He added that colored people have not demonstrated their capability of casting intelligent ballots." He pointed out that although there were four candidates for governor, one candidate received 99% of the colored vote.

Talmadge declared that Democrats who believe in the democracy of their forefathers believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in the South.

Warns Against PAC

One of the representatives at the convention warned against complete regimentation of the State by the nation, and insisted that the Democratic party server its relation with the Political Action Committee.

Judge James C. Davis was recognized by the convention as the Democratic Congressional nominee from the 5th district in spite of protests made by Rep Helen D. Mankin.

Convention Sanctions Talmadge Program

The Courier Pittsburgh, Pa. Sat. 10-19-46

ATLANTA, Ga.—Drew Pearson's syndicated column, "Washington Merry-Go-Round," got a big play last week in Atlanta newspapers, when the noted columnist and radio commentator wrote that the seventeen Atlanta delegates to the State Democratic Convention in Macon read "like a roll-call of the nightshirt brigade at Stone Mountain."

Those named as Klansmen delegates in the Pearson column were:

Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan; City Policeman Sam Roper, City Recorders Luke Arnold and A. W. Callaway, Councilmen Joe Allen, Howard Haire, O. B. Cawthon, F. Lee Evans and Cecil Hester; Fulton County Commissioner Ellis Barett, Assistant City Police Chief G. Neal Ellis, City Detective Jimmie Helms, R. E. Jones and O. R. Jones, listed by Mr. Pearson as "county and city detectives"; H. C. Edson (Eidson), Dr. E. H. Eubanks and Vester Owenby.

MACON, Ga. — Georgia's State Democratic Convention last week formally nominated Eugene Talmadge, the man who was elected on a "white supremacy" platform, for an unprecedented fourth term as Governor, and started the ball rolling toward prohibiting Negroes from voting in the party's primaries, which are tantamount to election.

The move to bar Negroes from the primaries, a right they enjoyed in the July 17 balloting this year for the first time since post Civil War days, came with adoption of resolutions urging the Legislature to enact laws shifting control of the primaries from State Statute books to party books.

This, in effect, would make the Democratic primaries similar to balloting in private clubs for election of officers. The party would be within the law in excluding any person it desired from membership and from voting.

SIMILAR TO S. CAROLINA DEMOCRATS

The convention's action was similar to that of South Carolina Democrats who have established their "private club," which bars Negroes from membership.

The goggle-eyed and red-suspendered Talmadge was unable to accept his formal nomination for the fourth term in person. While he lay ill in a Jacksonville (Fla.) hospital, where he is under treatment for a stomach hemorrhage, his son, Herman, who managed his successful campaign for election, read the acceptance speech.

"The radicals and the lunatic fringe of the East and other sections of our country," Talmadge's speech read, "must be content and realize that Georgia will handle its own affairs."

OUT TO KILL RACE VOTE

In his prepared speech, Georgia's race-baiting Talmadge said he would fix things so Negroes "will never again go to the polls in a Georgia Democratic primary" as approximately 100,000 of them did last July in the vain effort to beat back his bid for return to the Governorship.

Courier

The Governor-elect also promised he would "protect the County Unit System of voting in Georgia" as long as he is Governor.

Although Ol' Gene was absent, the convention was typically a Talmadge show. Approximately 5,000 of his followers from the hills of North Georgia to the rolling plains of the coastal region swamped Macon for the session.

ARNALL DENOUNCED

Fiery Congressman Eugene E. Cox, Representative of Georgia's Second District in the National House, keynoted the convention. In his address, he denounced the administration of Governor Ellis Arnall and declared the Democrats of the South will break with the party unless the National leadership divorces itself from its association with the CIO's political action committee.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Governor Arnall's liberalism came in for a bitter attack. "Georgia wants a Governor," Cox asserted, "who will administer the affairs of our people wisely and who will not make a common cause with the Harlequins of Harlem and the Comunistic Carpet-Baggers of Moscow who come mouthing their monotonous chant of 'reform Georgia, reform Georgia, reform Georgia'."

Sat. 10-19-46

WHAT CONVENTION DID

Specifically, the convention did this:

1. Made official the nomination of Talmadge to an unprecedented fourth term that was given him in the July 17 primary.

2. Adopted resolutions specifying that "only white persons who are Democrats may vote in the future party primaries.

3. Ruled that "the County Unit rule shall prevail" in nominating State officials.

4. Endorsed Talmadge's campaign platform, accepting "the principles enunciated in it" and calling upon the General Assembly to "enact appropriate legislation to carry them into effect."

5. Specificaly urged the Legislature to pass laws securing "the inalienable right" of Georgia Democrats to exclude from party primaries "persons, who in time honored customs and traditions of the party, are not entitled to participate therein." (This was an obvious reference to Negroes.)

6. Endorsed the 50 per cent pay raise for Georgia school teachers.

7. Urged an increase in old-age pensions.

For the convention's recommendations to become effective, they must receive favorable legislative action by the General Assembly when it convenes next January.

The Legislature, when it is asked to pass control over primaries from the State to the party, also will be urged to enact new laws specifying election crimes such as stuffing ballot boxes, buying votes

voting dead people and other such practices.

Roy V. Harris, "lame duck" speaker of the House, who served as convention floor leader, declared Georgia's present election fraud laws "are extremely weak and do not even provide penalties for stealing elections."

KKK BOSS PRESENT

Among persons seen in attendance at the convention, either in the role of official delegates or visitors, were Dr. Samuel Green, the grand dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, and Sam Roper, also active in Klan activities in the Atlanta area. Political reports current in the State now are that Roper, an ardent Talmadge follower, will head the Georgia Bureau of Investigation after Talmadge takes office next January.

Meanwhile, in Atlanta, Representative Helen Douglas Mankin of the Fifth District of Georgia carried her fight to be listed as a Democrat in the November general election directly to the people and accused the State Democratic convention of resorting to "vicious intimidation" in threatening party banishment to any official who puts her name on the ballot.

MANKIN DEALT BLOW

The convention had declared that Judge James C. Davis of Decatur was its nominee for Congress and approved a resolution designed to nullify the action of the outgoing Democratic executive committee and the Secretary of State in certifying the names of both Mrs. Mankin and Davis for the general election.

The dispute originally developed a short time before the July primary. With the help of a large number of Negro votes, Mrs. Mankin won a special election under popular vote to fill the unexpired term of Robert Ramspeck, who resigned.

The Fifth District Democratic Executive Committee had been operating on a popular vote basis since 1932, but before the primary decided to change to the county unit system used in State-wide primaries.

Mrs. Mankin protested that the shift was intended solely to defeat her.

Democratic Convention (Georgia)

White Primary, County Unit System Defended by the Macon Platform

The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 10-10-46

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, Oct. 9—The State Democratic Convention, here to nominate Eugene Talmadge for his fourth term as Governor of Georgia, called on members of the party Wednesday to preserve the white primary and protect the county unit system of popular elections in primaries.

Hailing Talmadge as "the answer of red-blooded Georgians to attempted interference with their internal affairs by outside elements in the North," the Convention adopted a platform backing Talmadge on every point of his campaign, and especially on the points of preserving the white primary and preventing Negroes from voting.

The Convention gave Talmadge a green light for the solution of one of the major problems which he will face: more State revenue.

The permit was a blanket covering any revenue measure he might find necessary to "provide revenue sufficient to accomplish the purposes stated in this platform."

It has long been recognized that Talmadge probably will have to increase State income if he carries out various pledges regarding schoolteachers' pay, better roads, higher social security benefits, and other measures. Always one to boast of reducing taxes, Talmadge may be in the position of having to increase them, but the Convention gave him the necessary pledge of support.

In the preamble to the platform, the Convention said:

"The Democrats of Georgia have assembled in this Convention today in obedience to a clear mandate from the people of Georgia to proclaim and adopt policies which are vital to the future safety and welfare of the State and its institutions.

"Not since the Reconstruction Era immediately following the War Between the States has a more critical situation arisen in Georgia in the opinion of this Convention than that which now exists.

"OUTSIDE AGENCIES"

"Not only is there a determined effort by outside agencies to nullify the unit system in vogue for many years past in our primary elections for the nomination of our State officials and to upset the wishes of our people in their choice for Governor, but these same Communistic, undemocratic and subversive elements from beyond our borders have for their own selfish and iniquitous purposes caused the Negroes in our State for the first time in their history as citizens to declare themselves to be Democrats and to register and vote as such in all of our Democratic primaries.

"There was never a crisis, however, in the economic or political affairs of our State or Nation that some great leader was not found and did not arise to meet it.

TALMADGE NOMINATION

"It is not surprising, therefore, but is the natural sequence of human events, that in such a perilous hour the people of Georgia should have turned to Hon. Eugene Talmadge to lead them as their Governor for the fourth time in the last 15 years. He not only was decisively nominated over his two opponents under the unit system but it is a most noteworthy fact that should not be overlooked that he received a clear majority of all the white votes which were cast.

"Mr. Talmadge's election to a fourth term is indeed significant when it is recalled that never before in the long history of this great State has a Georgian ever been honored by being selected as Governor four times. This Convention proclaims this fact to the rest of this Nation and points out that his re-election in 1946 was not the result of any political accident, nor was it occasioned by any hysteria of our people.

"CALL OF HIS PEOPLE"

His election for this unprecedented fourth term was the call of his people to lead them again in the face of threatened danger and disaster locally and nationally. His selection was the answer of red-blooded white Georgians to attempted interference with their internal affairs by outside elements in the North who are seeking to destroy our Southern way of life, our Southern traditions, and our Southern institutions, as well as to undermine our democracy, and in the end our National Government.

"This Convention asserts that Mr. Talmadge was called to the Governorship again not only for all the important reasons just assigned, but also on account of his fearless leadership as well as his splendid, courageous and economical administration of the affairs of his State from 1933 to 1937, and from 1941 to 1943.

"We commend his administration of the government of Georgia during these years, and we pledge to him the full support of the Democratic Party of Georgia during his next approaching four-year term as Chief Executive.

CONFIDENCE IN TALMADGE

"We are confident that by his outstanding patriotism, courage, wisdom and independence, he will set a worthy example to his fellow countrymen not only in Georgia but throughout the United States."

The Convention devoted major attention to the county unit system. The full text of the platform on this subject was:

"This Convention unreservedly approves what is known as the County Unit System for nomination of Democratic candidates for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Statehouse officers. The plan has been in force in Georgia for many years. It has for its basis constitutional provisions beginning with the first Constitution of the State and reaffirmed and reapproved by the people of the State with the adoption of every other Constitution, including the Constitution of 1945.

"It has for a precedent the provisions of the Constitution of the United States relating to the election of the President of the United States, and the apportionment of United States Senators.

COUNTY UNIT SYSTEM

"We deplore the belated effort of two disgruntled citizens of this State to overturn in the courts the time-honored and legal County Unit System. They voted in the primary under the County Unit Plan, thereby taking their chances of the selection of their candidate. When their candidate was defeated, they should, in all good faith, morals, equity and right thinking, be estopped from complaining and from endeavoring to overturn the result of the primary election and from attempting to bring on a chaotic condition in the governmental affairs of Georgia.

"We urge that every legal effort be made to sustain the County Unit System and the nomination of Mr. Talmadge thereunder, and that the State officials and attorneys charged with the duty of defending the constitutionality of our laws vigorously defend the unanimous opinion and decision of the three distinguished United States Judges who recently upheld the County Unit Plan.

"This Convention goes on record as advocating a continuation of the County Unit System. We direct its adoption by the State Democratic Executive Committee elected by this Convention for future primaries."

WHITE PRIMARY

On the Democratic white primary, the full text of the platform read:

"We deem it necessary to the preservation of good government in Georgia that the institution known as the White Democratic Primary be preserved. We deem it necessary and proper that all steps appropriate to the attainment of that end be taken.

"In order to successfully and legally preserve the White Primary System in Georgia, we unanimously and wholeheartedly indorse the plans of the Democratic nominee for Governor, Hon. Eugene Talmadge, for the preservation and perpetuation of the White Primary System in the Democratic Party.

"We urge the enactment of all laws necessary to accomplish that purpose. We likewise urge the repeal of all existing statutes which may prevent or tend to prevent the accomplishment of that purpose.

"We direct and instruct the State Democratic Executive Committee selected by this Convention to adopt and enforce all such rules and regulations as may be necessary and expedient to the preservation of the White Democratic Primary and that such rules and regulations provide for every contingency now governed by any statute which it may be found necessary or advisable to repeal.

RIGHT OF THE PARTY

"The Democratic Party in Georgia, in this Convention assembled, asserts and declares its right and the right of every other political party to exclude from participation in party primaries and in party affairs persons who, under the time-honored customs and traditions of such party, are not entitled to participate therein.

"We urge the enactment by the General Assembly of all such statutes as may be necessary to secure this inalienable right; and we urge the repeal of all existing statutes which encroach upon, or have been construed to encroach upon, this privilege.

"We direct the State Democratic Committee to adopt, promulgate and enforce such rules and regulations as may be necessary to secure these rights and privileges to the Democratic Party in Georgia."

Other points of the platform were:

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS—"We advocate stricter enforcement of the registration laws of Georgia, and urge all the Tax Collectors and County Registrars of the various Counties to permit only those persons who are qualified under the Constitution and laws of Georgia to register and vote in elections held in this State.

"We recommend to the General Assembly consideration of statutory requirements or constitutional amendments to require periodical registration of voters."

FOR TALMADGE PLATFORM

PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE—"We indorse the platform of the Honorable Eugene Talmadge, the Democratic Nominee for Governor of Georgia," with particular emphasis on these points of the platform:

SCHOOLS—Advocates continuance of the 50 percent increase in salaries for teachers and bus drivers. "We reaffirm our allegiance to and support of the University System of Georgia."

PENSIONS—"We urge that old-age pensions be increased and that all who are entitled to pensions hereafter receive them."

ROADS—"We urge that an extensive road building program be begun as soon as possible, and that every effort be made to get promptly our full share of Federal funds for Federal highways in our State."

HEALTH MEASURES — Communities "which do not have adequate hospitals . . . should by appropriations from the Legislature be enabled to erect local hospitals and medical centers." All eleemosynary institutions should be provided with ample funds "to enable them to properly care for their inmates."

VETERANS — Advocates free business licenses, free auto driving licenses, adequate housing facilities, financial aid by means of the Veterans' Resettlement Corporation" for veterans. It adds that veterans "should have preference in appointments to office, all other things being equal."

TO PROVIDE REVENUE

REVENUE LAWS—"We recommend the enactment of such laws as may be necessary to provide revenue sufficient to accomplish the purposes stated in this platform."

PUBLIC OFFICIALS — "We urge upon the General Assembly and upon the next Administration observance of both the letter and spirit" of the constitutional provision that no Legislator "shall be employed by the State . . . during the term for which he was elected to the General Assembly."

LABOR RELATIONS — "We pledge this Administration to fair and impartial treatment of capital and labor alike in the State of Georgia. We invite new capital and enterprise to come into the State. We assure them of fair treatment during the next Administration. We recognize the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively."

FARMERS AND FARMING—Urges farmers to organize so "their voice" might be "heard in Washington in an equal manner and with equal force with labor and capital."

ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT—"Economy in . . . Government has always been a fixed policy of every Talmadge Administration. We assure the people that during the next four years the Government of the State will be efficiently and economically operated; that public funds will not be wasted, and that useless and unnecessary employes will not be continued on the State pay roll."

Negro Voting in Ga. State Convention Pledges to End

Canton Ga. Tribune October 11, 1946

The State Democratic Convention, meeting in Macon last Wednesday to nominate Eugene Talmadge for his fourth gubernatorial term, took every step it could think of to end negro voting in Georgia primaries. It then made ready to take any it might find necessary.

Just bfeore it adjourned, the Convention decided to make provision for reconvening any time

Convention blasted at Gov. Arnall, "isms," and called for a return to "old fashioned Democracy."

The convention called upon voting Talmadge, Cahrters in the Nov. 5 general election reminded the respon tion to defeat a proposed constitut Talmadge had rid-tional amendment setting up a con- f Dan Walter Cock-stitutional welfare board. ached racial and ed- An all-harmonious session, the stem.

The unprecedented action of Talmadge's Supreme Court might hand down rulings in the future which would eliminate the present county unit system. necessary between now and 1950, the duration of Talmadge's tenure.

The convention nominated Talmadge, itself into a possible perma- was regarded as having one meaning—the U. S. which pledged to ban negroes from voting in future Georgia Democratic primaries.

In nominating Talsive crowd that Talmadge, pledged him to support every way, and predicted a greating. "who preached

lie Redwine, reminded it then made ready to take any regulations to keep negroes

Gene Talmadge's Odd Notion of Democracy

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

GEORGIA'S investment in reaction, through its nomination of EUGENE TALMADGE for Governor, has paid its first dividend. And all the South may well be concerned for the result. In a typically uproarious "TALMADGE" meeting, that State's Democratic convention turned back from the progressive reforms of the ARNALL administration. Tues. Fri. 10-11-46

It went wild upon hearing the red-gallused demagogue's speech of acceptance, as read by his son and heir apparent. The tipoff lies in the reported ecstasy with which it hailed TALMADGE's pledge to return to "the democracy of our forefathers."

"Old GENE" meant, it was plain, the so-called democracy of the poll tax, of limited suffrage, of class and race superiority. Negroes, he said, are not yet educated for voting, and he was going to see they wouldn't be voting from now on. If you know GENE, you know that he was suggesting that they can't take education. One hundred years ago, STEPHENS, TOOMBS and other spokesmen of the slave-holding aristocracy were saying about the same.

Even before that, spellbinders of disunion were roaring in pathological fury against Yankee meddling and federal authority, denying common interest and obligation. And the Georgia State convention, meeting Wednesday in triumph to hail the return of Talmadgeism, heard another GENE, Representative E. E. Cox, assert in the keynote speech that Northern interference in Georgia affairs must stop, that ELLIS ARNALL had invited Communism to the old State.

All ARNALL did, of course, was to abolish the poll tax, widen the base of the electorate, contrive a new and modern constitution, establish the South's economic case, as well as its social yearnings, before the nation, order action against the Ku Klux Klan, end a ten-year tradition of political racketeering and exploitation of the State. TALMADGE was Governor for six of those years. Fri. 10-11-46

The very selection of Mr. Cox to h'ist the tune of the old order's return to Georgia was revealing as to the nature of the gathering. That statesman from the peanut region of far South Georgia has been the very voice of the Bourbon-Republican coalition in Congress. He has been its most potent instrument on the House Rules Committee for blocking progressive legislation. That the TALMADGE nominating convention turned to him for its official statement of policy and incitement is a circumstance that speaks eloquently of the present dominant idea in Georgia politics.

One wonders what TALMADGE and his followers mean when they speak of democracy. In previous administrations TALMADGE has thrown out of office men who were elected by the people. He got away with it like a model of totalitarianism. And everything his convention did and its speakers said Wednesday was a denial of the democratic process.

A woman member of Congress was denied a place on the November ballot although she received some 15,000 more votes in the primary than her opponent, a TALMADGE favorite (TALMADGE himself, one recalls, ran about the same number of popular votes behind his leading opponent). A determination to defy the Supreme Court rule, that all citizens are entitled to vote in primary elections, black or white, was enthusiastically acclaimed. The Democratic Party in Georgia was declared closed to all excepting white persons.

All this was among the accomplishments of men who spoke of democracy. But it must be plain to many, from the very desperation of their defiance and their false claims, that theirs was a last stand against one nation and one world. Their battlements were constructed in another century, before all men were free, and are insufficient to prevail long, in the Atomic Age.

Drew Pearson

Talmadge Appoints Klansmen

The Press Birmingham, Ala.

WASHINGTON—Today Gene Talmadge, the red-gallused gentleman from Georgia, convenes the state Democratic convention in Macon to prepare plans for Gene's forthcoming reign as governor of Georgia. In keeping with state tradition, Talmadge's opponents, Ed Rivers and Jimmy Carmichael (the latter actually received a larger vote than Talmadge), have surrendered their delegates to Gene and he will have complete sway over the Democratic Party. Wed. 10-9-46

Taking advantage of that sway, Talmadge has had the brass to appoint as delegates the most variegated array of Ku Klux Klanners Georgia has seen in years. Talmadge delegates who will chart the future course of the Democratic Party read like a roll call of the nightshirt brigade at Stone Mountain. Here are some of them:

Dr. Samuel Green, grand dragon for Georgia.

Sam Roper, exalted cyclops of Atlanta Klan No. 297; attends meetings in his police uniform; former head of the Georgia Bureau of Investigation under Talmadge.

Luke Arnold, Recorder Court judge, member of Atlanta Klan No. 1, speaks also at other klanverns.

A. W. Callaway, Recorder Court judge, attends Atlanta Klan No. 1.

Howard Haire, city councilman and mayor pro tem, member Klan No. 1.

Joe Allen, city councilman, attends Klan No. 1. Allen was recently present in a professional gambling house when a sensational shooting occurred. As a result, he was forced to resign as a member of the governing board of his church, but his status both as a klansman and member of the Atlanta City Council continues unimpaired.

O. B. Cawthon, city councilman, attends Klan No. 1 and East Atlanta Klan.

F. Lee Evans, city councilman, long-time secretary of Atlanta Klan headquarters.

Cecil Hester, city councilman and police commissioner, member Klan No. 1.

Ellis Barrett, county commissioner, attends Klan No. 1.

Neil G. Ellis, assistant chief, Atlanta Police Department, attends Klan No. 1.

Jimmie Helms, city detective, head of Klokan committee, Klan No. 1.

R. E. Jones and O. R. Jones, county and city detectives, attend Atlanta Klan No. 297.

H. C. Edson, klansman and brother of a klansman convicted in East Point Klan flog case.

Dr. R. H. Eubanks, active speaker in Klan No. 1.

Vester Ownby, former cyclops of Riverside (Atlanta) Klan; now chief spokesman for new outfit, "The Columbians," who describe themselves as "40 times worse than the Klan."

These are the gentlemen who will do Talmadge's bidding at a convention (konvention is a better name) which will set policy for the Democratic Party during the next four years. And since the Democratic Party is all powerful in Georgia, what this convention does will be the law in Georgia. Among other things, it plans to abolish all rules regulating primaries, and whoever wins the primary wins the final election in Georgia. It will also undertake plans to stop trains and buses at state lines in order to overrule the U. S. Supreme Court on Jim Crow laws.

Talmadge's boast is: "Gene always keeps his promises." And no matter how far it turns back the clock, the above-named klansmen will help him keep them.

MRS. MANKIN FIGHTS TALMADGE FOR SEAT

The Times

Congresswoman Ruled Out of Race by Georgia Convention, Appeals to the People

New York, N. Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 10—Representative Helen Douglas Mankin of the Fifth District of Georgia today carried her fight to be listed as a Democrat in the November general election directly to the people and accused the State Democratic convention of resorting to "vicious intimidation" in threatening party banishment to any official who puts her name on the ballot.

The convention, controlled by Eugene Talmadge, declared in Macon yesterday that Judge James C. Davis of Decatur was its nominee for Congress and approved a resolution designed to nullify the action of the outgoing Democratic executive committee and the Secretary of State in certifying the names of both Mrs. Mankin and Mr. Davis for the general election.

Following the convention's action, Mrs. Mankin asserted:

"That is exactly what I needed to assure my election. That action leaves Judge Davis as the Talmadge candidate and leaves me the Democratic candidate. It is very indicative of what the State of Georgia is in for for the next four years under a party primary ruled by those men. They are trying to do by intimidation what they know they cannot do by law."

This dispute originally developed a short time before the July primary. With the help of a large number of Negro votes, Mrs. Mankin won a special election under popular vote to fill the unexpired term of Robert Ramspeck, who resigned. Fri. 10-11-46

The Fifth District Democratic Executive Committee had been operating on a popular vote basis since 1932, but before the primary decided to change to the county unit system used in State-wide primaries.

Mrs. Mankin protested that the shift was intended solely to defeat her. Under the county unit system DeKalb County has six votes, Fulton (Atlanta) six and Rockdale two.

Mrs. Mankin attempted to fill vacancies on the committee, which she said she was privileged to do under the law, but the right was refused her. Shen then appointed a committee of her own, which ruled for the popular vote system. She received the most popular votes through a heavy majority in Fulton County but lost in DeKalb and Rockdale, and hence the unit vote.

Maintaining she had won the election, Mrs. Mankin carried the dispute before the State Democratic Executive Committee, which ruled that both candidates should be put on the Nov. 5 general election ballot. With such a certificate from the committee, the Secretary of State certified both candidates to the county ordinaries.

Yesterday's ruling of the convention stated that Mrs. Mankin was not qualified to enter the July 17 primary since she refused to deal with the recognized party committee of her district.

Mrs. Mankin served several terms in the State legislature before going to Congress.

Cartersville, Ga., Tribune News Oct.11,'46

Ingram Pleased With Talmadge Primary Plan

Confidence that the new white primary system will assure fair elections was expressed by Judge William A. Ingram, new Cartersville member of the new 60-man state Democratic executive committee, home from the state convention in Macon.

It was Judge Ingram's fourth Talmadge convention and he said it was the most harmonious he has attended. Judge Ingram served on the state executive committee under Talmadge in 1941-42. He was a member of the 10-man committee which drew the platform adopted at Macon Wednesday.

"After study of the plan submitted for setting up a white Democratic primary, it is my opinion that the convention has done a through job", Judge Ingram said.

"If the general assembly follows the recommendations made by the convention and enacts the criminal statue punishing election frauds, as recommended, the people of Georgia need not fear that future elections will not be just as pure as this past election and other Democratic primaries in recent times," he asserted.

"I say this because the convention adopted as party rules all the state laws that it recommended re-placing. Should a case get into party court involving these party rules, done by the boards of registrars the court will bound to interpret under the present system and the and construe and apply them to the method and procedure for voting same extent as the same provisions will be identically as at the present are now interpreted, construed and the, after the new machinery is applied. set up.

"For all practical purposes, the The county unit system is people will know no difference, Reg-served and will be effective as fully istration will be carried out by the and to the same extent as at the

Legal Support Sought For County Unit System

By C. E. GREGORY, Journal Political Editor

MACON, Ga., Oct. 9.—The Georgia State Democratic Convention Wednesday acted to establish a white primary excluding Negro voters and urged every legal effort to sustain the county unit system.

Nominating Eugene Talmadge for a precedent-shattering fourth term, the convention delegates incorporated the candidate's campaign pledges into a platform for

The complete text of the platform adopted by the Georgia State Democratic convention will be found on page 22. Other convention stories on pages 6 and 7.

the Democratic party, re-affirming the party's belief "in the principles of Democracy proclaimed by Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson."

Representative Eugene Cox sounded the keynote for the thousands of Talmadge delegates here with a somber warning that the nation must choose between "a completely regimented state or to turn and find our way back to a government conducted according to the consent of the governed."

Representative Cox, charging that "whoever takes the P. A. C. vote does so at the price of his independence, for it supports no one that it does not control," called upon the South to break its traditional support of the Democratic Party, if it continues its P. A. C. association, insisting that:

"The marriage between government and the Political Action Committee must be dissolved or else the country is doomed."

The illness of their leader did not prevent thousands of loyal supporters of Mr. Talmadge from gathering at the state convention to pay him tribute.

Down to Business

Governor Talmadge sent Chairman James S. Peters a telegram of regret at his inability to be present and to thank his friends for their loyal support.

Mr. Talmadge, accepting the nomination, promised the convention that Negroes would not again be permitted to vote in a state Democrtaic primary. Still in a Jacksonville hospital for treatment of a stomach ailment, Mr. Talmadge sent his speech to be read to the convention by his son, Herman.

"We Democrats," he said, "who believe in the democracy of our forefathers, believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in our Southland."

Negro Ballot

Acknowledging great progress on the part of Negroes, Mr. Talmadge nevertheless insisted "the Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." He asserted this was proven in the recent Democratic primary, when "despite the fact that there were four candidates for the office of governor, one candidate received 99 per cent of the Negro vote."

Mr. Talmadge continued: "Such block voting by an uneducated group does not further the cause of good government and is not in accordance with the wishes of Georgia Democrats."

Mr. Talmadge said all candidates for governor campaigned on essentially the same platform, except for one plank—white supremacy. "I am very happy," he said, "that the majority of the white Democrats of Georgia agreed with the platform that I advocated and gave me more than 100,000 thousand majortiy of the white Democrats of this state."

Mr. Talmadge polled 305,777 popular votes, compared with 314,421 for his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael. His supporters claim that approximately 100,000 opposition votes were cast by Negroes.

"The paramount issues upon which I campaigned," continued Talmadge, "will be written into the platform of the Democratic Party of Georgia by this convention. This platform is written not only for the successful candidate for governor but is written for every Democratic nominee within this state, no matter to what office he aspires."

Mr. Talmadge said he wishes to see Georgia Negroes have better schools, equal justice, a better health program, a better opportunity of advancement, and better standards of living.

Wallace, Ickes Doctrines

But, he continued, "I do not wish to have radical organizations that follow the party line of Moscow come into our state and corral this vote for some candidate that wishes to change the form of government in this state from the time of Edward Oglethorpe. . . . I do not want to see the doctrines of Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes become the guiding beacon of government in Georgia."

In conclusion, Talmadge extended a figurative hand to his opponents, saying, "Les us in victory, and all of those who opposed us, join hands for four years of efficient administration of government for the benefit of all Georgia people."

The convention got down to business in a hurry as the speeches nominating both the temporary and permanent chairmen had been limited to five minutes.

The platform adopted, based largely on the campaign promises of Mr. Talmadge, embodied the following planks:

Democracy of Georgians—A re-affirmation of Jeffersonian and Jacksonian principles.

County Unit System—A pledge to sustain the method, and a directive to the executive committee to use it in future primaries. Efforts of "disgruntled citizens" to overthrow the system deplored.

White Primary—"We deem it necessary and proper that all steps appropriate be taken" to preserve the white Democratic primary. An unqualified endorsement of Mr. Talmadge's plans to perpetuate it. A directive to the executive committee to enforce such rules as are necessary "to secure these rights and privileges" for the party in Georgia.

Registration of Voters—Advocacy of stricter enforcement of registration laws. Tax collectors and registrars urged to permit "only those persons who are qualified under the Constitution and laws of Georgia to register and vote."

Nominee's Platform—Endorsed.

Schools—Continue 50 per cent increase in teacher salaries.

Pensions—Increase urged. All entitled to pensions to receive them.

Roads—Extensive road building program urged. Efforts to be made to get promptly "our full share of Federal highway funds."

Health—Advocacy of legislative appropriations to erect hospitals and medical centers in communities where needed. Ample funds for eleemosynary institutions.

Veterans — Free business and drivers' licenses, adequate housing, financial aid through Veterans Resettlement Corporation.

Revenue Laws—Necessary laws for sufficient revenue recommended.

Public Officials—No legislator shall be employed by state during his assembly term.

Labor Relations—Fair and impartial treatment of capital and labor alike.

Farmers—Farmers urged to organize and let "their voice" be heard in Washington on par with labor and capital.

Economy in Government—Efficient and economical government, useless and unnecessary employes to be discontinued.

Chairman J. Lon Duckworth, of the retiring State Committee, called the convention to order, and the Rev. A. D. Woodle, pastor of the First Baptist Church of McRae, offered the invocation.

Mayor Charles L. Bowden, of Macon, welcomed the visitors to the city, and then Congressman Cox, of Camilla, was chosen temporary chairman. He delivered the keynote speech immediately over a state-wide radio hookup.

Representative Cox castigated outgoing Executive Ellis Arnall as a tool of those who would end white supremacy in the South, and described the P. A. C. as "Stalin's hand."

The South, he said, still is the influence which keeps Democracy alive in America, adding: "without its constant support, the party now in power would have perished long ago."

'South Must Save Self'

"The South" he continued, "still wedded to the Democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, holds within its own hands the power to save itself and, in saving itself, to save the nation.

"It must no longer submit to the suppliant role of a poor relative; to being the tail of its own kite. And before it will submit to giving up its civilization under Federal compulsion, it will and it should exercise that power, which is political in character, by breaking with tradition, and make its own welfare its first concern."

Representative Cox denounced outgoing Governor Arnall as an advocate of "so-called 'good government' which would be 'good' only in the sense that it would serve the ends of interlopers seeking to take control" and accused him of having common cause "with the Harlequins of Harlem and the Communistic carpetbaggers of Moscow." He continued:

"Gene Talmadge, as governor, will uphold the dignity, the integrity, and the sovereignty of the state, and he will repell to the full extent of his ability every encroachment thereon. If Congress should attempt to invade the state and break down her fundamental laws which constitute the pillars of her whole system of jurisprudence, and to seize powers reserved by the Constitution to the states, or the people thereof, he will resist with all the forces at his command."

Congressman Cox, touching on Georgia domestic affairs, told the convention:

"Georgia wants a governor who will administer the affairs of our people wisely, and who will not make common cause with the Harlequins of Harlem; and the Communistic carpetbaggers of Moscow who came mouthing their chant of 'reform Georgia!', 'reform Georgia!', 'reform Georgia!' "

Defends Unit System

Mr. Cox, defended the county unit system, under which Talmadge won nomination although he obtained fewer popular votes than his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael, asserting it "was devised to insure the wise and salutary distribution of political power to prevent complete control of state government falling under the domination of populous centers."

"Now mark you," he continued, "the contest was not between Gene Talmadge and Jimmy Carmichael; the contest was between Gene Talmadge and Ellis Arnall and like 'Humpty-Dumpty,' Ellis had a great fall, and like Humpty-Dumpty again, all the radical jackasses and all of Wallace's men can never put Ellis together again, for as surely as Gene Talmadge becomes governor for the fourth time, something will be done to maintain white supremacy."

"No man can be pro-Russian and pro-American at one and the same time," Representative Cox continued. "Be not deceived, Stalin, who has thus far stymied every effort at a durable peace, is not to communize the world. He has a greater following here in America than there were Communists in Russia when they seized control. . . . The policy of appeasement that has been pursued (by the national administration) has brought America down from the top of the world and advanced Russia to dominance in global affairs. . . .

"At home, labor groups, too many of whose leaders are as thoroughly sovietized as Stalin himself, and who pursue his policies here, have defied and brought to its knees, time and time again, the Government of the United States. The strikes they have fomented have not been for the improvement of the social or economic conditions of the great body of our working people, but for political purposes, perpetrated in the intent of creating chaos, of destroying government itself, of enslaving the masses of our people,"

Representative Cox continued:

"The political alien-minded propagandists who cover the land like a horde of rats . . . fill the air with their dogmas; advocate a planned economy and a new social order; call for a regimented state . . . urge destruction of our system of capital enterprise . . . advocate a life controlled socially rather than a life in which the individual controls himself. It is they who would, if they could, have our teachers prepare the minds of our youth for acceptance of their so-called "new social order."

Other convention officers elected were Benton Odom, of Newton; Henry Chandler, of Savannah; Mrs. Susie T. Moore, of Tifton, and Clarence McLanahan, of Elberton, vice chairman; Joe Boone, of Irwinton, secretary; Mrs. Iris Blitch, of Homerville assistant secretary and Cecil Hester, of Atlanta, treasurer.

Ross Sharpe, of Lyons, and James S. Smith, of Albany, made the speeches nominating Congressman Cox while Herman Talmadge and E. L. Forrester, of Leesburg nominated James S. Peters for permanent chairman.

Mr. Peters, in accepting his nomination, renewed the pledges of Governor Talmadge for aid to education, health, social security, highways, vocational education, and other benefits for the people of Georgia.

Chairman Peters appointed Sam Nunn, of Perry, as chairman of the resolutions committee; C. T. Guyton, of Guyton, as chairman of the rules committee; Shelby Myrick, of Savannah, as chairman of the platform committee, and Carlton Mobley, of Macon, as chairman of the contest committee.

The convention ratified the nomination for re-election of Attorney General Eugene Cook; Secretary of State Ben Fortson; State Treasurer George B. Hamilton; School Superintendent M. D. Collins; Labor Commissioner Ben T. Huiet; Commissioner of Agriculture Tom Linder; Public Service Commissioners Walter MacDonald and Allen Chappell; Justices R. C. Bell, Grady Head and Tom Candler, of the Supreme Court; Judges Hugh MacIntyre and I. H. Sutton, of the Georgia Court of Appeals, and Zach Cravey to succeed the late Homer Parker as comptroller general.

Herschel Lovett, of Dublin, nominated Benton Odom, of Newton for first vice chairman. He was seconded by Adjutant General Marvin Griffin. Representative Cicero Kendrick, of Fulton County, nominated Henry Chandler, secretary of the Georgia Federation of Labor, as second vice chairman.

Mr. Smith, in his address, hit the racial views of Time and Life. He also said he was glad that Eugene Cox was not related to Jim Cox. State Senator-Nominee A. H. S. Weaver, of Macon, nominated James S. Peters, of Manchester, for permanent chairman, seconded by E. L. Forrester, of Leesburg. Election was by acclamation.

Talmadge Pledges To Ban Negro Vote

The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.
Thur. 10-10-46

Constitution State News Service.

MACON, Oct. 9—Eugene Talmadge, who was nominated by 4,500 representatives of the Democratic Party as their candidate for next Governor of Georgia, pledged to the State party convention Wednesday that Negroes would not again be permitted to vote in a Democratic primary.

The shouting, cheering convention delegates, selected by Talmadge forces following the candidate's victory in last July's primary, heard the pledge as Herman Talmadge substituted for his father, ill with a stomach ailment in a Jacksonville, Fla., hospital.

The delegates also heard Rep. Eugene Cox, long-time Congressional floor critic of the administration, call for the South if necessary to break with tradition and its allegiance to the Democratic Party rather than submit to further association of the party with "alien-minded doctrinaires" and the CIO Political Action Committee.

HERMAN READS SPEECH

In the address which Herman read for his father, Talmadge declared that "We Democrats who believe in the democracy of our forefathers, believe that a Democratic White Primary should be restored in our Southland."

Acknowledging that Negroes had made progress, Talmadge contended that the race had not made sufficient progress to cast "an intelligent ballot." He asserted this was demonstrated in the July Primary—when Negroes voted for the first time in a party primary—by the fact that one of the four candidates received "99 percent of the Negro vote." Thur. 10.10.46

Talmadge continued: "Such block voting by an uneducated group does not further the cause of good government and is not in accordance with the wishes of Georgia Democrats."

Talmadge said all candidates for Governor campaigned on essentially the same platform, except for one plank—White Supremacy. "I am very happy," he said, "that the majority of the white Democrats of Georgia agreed with the platform that I advocated and gave me more than one hundred thousand majority vote of the white Democrats of this State."

POLLED 305,777 VOTES

Talmadge polled 305,777 popular votes, compared with 314,421 for his principal opponent, James V. Carmichael. His supporters claim that approximately 100,000 opposition votes were cast by Negroes.

"The paramount issues upon which I campaigned," continued Talmadge, "will be written into the platform of the Democratic party of Georgia by this Convention. This platform is written not only for the successful candidate for Governor but is written for every Democratic nominee within this State, no matter to what office he aspires."

Talmadge said he wishes to see Georgia Negroes have better schools, equal justice, a better health program, a better opportunity of advancement, and better standards of living.

But, he continued, "I do not repeat nor wish to have radical organizations that follow the party line of Moscow come into our State and corral this vote for some candidate that wishes to change the form of government in this State from the time of Edward Oglethorpe. I do not want to see the doctrines of Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes become the guiding beacon of government in Georgia."

BACKS UNIT SYSTEM

Talmadge pledged perpetuation of the county unit system of voting as long as I am Governor" and urged rejection in the general election of a proposed constitutional amendment for a 12-man board of public welfare.

Talmadge said he opposed it because "the sole purpose and scheme of this constitutional amendment is an effort by the present administration to freeze into office the present director of public welfare (A. J. Hartley) for an additional seven years."

In conclusion, Talmadge extended a figurative hand to his opponents, saying: "Let us in victory, and all of those who opposed us, join hands for four years of efficient administration of government for the benefit of all Georgia people."

Loudly cheered during his keynote address, Rep. Cox assailed communism, and declared that "the marriage between government and the political action committee must be dissolved or else the country is doomed."

Cox was cheered when he assailed retiring Gov. Arnall as one who would "barter away the birthright of his people for a little national political notoriety."

DENOUNCES PAC

Cheers and handclapping interrupted Cox again when he denounced the PAC as "Stalin's hand in our ballot boxes," and shouted "a way will be found whereby the white people of the State may lawfully and peaceably associate themselves together to chose their candidates for public office."

Castigating "the political, alien minded propagandists who cover the land like a horde of rats," Cox appealed for a united front of Southern Democrats, saying "The South, still wedded to the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, holds within its own hand

Thur 10.10-46
Constitution Staff Photo—Pete Roton
REP. EUGENE COX
Keynotes Convention.

the power to save itself, and in saving itself, to save the nation . . . and before it will submit to giving up its civilization under Federal compulsion it will and it should exercise that power, which is political in character, by breaking with tradition, and make its own welfare its first concern."

Declared Cox: "The marriage between government and the Political Action Committee must be dissolved, or else the country is doomed."

The South, he said, still is the influence which keeps democracy alive in America, adding: "Without its constant support, the party now in power would have perished long ago."

SOUTH HOLDS POWER

"The South," he continued, "still wedded to the democracy of Jefferson and Jackson, holds within its own hands the power to save itself and, in saving itself, to save the nation.

"It must no longer submit to the suppliant role of a poor relative, to being the tail of its own kite. And before it will submit to giving up its civilization under Federal compulsion, it will and it should exercise that power, which is political in character, by breaking with tradition, and make its own welfare its first concern."

Cox denounced outgoing Gov. Arnall as an advocate of "so-called 'good government' which would be 'good' only in the sense that it would serve the ends of interlopers seeking to take control" and accused him of having common cause "with the harlequins of Harlem and the communistic carpetbaggers of Moscow." He continued:

"Gene Talmadge, as Govornor, will uphold the dignity, the integrity, and the sovereignty of the State, and he will repell to the full extent of his ability every encroachment thereon. If Congress should attempt to invade the State and break down her fundamental laws which constitute the pillars of her whole system of jurisprudence, and to seize powers reserved by the Constitution to the States, or the people thereof, he will resist with all the forces at his command."

Cox, touching on Georgia domestic affairs, told the Convention:

"Georgia wants a Governor who will administer the affairs of our people wisely, and who will not make common cause with the harlequins of Harlem and the communistic carpetbaggers of Moscow who came mouthing their monotonous chant of "Reform Georgia! 'Reform Georgia,' 'Reform Georgia!' "

Cox defended the county unit system, under which Talmadge won nomination although he obtained fewer popular votes than his principal opponent, James V Carmichael, asserting it "was devised to insure the wise and salutary distribution of political power and to prevent complete control of State government falling under the domination of populous centers."

"Now mark you," he continued, "the cantest was not between Gene Talmadge and Jimmie Carmichael; the contest was between Gene Talmadge and Ellis Arnall and like 'humpty-dumpty,' Ellis had a great fall, and like 'humpty dumpty' again, all the radical jackasses and all of Wallace's men can never put Ellis together again, for as surely as Gene Talmadge becomes Governor for the fourth time, something will be done to maintain white supremacy."

Georgia Meet Ruled By White Supremacy

The Defender
Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-19-46

'Yes' Session Backs Talmadge Plan: Vows End To Negro Voting

MACON, Ga.—The Constitution was defiled a thousand ways and law and order was mocked by 5,000 frenzied white supremists who whooped and danced to the race hate tom toms of Klan controlled leaders at the Democratic State Convention here Wednesday.

Signalling a field day for ailing Eugene Talmadge, governor nominee, the "yes" session acted in quick order to pledge a return of the white primary; enforce stricter registration laws; and sustain the trick unit vote count. All three measures were aimed directly at the state's 130,000 registered Negro voters.

Make New Rules

The convention set aside all existing party rules, and made new regulations paralleling an "all white" election code. Party membership was limited to whites acceptable to the executives. Approving the Jim Crow platform the convention said, "We wholeheartedly endorse the plans of the Democratic nominee. . . . We urge enactment of all laws necessary to accomplish that purpose."

Although the rabble rousing Talmadge was ill in a Jacksonville, Fla. hospital from an overdose of his own poison, his equally vicious son, Herman, delivered his "acceptance" speech. Crux of the speech, delivered in the same hysterical screech of "Old Gene"—and Hitler, was that "Negroes would not again be permitted to vote in a state Democratic primary." The tirade against freedom continued, "We Democrats who believe in the democracy of our forefathers, believe that a democratic white primary should be restored in our Southland."

Opposes Negro "Bloc Vote"

Embryo fascist a few months ago, young Herman moved rapidly toward full stature by saying, "The Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots." Proof cited by the heir apparent to the whip and rope dynasty was that despite the fact that four men campaigned for the gubernatorial nomination, 99 per cent of the Negro vote was cast for one candidate. Such bloc voting is not in accordance with the wishes of Georgia Democrats, the younger Talmadge continued. He failed to mention that the Negro vote went solidly to James V. Carmichael, majority candidate, who represented liberalism brought the state by Gov. Ellis Arnall.

Keynote of the convention which may just as well have been held around burning crosses on Stone Mountain, was struck by Representative Cox, Talmadge's echo in Congress. Cox berated Governor Arnall as a tool of those seeking an end to white supremacy. He accused the governor of having common cause with the "Harlequins of Harlem, and the Carpetbaggers of Moscow." Cox also lashed out at the CIO Political Action Committee, calling it Stalin's hand.

Parade Of Race Baiters

Following Cox with machine precision, race baiters and hate mongers minus the hood and cloak attacked Negroes, the governor, the CIO, and liberal Democrats including Henry Wallace, and Florida's Sen. Claude Pepper.

Subdued throughout the convention, Georgia liberals suffered a severe set-back, when the session upheld the first Congressional district nomination of Judge James C. Davis over liberal incumbent Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin. Mrs. Mankin polled the largest vote, but Davis, a Talmadge crony elevated to the judiciary during an earlier term, won by the unit count. Mrs. Mankin did not admit defeat, however, and plans to carry her fight to have her name placed on the ballot to the courts and to the people.

The convention did not adjourn as is customary, but merely recessed, subject to the call of its chairman. The step was taken because of "Old Gene's" illness, along with the possibility that the Supreme Court may declare the unit vote count unconstitutional.

Columnist Drew Pearson's charge that 17 Atlanta delegates to the State Democratic Convention were members of the Ku Klux Klan got widespread newspaper publicity here last week.

Charging Klan-loving Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge with "the brass to appoint as delegates the most variegated array of Ku Klux Klanners Georgia has seen in years," the Washington Merry-Go-Round reported that the roster read like a roll call of the nightshirt brigade at Stone Mountain."

Still Running

Macon Telegraph

Helen Douglas Mankin, congresswoman from the Fifth District of Georgia, got cold comfort from the Democratic convention at Macon. The people who made up that convention were not of the Mankin type. She is a liberal and friendly to union labor, actually benefitting from Negro votes in the primary this year. All of that is included in the things opposed by the Talmadge convention. It was very natural that the Talmadge people would take strong action to confirm Judge James A. Davis as the one and only candidate for Congress on the Democratic ticket this year. Judge Davis received his claim for being the nominee of the party from the fact that he won under the county unit system. Mrs. Mankin's claim was based on the fact that she received a majority vote. The Macon convention was the last place in the world for her to submit her cause.

Mrs. Mankin continues to fight. She is encouraged to carry on by a large number of friends in the Fifth Congressional District. She will now resort to the courts, claiming that the Macon convention was without power to decide against her. She may win in the courts, but there is only a month remaining to conduct her campaign, and she will be at a decided disadvantage in fighting in the courts for permission to keep her name on the ballot and campaigning for votes at the same time.

The Macon convention threatened dire things against state officials who are responsible for putting Mrs. Mankin's name on the ballot. The Secretary of State is advised that he will be read out of the Democratic party if he permits the name of Mrs. Mankin to go on the ticket in the November election. The ordinaries of the various counties in the Congressional district have likewise been assured that they will lose their party affiliation if they do not obey the instructions of the state convention and the state committee.

NEVER PERMIT NEGRO TO VOTE IN STATE--COX

Votes of Hate Were Cast In 1946 State Primary, Convention Is Told

MACON, Oct. 9 (UP)—The Georgia Democratic Convention has opened and Rep. Eugene Cox has strongly urged delegates to never let Negroes vote again in a party primary.

Cox charged that Negroes cast a vote of hate in the 1946 Georgia primary that nominated Eugene Talmadge to the governorship. He further charged "Negroes were told how to vote in the recent primary by the Political Action Committee, which is the hand of Stalin."

He said that unless Negroes are stopped from voting it will mean the end of white control, for Negroes would hold the balance of power. If they are allowed to vote, he said, it will mean giving control of the State to the Reds, whose deluded tools they (the Negroes) are and whose orders they obey.

Cox lauded Talmadge, who was unable to attend due to illness. But Cox bitterly assailed Georgia's present governor, Ellis Arnall, describing him as a governor prone to "crumble in the grip of selfish ambition and barter away the birthright of his people for a little mess of national political notoriety."

The Consequences

Atlanta Constitution

Editor Constitution: I would like to point out one of the many difficulties which will arise if Talmadge succeeds in making the Democratic primary an extra-legal affair in order to disfranchise Negroes. Let us suppose that he does. The white Democratic Party will select delegates to the Democratic National Convention in 1948. Anyone who thinks the Negroes will sit idly by and let white delegates represent them when they had no voice in selecting the delegates is too naive for argument. The Negroes will have a good case. It will be up to the Democratic National Committee to decide what to do. I don't believe they will allow a delegation which represents only a fraction of the Democrats in the State to have the normal number of votes. What will probably happen is that the Negro delegation will be represented according to the number of Negro Democrats, and the regular "Democrats" will have votes according to the number they represent. Regular white "Democrats" cannot control the National Democratic Committee, as it has too many Democrats who are truly Democratic. Do the people of Georgia want this to happen? Has Talmadge even thought seriously about the consequences?

It is paradoxical for the Democratic Party not to be democratic. True democrats (not Democrats) will seek democracy elsewhere when unable to obtain it within the party. There is a need for a Progressive Democratic Party, or believers in democracy can seek it by voting in the general election for independents or liberal Republicans. The county unit system does not apply to a general election. FRED R. BRANNON, JR.
Emory University.

NEGROES EXCLUDED BY GEORGIA PARTY

The Times

Democratic Convention Names Talmadge and Votes to Set Up a White Primary

New York, N.Y.

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Ga., Oct. 9—The Georgia State Democratic Convention acted to establish a white democratic primary excluding Negro voters and formally nominated for Governor Eugene Talmadge who campaigned on a platform of white supremacy.

Under party rules, delegates were predominantly pro-Talmadge. Although his chief opponent, James V. Carmichael, got more popular votes, Mr. Talmadge won in the July primary under the State's county unit system.

The 62-year-old Mr. Talmadge was still in a hospital at Jacksonville, Fla., recovering from a stomach ailment, an dhis acceptance speech was read by his son, Herman, who managed his father's campaign.

Thurs. 10-10-46

"We Democrats who believe in the democracy of our forefathers believe that a Democratic white primary should be restored in our Southland," Mr. Talmadge's speech stated.

Slap At Dallace and Ickes

Acknowledging great progress by Negroes, Mr. Talmadge nevertheless insisted that "the Negro has not demonstrated his capability of casting intelligent ballots."

In the recent primary, he continued, "despite the fact that there were four candidates for the office of Governor, one candidate received 99 per cent of the Negro vote."

Mr. Talmadge said that he wished to see Georgia Negroes have better schools, equal justice, a better health program, a better opportunity of advancement and better standards of living and then added:

"But I do not wish to have radical organizations that follow the party line of Moscow come into our State and corral this vote for some candidate that wishes to change the form of government in this State from the time of Edward Oglethorpe.

"I do not want to see the doctrines of Henry Wallace and Harold Ickes become the guiding beacon of government in Georgia."

Precaution to Keep Talmadge

The resolution proposing to set up a white primary under the county unit system was adopted unanimously. In this first step to remove the primaries from State control, repeal of primary laws will be required to let elections be held under supervision of the party's State Executive Committee.

The delegates also voted to continue the convention as a functioning organization by adjourning subject to the call of the chairman.

Roy V. Harris, floor leader, explained that this was a precaution in the event the Supreme Court of the United States should rule in a pending case that the State's unit vote system is unconstitutional, thus invalidating Mr. Talmadge's nomination. It was contended that the convention could then renominate Mr. Talmadge.

Representative Eugene Cox sounded the convention's keynote with a warning that the nation must choose between "a completely regimented state or turn and find our way back to a Government conducted according to the consent of the governed."

Threat of Bolt Over PAC

Insisting that "the marriage between Government and the Political Action Committee must be dissolved or else the country is doomed," he called upon the South to break its traditional support of the Democratic party if it continues its "PAC association."

"Whoever takes the PAC vote does so at the price of his independence, for it supports no one that it does not control," he said.

Over the protest of Representative Helen Douglas Mankin, Judge James C. Davis was recognized by the convention as the Democratic nominee for Congress from the Fifth District.

DOBBS FLAYS ACTION OF DEMO CONVENTION

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Sun. 10-13-46

In the recent Macon Democratic Convention, some harsh things were said and advocated that seemingly wrong and unfair. No outside influence was needed to sway the Georgia Negroes opinion on July 17. They had but one sensible choice--to vote for the candidate whose record and campaign platform was free from bias and racial prejudices. They should be given credit for having sense enough to vote for the candidate for the candidate whose platform of progress included all citizens."

John Wesley Dobbs, President of the Atlanta Civic and Political League, released a statement to the press Saturday in which he flayed the action of the recent Talmadge-controlled Democratic Convention for its attitude toward the Negro voting.

Regarding the action of the Talmadge Convention Dobbs said in part:

"Negroes have proved loyal to Georgia. With sweat and toil we, too, have helped to build a great state. Our boys, too have been drafted in two World Wars, right along with white boys, to fight for our state and our country. We feel justly proud of our contribution along that line.

"It was also alleged that Negroes voted 99% for one candidate on July 17, which fact proved that they were controlled and not ready

Convention Pledges Negro Voting Is Ended in Democratic Primaries

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 10-10-46

By M. L. ST. JOHN,
Constitution Staff Writer.

MACON, Sept. 9—The State Democratic Convention, meeting here to nominate Eugene Talmadge for his fourth gubernatorial term, took every step it could think of to end Negro voting in Georgia primaries, and then made ready to take any more it might find necessary.

Just before it adjourned, the Convention decided to make provision for reconvening any time necessary between now and 1950, the duration of Talmadge's tenure.

The unprecedented action of forming itself into a possible permanent organization was regarded as having one meaning. The United States Supreme Court might hand down rulings in the future which would require immediate action on primary regulations to keep Negroes from voting.

For further details of the Convention — the party platform, the Talmadge and Cox addresses and committee appointments — see pages 4 and 5.

This Convention—Talmadge's Convention which cheered loudly his pledge to keep Negroes from ever voting in a primary—will be the one to meet if there is any necessity.

The Convention nominated Talmadge, pledged him support in every way, and predicted a great era for Georgia under his guidance.

Talmadge himself was in a Jacksonville hospital, too ill to receive this honor, and his speech was delivered by his son, Herman.

Among the speakers addressing the largest convention in Georgia history was former Gov. Rivers, who opposed Talmadge in the recent primary.

An ovation was given Rivers when he pledged his own support to the new Talmadge Administration and called upon the other political opponents of Talmadge, including the press, to do likewise.

"Our Democratic mission will not be complete if we return to the arsenal of personal differences, waiting only for an opportunity to renew the feud," Rivers told the cheering crowds. "Any barrage laid down against the new Governor, either from within or without the Party, will do the people more harm than it will the target. Every candidate pledged it as his loadstar to support the nominee. I renounce my weapons and pledge my co-operation to the new Administration. While we have been political enemies, Eugene Talmadge and I have long been personal friends."

In nominating Talmadge, Charlie Redwine, of Fayetteville, reminded the responsive crowd that Talmadge had ridded Georgia of Dean Walter Cocking, "who preached racial and education equality" at the University, at the expense of his (Talmadge) political defeat in 1941. Redwine added that it was worth it to run Cocking out of the State.

T. W. Reed, retired registrar of the University of Georgia, in seconding Talmadge's nomination, said the University has nothing to fear from Talmadge. Three generations of Talmadges have attended this school, he pointed out.

An all-harmonious session, the Convention blasted at Gov. Arnall, lashed at the "isms" and called for a return to "old-fashioned Democracy."

It called upon the voters in the Nov. 5 general election to defeat a proposed constitutional amendment setting up a constitutional welfare board. This proposal was denounced by the new party Chairman, James Peters, of Manchester; by Herman Talmadge and by the party as a whole, which declared it would freeze into office the present welfare director, A. J. Hartley.

The Constitution

The accent of the convention was on "white," as virtually all the speakers lashed at "blacks," "reds" and "pinks."

Delivering his father's speech, Herman Talmadge climaxed the convention with a pledge to ban Negroes from voting in future Georgia Democratic primaries and to safeguard the county unit system.

Atlanta, Ga.

The convention adopted a platform designed to limit membership in the Democratic Party to white people and to protect the county unit system. As the convention wrote into party rules all the laws governing the primary election, it also requested the State Legislature to eliminate these references to the primary so as to circumvent the United States Supreme Court ruling which permitted Negroes to vote last Summer. Talmadge pledged this action in his campaign.

Firey Cox set off the fireworks a with blistering attack on Gov. Arnall and the foreign influences of the North and of Russia. The crowd, which jammed Macon's City Auditorium, loudly cheered Cox when he described Talmadge's victory over Jimmie Carmichael as really a victory over Arnall, and declared that "all the radical jackasses couldn't put humpty-dumpty together again."

Thurs. 10-10-46

Al Henson, power in former Talmadge administrations and author of a biography of Talmadge, told the convention that a Negro was running for coroner of Fulton County.

'This means he will get 20,000 Negro votes to begin with," Henson shouted, "and, added to this he will get 5,000 votes from people whom I would like to confer the title of 'honorary Negroes.'"

Adj. Gen. Marvin Griffin, "white" primary advocate who was defeated for lieutenant-governor in the recent primary, was applauded vigorously when he seconded the motion of a nomination for a leader of the "white Democratic party of Georgia." He hit at "scalawag Democrats" who would surrender "our party to the Negroes."

And, as he praised Benton Odom for the post of vice chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, Griffin observed that "there are no railroads running into Baker County, so no new-tangled political ideas have entered that County—it is the hotbed of old-fashioned democracy."

The Convention rejoiced that "good government" of its opponents was smashed in the recent primary, but it looked forward to the new Talmadge administration to carry on the State's greatest program of expansion.

Ross Sharpe, of Toombs County, remarked sarcastically that in the recent primary the "thunder of the opposition roared; the lightning of the press flashed, but the voters of Georgia smashed 'good government' into hell."

The new party chairman, James Peters, of Manchester, declared Talmadge had kept all his promises of previous administrations, and invited the people to watch Talmadge keep his promises for the future. He declared Talmadge would lead Georgia to the greatest expansion program in history for education, highway building, social security and health.

Labor leaders said they anticipated a harmonious and progressive administration under Talmadge. Cicero Kendrick, of Atlanta, expressed appreciation that Talmadge had named as vice chairman of the State party, Henry Chandler, of Atlanta, Secretary of the Georgia Federation of Trades.

The Convention declared all-out war on the amendment to be voted on Nov. 5 setting up a Constitutional Welfare Department.

Chairman Peters launched the attack on the amendment, asking all the delegates to return home and fight it.

Herman Talmadge lashed at A. J. Hartley, present Welfare Director, whom he said the amendment would freeze into office.

The Convention adopted a resolution condemning the amendment. It said Hartley would remain in office for at least six years, drawing $7,000 annual salary, and that he would control the new board. It pointed out that the new board members would not require confirmation by the Senate.

Retiring House Speaker Roy Harris took the floor to denounce the "Hartley Amendment." He declared that Gov. Arnall is trying to keep Hartley in office as a wedge to carry on a fight to restore Negro voting in Georgia Democratic primaries.

He anticipated that Arnall would lead a fight against restoration of the white primary at the January Legislative session.

Ban Negro Vote, Talmadge Topic

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Wed. 10-9-46

By M. L. ST. JOHN.
Constitution Staff Writer.

MACON, Oct. 8—Pledges to ban Negroes from voting in future Democratic primaries and to protect Georgia's county unit system, now under attack before the United States Supreme Court, are expected to be included in the acceptance speech of Governor-Nominate Eugene Talmadge, scheduled, at present, to be read to the State Democratic Convention Wednesday afternoon by his son, Herman.

Latest word from Jacksonville, Fla., was that the four-times nominee for Governor would be physically unable to come to the convention here Wednesday. Conflicting reports have been heard for the past few days, with Talmadge, himself, wanting to fly here and his physicians warning against it.

Two Atlantans are slated to get posts of leadership in the new Democratic Executive Committee.

Henry Chandler, Atlanta labor leader, is to be nominated for one of the four posts of Vice Chairman, and Cecil Hester, Atlanta City Councilman, will be nominated for the post of Party Treasurer.

Nomination in this cut-and-dried Convention virtually means election. Others slated for posts of Vice Chairmen are Benton Odom, of Newton, and Clarence McLanahan, of Elberton. Joe Boone, of Irwinton, is scheduled to be named Convention Secretary, and Mrs. Iris Blitch, of Homerville, is slated to be chosen Assistant Secretary. Mrs. Blitch is a Senator-Nominate.

Rep. E. E. Cox, of Camilla, is expected to denounce Gov. Arnall in a keynote address on a State-wide hookup at 10:45 a. m. Talmadge's speech will be given, also over a State-wide radio hookup, at 2:30 p. m.

The new party platform to be adopted Wednesday will write into party rules all the State election laws. The Convention will ask the January Legislature, by resolution, to abolish election laws applying to the Democratic primary. By this means, the party expects to get around the United States Supreme Court ruling which permitted Negroes to vote in last Summer's Georgia Democratic primary. Party leaders contend plans will be made to protect future primaries against election frauds.

Party leaders and large numbers of delegates began arriving early Tuesday for the one-day Convention which will open at 10 a. m. Wednesday.

Among the early arrivals were James Peters, of Manchester, who will be elected permanent Chairman of the party Wednesday; Herman Talmadge, son of the Governor-nominate; Roy Harris, of Augusta, scheduled to be the Convention floor leader, and Rep. Cox.

State Chairman Lon Duckworth, of Savannah, will open the session at the City Auditorium. The Rev. A. D. Woodle, Pastor of First Baptist Church, will deliver the invocation. Mayor Charles Redwine, of Fayetteville, will nominate Talmadge for the Governorship. Seconding speeches will be given by former Gov. Rivers, who was a candidate in the recent gubernatorial primary; T. W. Reed, retired registrar of the University of Georgia, and Judge Echol Graham, of McRae.

Reports of the Resolutions, Rules, Platform and Contest Committees will be made during the afternoon, final business on the program will be adopted of the party rules.

Wed. 10-9-46

Atlanta, Ga.

Herman Talmadge will nominate Peters for permanent Chairman, and, following the election, Peters will speak.

Labor Leader Describes Negro In Texas Politics

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 9-7-46

Participation in politics, by previously disfranchised Negroes in Texas is one of the most significant developments now taking place in that section of the country, according to Philip Weightman, United Packinghouse Workers of America vice president, who recently returned from a touf of several Texas cities.

He described one Fort Worth precinct meeting where the main issue discussed was whether or not duly elected Negro delegates would be permitted to sit in the Tarrant County party convention. Such discussions are increasingly common throughout Texas, representing the sharp conflict between liberal and conservative elements in the party.

Tested For First Time

In Tarrant county, liberal forces won out, and Negroes, for the first time, were seated in the Democratic party convention. Not only did they sit in the convention, but they took an active part in the proceedings. Recognizing that progressive candidates cannot be elected by, or represent special interests, leaders of the party made notable efforts to make the Negroes feel welcome and sought their support.

Representing the 59th precinct, where Negroes outnumber whites four to one, were: G. W. Williams, president of the Fort Worth Urban League; Dudley Redd, president of the Young Negro Democrats; Alfred Goodwin, chairman-elect of the 59th precinct; Thomas M. Micheaux, Charles E. Wallace, J. W. Pratt, Mrs. Ben Williams and A. L. Bailey, president of the Building Trades Assn.

The delegation from the 59th precinct was seated among the 1,946 other delegates without incident, and messages were sent them by convention leaders, praising them for being present. Nearly 3,000 spectators witnessed the convention which was held at Fort Worth's First Baptist Church.

White Primary Bid Opposed

Ross Hardin, pro-labor candidate for the party chairmanship, who was supported by the Negro delegation, lost the election, but Stuart Hellman, who defeated him, opposed a resolution calling for a return of the white primary. When the resolution was proposed by one of the operating committees, Hellman left the chair and conferred with the group for about five minutes. When he returned, the committee voted unanimously to table the resolution.

Tarrant county elected 97 delegates to the state convention, two of whom were Negroes from the 59th precinct. They were G. W. Williams, and Alfred Goodwin, precinct chairman. At the close of the convention, the entire Negro delegation filed to the platform and shook hands with the newly elected county chairman, who shook their hands and said, "I am glad you were here."

Texans Elect 2 Delegates to State Democratic Confab

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-21-46

FORT WORTH, Tex.—(ANP) — Alfred Goodwin, newly elected chairman of Precinct 59 and G. W. Williams, civic leader and president of the Fort Worth Urban League, were official delegates to the State Democratic convention in San Antonio, Sept. 10.

Goodwin and Williams are the first two colored citizens to be eleced delegates a a county confab in Tarrant County for representation at a State Democratic convention. Goodwin is a member of Phi Beta Sigma Fraternity.

Five Negroes Attend Dem Convention In San Antonio

The Informer Houston, Texas Sat. 9-21-46

SAN ANTONIO — At the first Democratic state convention that Negroes could attend as "full-fledged" Democrats, which convened in Municipal Auditorium Tuesday, five Negro delegates from Tarrant and Jefferson counties were in attendance.

Alfred Goodwin and G. W. Williams, both of Fort Worth, were seated as members of the Tarrant county group. Those seated of the Jefferson county group were, Manuel Dibbrell and Van Buckner of Port Arthur, and A. L. Price of Beaumont; J. E. Banks, A. B. Sanders, D. D. Redd, and W. H. Caldwell of the Fort Worth group were not seated.

Mrs. LeRoy and others of a split delegation from Houston were not seated following a meeting, Monday, of the Democratic state committee, which voted down an amendment which would have left seating of any contested delegation up to the convention itself, and sustained what was called to be a party law, in seating the delegation certified by the respective chairman.

This meeting determined the seating of the Houston group, that was earlier ear-marked as Texas Regulars, and Republicans. The other group of Houston not seated, coincidently, was one with Negro members.

An enmarse demonstration protesting "Texas Fascism" occurred shortly before the convention opened Tuesday. Climaxed with withdrawal of the Negro delegation headed by Manuel Dibbrell, of Port Arthur, from the convention.

Some five or six counties attending the convention were prepared to offer resolutions to the convention, to make the party a "white man's party," but the idea was abandoned following a plea from the governor-elect Beauford H. Jester, for complete party harmony, and a play-down of racism.

The Informer

At a press conference, newsmen questioned Jester about the resolutions, and asked if they were authorized, Jester in turn asked, "Are you sure they were pro-Jester?"

Houston, Texas

Bexar county delegations to the convention voted in a county held caucus, that Bexar county would not support any resolutions which might be brought up in the convention regarding a "white primary," or any that was anti-labor.

Jester's platform was recommended to the State legislature, which convenes next January, for improvement. Included in Jester's program are improvements in education, economic, and health standards of Negroes, and for full opportunity for the professional training and education of the highest standard, for Negro youth.

Sat.

Negroes were urged to vote as individuals rather than by bloc-voting, for fear such voting will cause a racial issue.

9-21-46

'Big Jim' Wallops Winston Republican

DOUBLE SPRINGS, ALA., Nov. 8.—(AP)—James E. (Big Jim) Folsom, king-sized governor-elect, broke the usual Republican strangle-hold on votes in "The Free State of Winston" to defeat his Republican opponent, 1,538 to 1,088, official returns revealed today.

Winston County has been carried only since 1865 by a Democratic presidential nominee, going to Franklin D. Roosevelt by a single vote in 1932.

Folsom also carried all Alabama's other 66 counties, but that was nothing unusual for any Democratic nominee.

Republicans won all county offices here.

The county has been called "The Free State of Winston" since it seceded from Alabama in 1861, when the State left the Union to join the Confederacy.

Revision Of State Constitution

Although "Big Jim" Folsom, Governor-elect of Alabama, has gone on record as favoring a new Constitution for this State, it is believed that he would be pursuing a more expeditious course if he were to call for a committee with the responsibility of revising our present Constitution — a plan that has proved successful in New York, Georgia, Virginia and other States. In this way, the "log-rolling" that characterizes a Constitutional Convention is obviated and, in addition, valuable time and money are saved.

As pointed out in a recently completed study of the procedure and problems connected with the adoption of a new Constitution, written by Alex Pow, head of the Legislative Reference Service, at least two elections would be necessary before the convention could meet. One election would be on the question of whether or not a Constitutional Convention should be held, and the second would be to elect Convention delegates. A third election, moreover, would be required after the new document is drafted on the question of ratification or rejection.

According to this same study, the Convention itself would be confronted by many knotty problems, such as, for instance, reapportionment of the Legislature, poll tax retention or repeal, voting restrictions and education control. The Convention, it was further pointed out, would have to decide upon a reallocation of powers of the legislative and executive branches and determine powers which should remain vested in the Constitution. And, incidentally, before a bill calling a Constitutional Convention may be passed, it first must receive a majority of the membership and not a majority of a quorum of the respective houses before passing. In the Senate 18 votes would be needed as an absolute minimum, and in the House, 54 or more.

After convening, a Constitutional Convention, one of the first issues confronting it, the recent report declared, would be to decide to what extent the State Constitution is to be a permanent rather than a transitory document. Almost universal agreement, the report added, is that any Constitution should be restricted to fundamentals. "That the Alabama Constitution departs from this idea in that it is specific, rather than general, transitory rather than permanent, is shown both by its length and by the frequency with which it has been amended—60 times since 1901 and 13 times in the last two years," the report has declared.

Even so, some changes still are desirable, we believe, but they could be effected through study and recommendations of a committee to revise our present Constitution, followed by submission to the electorate for approval. For instance, our voting regulations are outmoded, notwithstanding recent ratification of the Boswell Amendment, and certain phases of public education should be unified. Furthermore, there should be an extension of "home rule for local governments." Our Constitution should be amended to vest the governing units of counties, municipalities and towns with plenary powers over matters of purely local interest, reserving to the Legislature plenary power over matters of State concern. These and other questions can best be dealt with along the lines we suggested.—The Anniston Star.

45a 1946

Elections (California)

FEPC Beaten In California

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.
Sat. 11-9-46

Special to the Daily Worker

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 8.—In a hotly contested election which produced several close finishes, Republicans captured the California congressional delegation, the state legislature and the state administration.

Proposition 11, the Fair Employment Practices referendum, was running to defeat by less than two to one, in a high off-year vote. Returns, though incomplete, are generally conclusive.

The reactionary majority among California Congressmen is now 18, and the U. S. Senate post went to William F. Knowland, who beat Will Rogers, Jr. Gov. Warren was re-elected easily.

Five liberal incumbent Congressmen were defeated: Izac, Outland, Healy, Doyle and Patterson, while five liberals were elected: Welch, Havenner, Douglas, Miller and Holifield, all incumbents.

The voting for Archie Brown, write-in candidate for Governor, has not yet been tabulated.

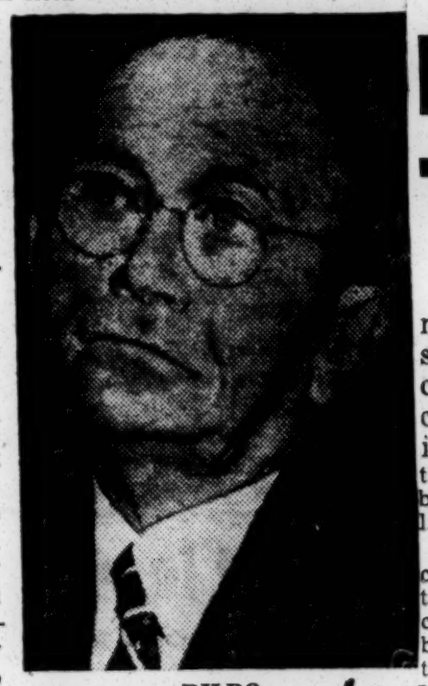
45a 1946

Elections (General)

Marcantonio vs. Bilbo

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

The fascist-like nature of Mississippi elections was thoroughly exposed in the hearings on Sen. Bilbo's re-election held last week at Jackson, Miss.



BILBO

Wed. 11-11-46

But it does not look as if the Ellender Senate Committee, which conducted the hearings, will allow itself to be swayed by such a detail from whitewashing Bilbo.

The fact that a man is elected by a tiny proportion of the citizenry, that the great bulk of the Negro citizenry has been kept from the polls by violence and threats of lynching, is evidently not enough to challenge his election in our "free and democratic" society.

But a conspiracy is brewing in the lower House to oust a man who was elected in a district where the overwhelming majority of eligible citizens did vote.

We are referring, of course, to the conspiracy against Rep. Vito Marcantonio, Laborite Congressman from New York.

This conspiracy began long before the elections. It was hatched by pro-fascists and reactionary monopolists from all over the nation, including the national Republican leadership and the reactionary wing of the Democratic Party.

Defeated at the polls, the conspirators refused to accept the popular verdict.

Just as Bilbo cheated the people of Mississippi of their right to vote, so the conspirators against Marcantonio are trying to cheat the people of Manhattan's 18th District of their right to vote.

This is not the only connection between Bilboism and those that are battling Marcantonio. The fighting Harlem Laborite is the leader of the anti-Bilbo forces in Congress. The struggle against Bilboism will be enormously weakened if the conspiracy against him should succeed.

Those who, like Gov. Dewey, claim to be against Bilbo and are yet part of the conspiracy against Marcantonio are hypocrites. You cannot honestly be against Bilbo and still try to oust the outstanding fighter against everything Bilbob represents.

The issue is a national one. It involves the democratic right of the people to choose Congressmen who fight in their interest.

Because it is a national fight, it needs the backing of every democratic-minded citizen, of every progressive, of every unionist from every part of the land.

12-11-46

An Editorial

Ballots Return Dawson, Powell To U.S. Congress

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 11-16-46

From the sweeping endorsements of New York Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, (D.-A.L.P.) and Chicago Representative William L. Dawson, (D.) to the unsuccessful campaign of Rev. L. H. Simpson, Houston, Tex., aldermanic candidate, Negro voters, although supporting Republicans in some cases, last week reaffirmed the fact that they form the single strong minority voting bloc in the country, holding the line against GOP reaction.

Voting progressive first, and according to race second, electors returned a majority of Negro Democrats to local and national office but rejected Negro candidates when the record favored white opponents. Clearest indication of this was the re-election of Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas over Los Angeles Republican Frederick M. Roberts. Less confused than most whites, who ousted Roosevelt liberals in favor of Republicans, Negro voters showed their disapproval of administration bungling by voting for or against individual candidates.

Reject Harlem GOP

Uninfluenced by thousands of Republican dollar squandered in Harlem, Negro voters returned Congressman Powell to Washington for the third term. At the same time they returned four Negro Democrats, to the state legislature. Harlem voters also re-elected three Negro state assemblymen, while Harold Stevens, Democrat, was chosen state representative from a predominantly white district.

In Chicago, Congressman Dawson overcame the GOP-purchased Bilbo label that defeated progressive Emily Taft Douglas, outstripping perennial Republican campaigner William E. King by 10,000 votes. Sticking to legislative records, Chicago Negroes returned two Republican and three Democrats to the state capitol, despite the fact that several Negro supported white liberals were buried by the GOP landslide.

Labor conscious Detroit Negroes sent Atty. Joseph Brown to the state legislature, after his first bid for public office, although their vote was insufficient to elect Mrs. Jeanetta Welch Brown, Democratic running mate.

Breaks 55 Year Ban

Political history was made in Cleveland, when Negro voters sent Atty. Harry E. Davis to the state senate, marking the first time a Negro has held that office in 55 years. Davis was elected along with two other Negro Republicans seeking office in traditionally GOP Ohio. Cincinnati Negroes rejected Democrat Ernest Waites for the state legislature in favor of Republican Rev. David D. Turpeau.

Negro voters in President Truman's Missouri stronghold gave the administration a mild slap when they sent two GOP campaigners to the state capitol. Democrat James M. Neal of Kansas City became the first Negro assemblyman from his city, while St. Louis citizens elected William Massingale, Democrat and two Republicans to the legislature. For national office, the Negro vote was swamped by the GOP landslide.

Defender

GOP Swing In Philadelphia

Only indication of a Negro bolt to GOP ranks came from Philadelphia, where voters ousted three Negro legislators, replacing them with Republicans, and adding two additional GOP seats to the Negro elected list. Much of the support given Republican gubernatorial Candidate James E. Duff, came from Philadelphia Negroes, on the basis of his pro-FEPC stand. Negro Republican Samuel E. Wadkins lost a close race to incumbent white Democrat Earl Chudoff in a crowded, mid-city district, however.

Chicago, Ill.

Baltimore Negroes, close to the Mason-Dixon line and the poll-tax voted their disapproval by supporting three Republican candidates for the state legislature. They also voted two-to-one for the defeated GOP gubernatorial candidate, but aided in the re-election of Democratic representatives D'Allesandro and Fallon.

Sat. 11-16-46

Lose California FEPC

Progressive Negro voting took its worst beating in California, where confused white voters defeated the FEPC by a three-to-one margin in a battle hinging on the race-hate issue. Shipping and industrial funds, which defeated the measure, and swept most GOP candidates into office had little effect on Los Angeles Negroes, who chose Mrs. Helen Gahagan Douglas over Negro GOP choice Frederick M. Roberts. Negroes also aided the victory of San Francisco's Frank Havenner. California Negroes voted overwhelmingly against the state's outmoded poll-tax law.

Except for Houston, Negro balloting in the Deep South consisted mainly of a token GOP vote against white supremacy. In Atlanta, Negro vote backed defeated Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin who lost on a controversial write-in campaign. The Houston vote went mainly for Rev. L. H. Simpson, who was defeated because of law requiring vote for three alderman at large candidates, instead of one, for single office. Votes for other candidates, who were white, had effect of nullifying ballots for Rev. Simpson.

Exclusive Defender Election Round-Up

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 11-16-46

See Page 3 For Details on Political Situation

Sweeping into office on "free enterprise," and "uncontrolled prices" slogans, given strength by confusion over inflation and shortages, Republican candidates took over both houses of Congress, last week, and flooded all but isolated islands of Negro liberal voters.

An exclusive Defender survey of election returns showed that where GOP bids for Negro votes by Negro candidates on an appeal to race won in some instances, majority of ballots went to office-seekers on the basis of their records. Survey of national and local returns on race candidates in key areas is as follows:

NEW YORK—Congress: Adam Clayton Powell* (D-ALP); State Legislature: Harold A. Stevens (D), Hulan Jack* (D), William E. Prince* (D), William T. Andrews* (D).

CHICAGO—Congress: William L. Dawson* (D); State Legislature: Corneal Davis* (D), Edward A. Welters* (R), Fred Smith* (D), Charles J. Jenkins* (R), Christopher C. Wimbish* (D), Charles M. Skyles* (D).

DETROIT—State Legislature: Joseph Brown (D).

PHILADELPHIA—State Legislature: Howard Henry (R), Louis Mintess (R), William Upshur (R), Edwin Thompson (R), and H. A. Smith (R).

PITTSBURGH—State Legislature: Homer S. Brown* (D).

CINCINNATI—State Legislature: Rev. David D. Turpeau (R).

KANSAS CITY, MO.—State Legislature: James M. Neal (D).

KANSAS CITY, KAS.—State Legislature: William Towers* (R).

ST. LOUIS—State Legislature: Josiah C. Thomas (R), William Massingale (D), J. C. Bush (R).

BOSTON—State Legislature: Lawrence H. Banks (Ind.R).

CLEVELAND—State Legislature: Harry E. Davis (R).

NEWARK, N.J.—State Legislature: Dr. J. Otto Hill (R).

LOS ANGELES—Frederick Roberts (R) lost out to Helen Gahagan Douglas* (D) for Congressional seat.

HOUSTON—Rev. L. H. Simpson (D) lost out in campaign for city council.

ATLANTA—Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin (Ind.D) lost out for Congress despite strong Negro backing.

*Re-elected.

RALPH McGILL

The GOP's Great Opportunity

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga. Mon. 11-11-46

Only once during the recent election events did I shiver.

It was the Mr. John Bricker, of Ohio, who caused me to feel as if a dark wing had brushed my cheek. I most piously trust the gentleman will continue for many years to make the State of Ohio an excellent Senator.

He followed Gov. Tom Dewey, of New York, in a broadcast rather late on election-day evening.

Gov. Dewey had said, in weighing the then already obvious decisions, that he hoped the people would see clearly that it was not necessary to choose between rampant radicalism and black reaction—that the Republican party could be trusted to supply middle-of-the-road leadership. Indeed, he sounded almost as if he wished to say it would be a little left of center.

Then came Mr. Bricker. His tone was gloating, which was all right. He had something to gloat about. He and his party had swept the Democrats out of Ohio and he would have been less than human if he had not been gloating. As a gloater of the past, I understood his feelings and his mood.

What he said was disturbing. The gist of it was:

"I knew that one day the people would wake up and kick out all this New Deal stuff."

Well, let us pause.

If the gentleman means the stupidities; the efforts of some to turn over all major decisions to the Government; the crackpot fringe and all its accessories, including the extreme left with its Communistic loyalties, then he was quite right.

Trail But, if Mr. Bricker considers the accepted, if not yet perfected, reforms of the political era just ended to have been merely a product of Mr. Roosevelt's mind, or a concept of leftist radicals, by all means let him hie himself to the University of Ohio's history and political science departments and consult with the gentlemen heading them.

Let them trace for him a trail which runs through American political history which is deep and unbroken. There are places along the way where there are evidences of a hand-to-hand fight. It is deep in the roots of American history. There will be other conflicts along the way and this, I think, Mr. Dewey knows.

Let Mr. Bricker begin with tax strikes and riots which culminated with the rebellion led by Daniel Shays, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, in Massachusetts, as a protest against special privileges.

It was this same agrarian discontent which made Jefferson President in the historic struggle with Hamilton.

It was this same continuing pressure which produced the Homestead Act and the gifts of millions of acres of land. This was to drain off the abcess of discontent and violence produced in the even then crowded cities of the East.

Follow the trail on to the almost two decades of great Populist unrest, the Grangers and the Populist party. Trace it through Cleveland and beyond. Recall W. J. Bryan and free silver.

Note how it has a part in bringing on the War Between the States.

See it produce the Progressive party with Teddy Roosevelt as its symbol.

Observe it in the "New Freedom" of Woodrow Wilson.

Trace the trail, always with its Populist roots, to Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "New Deal."

Tom Dewey knows the trail always will be there. It is most important the country get as its next President, and every indication points to that next President as a Republican, one who will have adequate background and knowledge of his own country.

Extremes There will be an effort made to drive us to one extreme or another. This, too, Thomas Dewey knows. That was why, I judge, he spoke as he did.

We have seen, in our time, what such a decision means.

We saw what the choice of an extreme produced in Spain, in Germany and Italy. And in Russia another disturbing, extreme choice was made.

I think the Democratic party is finished for a period of time. It is not possible to estimate it until we see whom the Republicans choose.

Some of the Democratic party's sincere progressives will be led into joining a third-party movement, which will be inspired by the extreme elements of the left, Communistically dominated. They will, of course, be fools. The Communist loyalty is to Moscow and there is no such thing as a party line. It indorses, joins, supports where its believes it can produce the most confusion. Their hope is to bring out in full force the worst reactionism possible from the Republican party and to prevent any reforming of Democratic ranks.

Future It is vitally important to the nation and the world that the Republicans not produce an administration of the Taft or Bricker variety.

It will be of interest to see if the Republican party will have the courage and vision not to make of the South a "Whipping Boy," but instead establish an opposition party in the South.

To do that it must rid itself of the old gang of Southern Republican corruptionists who have distributed patronage in the past There were exceptions, but they were few. Far, far too often Southern Republicans have been a sorry lot.

The South is ready—not to support the Republican party—but to provide enough votes to give it the opportunity to make of itself, if it wills the time and [illegible] ney a formidable party.

Analyzing Dixie's Political Prospects

Times-Dispatch
Richmond, Va.

SOUTHERN Democrats are viewing the recent political overturn in Congress with mixed emotions. They appear to feel that the development has certain good points, as well as bad points. On the asset side of the ledger, as they see it, may be mentioned the following:

(1) The Southern Democrats in Congress will constitute a much bigger percentage of the total number of Democrats there, which means that they will be correspondingly more influential in determining party policy.

Fri. 11-15-46

(2) If the Republicans want to override PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S veto of legislation, they must have a large segment of Southern Democrats with them, in order to muster the necessary two-thirds in both Houses. This gives the Southern Democrats a bargaining point for the next two years with which to try to head off bills highly objectionable to the South.

(3) A good many of the South's representatives in Congress are more sympathetic to the national program of the Republican party than that of the Democratic party, despite their own affiliation with the South's traditional Democracy.

Among the liabilities which are seen for the South may be mentioned the following:

(1) The virtual certainty that the next President will be a Republican, which means that the South will be largely ignored while he is in the White House, if precedent is any criterion. Analysis of last week's vote shows that the Democrats lost their former strongholds in the big cities, a condition which, if continued for two more years could mean a truly devastating defeat for the party in the presidential contest. Even the KELLY machine in Chicago, the FLYNN machine in the Bronx, and the HAGUE machine in Jersey City failed to function as of yore. Many Southerners never relished being tossed into the same political bed with these hard-boiled bosses, and the urban labor unions, so this phase of the matter is not altogether distasteful to them.

(2) The Republican desire to solidify the Negro vote for the GOP in 1948 is likely to cause the party to push for the enactment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, Federal antilynching and poll tax repeal laws, and other measures which most Southerners do not want. As noted above, they may be able to do some horse-trading with the Republicans for the next biennium on this type of legislation.

(3) The South loses the numerous important committee chairmanships in Congress held heretofore by Southern Democrats, as well as the Speakership of the House and the presidency pro tem of the Senate, losses which are likely to be intensified two years hence by a Republican capture of the White House.

(4) A Republican President and Congress in 1948 probably would pursue policies definitely inimical to the South, such as efforts to prevent equalization of freight rates between the sections, adoption of higher tariffs than the Democrats would approve, and introduction of the sort of legislation mentioned above which would appeal to the crucially important Negro vote in the North. With a Republican President in the White House, the Republicans will not need to override presidential vetoes, so the bargaining point the Democrats now have will no longer have any weight.

On balance, then, it would appear that the South's influence at Washington has tobogganed greatly under the new dispensation. It will always be thus, so long as this region refuses to exercise political independence. It should become doubtful territory and therefore sought after by both parties. It is now ignored by both.

Need For Hercules Persists

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

This from Brother Henry Wallace's The New Republic: "Old-line Southerners will use every device to get Bilbo into the senate again, but the Republicans with the aid of liberal Democrats will keep him out." Senator Bilbo is not an old-line Southerner, he does not belong among us Jefferson, Calhoun, Cleveland and Woodrow Wilson reactionaries, and if he shall be kept out of the senate until the democrats in Mississippi shall elect him again, The News and Courier will be sufficiently interested by the spectacle of V. Marcantonio in the house since Curley the mayor is departed and there will be no Guffey or Mead in the senate. The pity is that Hercules is dead, as stables are not yet as clean as they should be

Wed 12-4-46

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Elections (General)

TOM STOKES

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Mon. 11-11-46

Now Realism Is Afoot

WASHINGTON—How disrupted and shaken the Democratic Party was left by this week's election hurricane becomes more apparent with analysis of the complete returns.

In recent years Democrats have had to rely for their victories on a combination of the solid South and the big city vote of eastern and industrial midwest States where labor was a potent factor. Midwestern farmers, who had rallied to Franklin D. Roosevelt when depression brought them low, long ago began to desert the Democratic Party when they became prosperous again from New Deal farm-relief measures.

One of the most significant things in this week's election was the way the once-handsome Democratic majorities in the big cities were whittled down until in some cases they almost disappeared. This was one of the most disturbing results to Democratic strategists as they studied the returns.

THE KELLY MACHINE in Chicago and Cook County, once so dependable for the Democrats, was badly hit when a resurgent Republicanism not only recaptured four Cook County house seats, but, what is more important for the machine, regained key county posts. This gives Republicans a foothold for their attempt to win the mayor's office from Ed Kelly next Spring. Boss Frank Hague suffered in Jersey City where his majority was greatly reduced. The new Pendergast machine in Kansas City was rudely checked in its comeback drive, despite the helping hand of President Truman in earlier primary successes. It held on to only one post in Jackson county.

Important nationally, too, was the failure of the Democratic organization in New York City to turn in the necessary quota to offset the upstate vote. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey ate great chunks out of the usual heavy Democratic city vote.

THE SAME LAW of diminishing returns operated in other cities—Boston, St. Louis, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles.

The influence that big-city bosses had acquired in national party management was demonstrated two years ago when Mayor Kelly, Boss Hague, Ed Flynn of the Bronx, and Bob Hannegan of St. Louis, now National Chairman, forced the dropping of Henry Wallace as Vice Presidential candidate and the nomination of Harry Truman.

THE WEAKENING of the big city bosses indicates that the Southerners now will assume the major role in the party, making for conservatism.

The city machines yielded to progressivism of necessity, to some degree, because of the voters upon whom they depended. The Southerners will be strengthened proportionately in Congress by elimination of a number of big-city Democrats in the election who generally were New Dealish and pro-labor. The party, in fact, returns to those who always hold the mortgage when it is out of power.

It can be reported that some Southerners of the extreme conservative bent accepted this election with smiling complacency. The reduction of CIO influence in party affairs is most welcome to dominant economic interests which have so large a voice in the southern wing of the party.

THE ANTAGONISM of these interests toward the CIO has been intensified in recent months by the appearance of CIO organizers outside of their plants in the South. They interpret the election to mean curbs on labor generally in the next Congress.

It will suit a good many Southerners just as well to have Republicans control Congress. That is no secret. It isn't exactly the spirit that builds up a winning political party, nor will it be too pleasing to many people in the South who have benefited from New Deal measures.

But it is, as they say, "practical realistic."

45a 1946

Elections (General)

WHAT ABOUT OBSERVERS IN DIXIE?

U. S. So Busy Keeping Eye on Elections Abroad, Can't See Violations in South

The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md. Sat. 9-14-46

By RICHARD DIER
(AFRO Staff Correspondent)

NEW YORK—"If the elections recently held in the South had been watched by U.S. government officials as those in some European countries, the South would have far better representation in Congress and our government would be more prepared to solve the problems which face us at home and abroad," declared Clark Foreman, president of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare at the Willkie Memorial Auditorium Thursday night.

The occasion was a "Report From the South" meeting to which more than 150 representatives of civic, religious, fraternal, labor and veterans organizations had been invited to mobilize additional support for the conference's "Lend a Hand to Dixieland" street collection campaign.

Mr. Foreman pointed out that if we could do away with discrimination in the South, it would make it easier to eliminate it in the North and throughout the world.

Money Supported Talmadge

"Talmadge was supported by all the big interests in Georgia, including the banks and the Georgia Power Company. He is a prime example of the Divide and Conquer Rule in Georgia. By playing up the predjudices of whites against colored, he rode to victory.

"It is all part of a plan to keep the people divided . . . to keep them from getting together and demanding better health and working conditions and a better educational system."

He said he hoped he would be able to get enough money together to go into South Carolina and organize its people for decent elections. The Afro-American

Present at the meeting was Isaac Woodard, the veteran who was blinded by a policeman in South Carolina.

"I didn't get the proper medical attention in the hospital they took me to after I was injured," he said. "All they did was put eyedrops in my eyes and a compress on my head; and they kept me there 2 months."

Continous Headache

Woodard stated that he suffered from a perpetual headache due to the loss of his eyes. Baltimore, Md.

James Dombrowski, national administrator of the Southern Conference, told the audience that he had several experiences coming up from Tennessee that rminded him that problems of discrimination are not peculiar to the South alone

"In Pennsylvania Station, I heard a colored man ask where he could find a barber shop. The colored attendant directed him to a place on a nearby street. Knowing a barber shop in the station, I asked why he had not been sent to that one.

"The attendant patiently explained that New York State had laws against a business establishment practicing discrimination, but that they were just on the books and seldom enforced."

Events in Burma, India, China and the Phillipines remind us that race discrimination is one of the most pressing problems confronting the world today, he said.

Outraged by Lynchings

"Only one in three potential voters in the South ever cast a ballot. Many Southern Congressmen are elected by less than 10 per cent of the potential voters."

Mr. Dombrowski stated that the great majority of Southern people are just as outraged and indignant as any group elsewhere at "the recent wave of lynchings" and "the fascist ravings of Bilbo and Rankin."

"Potentially the South is the most progresive section of the U.S. because it is the poorest and needs progressive leadership more than any other region."

He branded Washington as a jim crow town.

"The Southern Conference regards the participation of colored in the Democratic primaries as an important step toward the achievement of full democracy in the South," he added. "More than 200,000 colored people were registered for the first time in the Democratic primaries in Texas and Georgia. Sat. 9-14-46

"With the elimination of the poll tax and other arbitrary restrictions upon the free ballot, the union of white and colored at the polls will reestablish majority rule in the South and assure a more liberal and representative Southern delegation in Congress."

Terror Runing Rampant

Malcolm C. Dobbs, executive secretary, Committee for Alabama, Southern Conference, pointed out the lynch terror is running rampant in the deep South.

"Reactionary plantation owners and industrialists have no use for democracy spelled with a small "d" and are fighting to keep the phrase, "To Maintain White Supremacy" as the slogan of the Democratic Party in the South These groups are using Klan violence to destroy the wartime unity of colored and white at work and on the battlefields."

Mr. Dobbs said that only a small minority of white Southerners are joining forces with the Klan today; and that the great majority are opposed to the Klan and can be brought into the fight to outlaw its existence.

Fascists Attacked

Johnny Faulk, nationally known radio entertainer, attacked American fascists as being similar in every respect to those whom we licked on foreign battlefields.

"The boys who died at the hands of the fascist Japs or the Nazis are no more dead than those poor people who were lynched in Georgia," said Faulk.. "The South happens to be one of the principal breeding spots for fascism in its uglier form."

He warned that as long as there is a single fascist living, there is a living carrier and none of us nor our children are safe from its danger.

Tom Glazer, of People's Songs sang a chain gang song of protest and Mr. Faulk's wife, Hallie, sang "Strange Fruit."

Representatives from the following organizations attended Elks, American Veterans' Committee, Civil Rights Congress NAACP, Urban League, YWCA YMCA, CIO, ALP, PAC, Americans United for World Organization Mt. Olivet Baptist Church, Committee of Catholics for Human Rights, American Youth for Democracy and the International Workers' Order.

Mrs. John Hammond Jr. was chairman. Joe Louis and Orson Welles are co-chairmen of the street collection campaign which runs from Sept. 19-21. The Southern Conference hopes to realize $100,000 in the campaign to continue its work in the South.

Even if I were the proudest Pole, I would not retort that America's own election laws are, by authoritative admission, "full of gaping loopholes," but I would decorously clap hands over the demands of Sen. Hatch and Rep. Priest that these gaps be closed, would resist and over Sen. Claude Pepper's point out that promise to continue to seek free elections for the voteless millions as long has of the South. And I would say to my son: "Look, Vladimir, the U. S. A., which sends us these memorandums, is a great and rich country whose idealistic reach thus far has exceeded its people's grasp. But on his own note, it still is trying to become a race, it is too democracy at home, though it Guid; in the seeks to make us one first. Let us impolite; in wish the Americans well, as they too much of" advise us well. And let us not do a're another" as they do, but as they say. Perhaps we can prove here what they have been endeavoring to be able to prove since they began: that where all may vote freely and without hindrance, the government will be the finest men can know."

turbing reports of preparations in Georgia to prevent a the population from having voice in government what would forget South Carolina Mississippi, and I would the temptation to point were Poland and Romania pose fines on voters, as has been done in a large section U. S. A., the American Dept. really would be Billy Blue Hell.

I would not be sarcastic all this nor make any hoist my critic upon his petard. In the first place, easy to rib the Unco second, it would be impolite the third, there is too this unprofitable "You're business in the world today,

NOMINATED IN OAKLAND
The Afro-American, Baltimore, Md.
OAKLAND, Calif. (ANP).—John C. Henderson, local attorney, won the Democratic nomination for assembly from the 17th District in the June 4 primary election. Sat. 6-29-46

Jennings Perry
PM New York, N.Y.

Poles Apart

NASHVILLE.

If I were a Pole named John Q. Sobieski, I would take renewed admonitions of the U. S. A. to my country about elections in good part. I would assume that no offense is meant, that the U. S. A. speaking Thurs. 11-28-46 through the not-always-guiltless voice of its department, in this is quite truly represented, and that the "discharge of its responsibilities" under the Yalta and Potsdam accords for "the holding of free elections in Poland" is an unblemished aim. Being literate, I would know, of course, that many in the U. S. A. hope that free elections in Poland would mean conservative victories, that some in the U. S. A. almost pathetically believe this would result, and that some others will never concede that an election has been free unless its results conform to their own predilections.

Perry

But I would credit the nation itself with sincerity, since the U. S. A. does stand for free elections as an article of faith, and is very fundamentalist on the point. It idolizes the great name of democracy and is bound by countless and unconditioned professions.

To its service, in recent months, it passionately has bespoken "true popular rule" in Bulgaria, Rumania, Italy and Japan, as well as for the Poles.

I whether or not any other nation I would not write to my ambassador in Washington to protest to the U. S. A. that the newly enacted Boswell Amendment to the Alabama Constitution (voted in an election none could claim to have been free and open) creates a condition under which forthcoming elections will be mockeries, nor would I mention "dis-

As Polish citizen Sobieski would overlook American readiness to countenance military dictatorship in occupied (British) Greece and the softness of American remonstrances to fascist Spain. I would not get my dander up over the U. S. A.'s sins of political omission in far places or even at home. I would accept its homeless selfishly—realizing that free and unfettered elections would be salutary for Poland

An Interview with Dennis on the Elections

The Worker New York, N. Y. Sun, 11-17-46

In an interview with The Worker on the results of the November Congressional elections, Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party, rejected the two extreme viewpoints now being expressed. These are the complacent viewpoint that nothing had really changed and that the next elections would automatically undo what was attained by the GOP on Nov. 5, as well as the false idea that the Republicans are destined to capture power in '48.

DENNIS

The tall, graying Communist leader, still in his early forties, warned however that the GOP electoral victory will adversely affect the future of all labor and social welfare legislation and all economic issues. It will tend to reinforce the reactionary foreign policy being pursued by the Vandenberg-Byrnes team and the State Department. Likewise it will encourage all anti-Communist, anti-Negro and anti-Semitic elements to move more boldly in direct frontal assaults against the progressive forces of the nation.

Dennis brushed aside as "unfounded" and "wilfull misrepresentation" the Republican claim to a national landslide victory in the recent elections.

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DENNIS DECLARED it was fallacious to charge the American people had turned to the Right on Nov. 5. Rather, he pointed out, **"the GOP victory was primarily a protest vote against the ineptness and the betrayals by the Truman administration of FDR's program, against Big Business-created shortages, against the fouled-up housing situation, and against the prolonged strikes provoked by the employers on the very eve of the elections."**

"It was an electoral victory obtained with a shift of about 6 percent of the electorate. And while this shift involved some sections of the AFL and Negro voters, and was aided by the apathy among certain sections of the CIO, it marks most of all a swing, a change, among the middle class voters," the Communist leader said.

He emphasized the significance of Congressman Vito Marcantonio's victory in the face of an unprecedented red-baiting and press campaign of slander. Also the victory of Adam Clayton Powell in Harlem, the large American Labor Party vote in New York, Senator Harley Kilgore's election in West Virginia and the significant vote for Communist candidates Robert Thompson and Ben Davis in New York, should not be under-estimated, Dennis stated.

Staff writers David Timmons and George Bellak of Peoples Radio Foundation watch Paul Soop, Elsie Sharpe, and Cy Travers go over their parts for the PRF prevue of "Adventure Radio." It was heard last Wednesday night over WAAT on the Howard Edelson show for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union. "Adventure Radio" dramatizes the struggle for freedom of the air which is being led by PRF, a group now applying for a license to build a new FM radio station in New York City owned and controlled by labor unions and progressive organizations.

Dennis pointed out, however, that the GOP has strengthened its political positions and secured a strong vantage point for preparing for the next presidential elections. And furthermore, that the GOP has now obtained an advantage in the U.S. Senate which it may retain into '52 regardless of the outcome of the '48 presidential elections.

The important thing now, in the post-election period, according to Dennis, is to understand how and why the Republican victory was made possible, and, above all, what must be done to check and defeat the growth of reaction.

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DENNIS ENUMERATED in telescopic form the following as the most important reasons for the unfavorable results of Nov. 5th:

"1. Truman's capitulation and surrender to the trusts and to its major party, the GOP, on every important foreign and domestic issue facing the country. This could, and did, result in nothing less than mass dissatisfaction with and a definite turn away from both the Administration and many of the candidates of the Democratic party.

"2. The clever use made by the trusts and their Republican spokesmen of the mistakes, weaknesses and betrayals of the Truman Administration. The demagogic campaign of the GOP to direct the anger of the nation at the reactionary bi-partisan coalition in Congress against the Federal Administration which carries out, in essence, the main policies of the GOP.

"3. The continued disastrous division between the AFL and CIO; and the destructive activity of the reactionary top AFL officialdom in opposing progressive and pro-Roosevelt policies and candidates.

"4. Underestimation of the real danger of a GOP victory by a substantial part of the left-wing of labor, including many Communists; also their tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum attitude towards most major party candidates. This was corrected in many cases in the very last phase of the campaign, but then it was already too late to change the situation.

"5. The capitulation by most Democrats and many CIO-PAC leaders to the red-baiters. Or at best, their silence in the face of the GOP anti-Communist barrage. Thus, the Republicans succeeded in confusing and influencing several million middle class, farm and AFL voters with their anti-CIO and red-baiting campaign.

"6. The weak ties of labor with the progressive non-labor strata of the population, as well as the restricted scope of existing labor-progressive unity.

"7. The aggressive and reactionary campaign of the Catholic church hierarchy and its adverse influence upon hundreds of thousands of Democratic voters—especially in Boston, in Queens, New York City, and in Philadelphia.

"8. The defensive, evasive, and negative character of the Democratic party campaign; the unsatisfactory type of candidates put forward by that party in a majority of cases; the sabotaging activity of the Farleys, Flynns and Malones, and of a number of Democratic party machines, all of whom preferred defeat to achieving victory on the basis of the progressive features of the FDR program and of tactics for forging a broad progressive coalition.

"9. The sloughing over of the key issue of peace and foreign policy by most of the Democrats and many labor leaders. They accepted at face value the GOP-Byrnes formula that the government's foreign policy was 'bi-partisan' and 'national' and hence above criticism in the campaign. This played into the game of the GOP and actually served to protect the Republicans from the wrath of the people against their reactionary, 'bipartisan' imperialist foreign policy."

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DENNIS POINTED to the constructive contribution of the Communist Party in furthering unity of action between labor and other progressive forces, clarifying of the main issues, and the crusading for the progressive pro-FDR program and coalition policy in the recent election campaign.

He added, however, that the Communists are also taking critical account of a number of weaknesses in their election work. He exemplified this by pointing out that certain opportunist and sectarian mistakes and tendencies were exhibited.

"And these consisted, in part, in a right-opportunist failure to follow a sufficiently independent policy and to resolutely help determine the outcome of the primaries in a number of states; and after the primaries in uncritically supporting all labor-endorsed Democratic candidates."

These mistakes consisted further in certain left-sectarian blunders which became even more pronounced after the primaries. These consisted in an erroneous "plague-on-both-your-houses" attitude taken in several districts towards practically all the candidates of both parties alike; and in an indifferent attitude exhibited in certain areas towards our labor and pro-Roosevelt Democrat allies, as well as in a strong inclination to "go it alone."

"Needless to say," he added, "both tendencies distorted our correct political line and impaired our mass work. They definitely impeded our efforts to forge the broadest labor-progressive and pro-Roosevelt electoral coalition."

The Worker

IN REPLY to the last question put to him, Dennis declared: **"What has to be done and how to do it—that, of course, is the most important question of all. This is the decisive question of the hour."**

He paused, and then continued slowly: **"If one were to put it in capsule form: What is most essential is the welding of the broadest unity of action of the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods, together with all FDR supporters, with all opponents of the Hoover, Dewey, Taft and Vandenberg policies."**

And he added, **"This unity of struggle must be created on the most decisive issues of the day on the legislative, economic and foreign policy fronts, on national levels, in the factories and townships, and in the cities and countryside alike."**

Prospects for this are favorable, Dennis said: "There's a fighting mood in labor's ranks and among the people." He also cited the activities of the pro-Roosevelt Democrats like Wallace and Pepper and the determined action of the Chicago Conference of Progressives.

Dennis concluded the interview with the pointed remark: **"Those who would defeat reaction in '48, as well as in the 80th Congress even before '48, will have to concentrate on advancing to new heights the independent political action of labor and the progressives. They will have to achieve a wider practical working unity of action which can secure a new political alignment influential and organized enough to project and elect a progressive, pro-Roosevelt presidential ticket and Congress in 1948.**

New York, N.Y.

"Toward this end," Dennis added, "and in furtherance of these objectives which are common to all anti-war and anti-monopoly forces, our Communist Party will strengthen and will continue to pursue a resolute course of all-inclusive labor and anti-fascist unity. It will seek and engender the broadest coalition of all progressive and pro-FDR act and reverse the recent GOP re-alignment leading to a new mass path to a people's democratic victory. Therein lies the people's party. Sun. 11-17-46

"Therein lies the way to counter-act over reaction and the war mongers."

Georgia, Unlike Mississippi, Keeps Worst—Liberal Native

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-3-46

ATLANTA—Typical of the reactions of liberal whites in the South following the election of Bilbo to the Senate and Talmadge to the governorship of Georgia is that contained in a letter printed in the Atlanta Journal and signed by an Ed Price, who said:

"Mississippi can justly be proud of the outcome of the July 17 gubernatorial race here in Georgia because now we take up Mississippi's previously indisputable place at the tail end of the 48 States for unintelligent ballot marking.

"Mississippians have sense enough at least to elect their political undesirables to posts which take them well outside the State's boundaries."

BALM IN DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Even those devotees of democracy whose faith in human kind is irrepressible can get an aggravated case of despondency after such a licking as Democrats took last Tuesday. But it's an ill wind that blows nobody a little good, and an awful long lane that has no turning. So, in Polly-anna mood, it is possible to find some de-sirable aspects of the catastrophe that bowled us over.

One cheering side of the national Democratic disaster was the blow sustained by infamous city machines which in recent years have contributed to the success of the Democratic party in national elections. One of the open shames of American political life has been the development of corrupt political rings which have dominated the great cities. Since the thirties most of the infamous city machines have been allied with the Democratic party, and have played a considerable part in the success of the national ticket. This fact is something of which no one has been proud—it was the inevitable compromise which decency and progress in government must make sometimes in order to achieve desirable ends.

Sun. 11-10-46

The Republican landslide of 1946 was a crippling blow to most of these machines. The Kelly crowd in Chicago took the most drastic drubbing of any, so drastic the chances are fifty-fifty or better that Boss Kelly will retire from the field next Spring without contesting for the mayorship of the Windy City. The corrupt Hague machine in New Jersey took a serious body blow which will necessitate many months of a strict regimen before it can regain its former strength, if indeed it does regain it. Half a dozen other city rings hardly less corrupt than the Hague and Kelly models also suffered major bruises and lacerations in the Democratic smash-up.

If now it is possible for these machines to be succeeded by clean, aggressive forces dedicated to honest, progressive administration of city governments, that fact will to some extent soften the otherwise discouraging highlights of Republican victory. But if these crushed city machines merely create a vacuum to be filled by equally selfish and cynical machines run by bosses of another name who align themselves with the Republican party, there will be no gain at all.

Another cheering aspect of the Republican tidal wave is the enforced retirement of Andrew J. May from the Congress of the United States. Mr. May is one Democrat whose passing from the national scene will be attended by few tears, even Democratic tears. A good number of Democrats other than the Kentucky solon will be catapulted from posts of power and influence in the complicated legislative organization of the national government when the clans start gathering in January. It is true that most of the Republicans who will replace them in these posts are not stars of the first magnitude, but the Republicans should offer material as good as Mississippi's Rankin, Georgia's Cox, and Alabama's Manasco, to name a few men who will lose committee chairmanships.

The Democrats have been powerless to rid themselves of these weak spots in the past. It took a Republican landslide to sweep a number of incompetent Democrats from entrenched positions in the national congress, and to break the throttleholds of corrupt machine governments over many an American city. To that extent, a least, the G. O. P. victory was a victory for democracy in both connotations of the word.

LANDSLIDE RESULT

Party Also Has Majority of Governors in the

New York, N.Y.

Nationwide Overturn

Thurs.-11-7-46

BUT VICTORY IS SOBERING

Leaders of Both Parties Now Call for Cooperation for Wellbeing of Country

By ARTHUR KROCK

The chain reaction of the voters of the United States against the Democrats, after fourteen years of national power, that began in Massachusetts on Tuesday and extended to the Pacific Coast, has given to the Republicans working control of Congress in both branches and a majority of the Governors of the forty-eight States.

This result was established in the early hours of yesterday when the loss of such Senate seats as those in Utah, Idaho and Nevada, which the Democrats had expected to retain against the Republican tide, was put beyond doubt in the final returns.

These made it certain that the Republicans will have a minimum of fifty-one Senators and 248 Representatives in the Eightieth Congress, and twenty-five Governors instead of the twenty-three they had when the voters went to the polls. The Senate figures meant a net Republican gain of thirteen over th ethirty-eight Senators the party had after the Senate adjourned last August and Senator Warren R. Austin of Vermont resigned his place to become United States delegate to the United Ntiaons. The House figures showed a minimum net gain of 52, or 27 more than was needed to reverse the majority in that branch. Final returns may increase, and surely will not reduce, this measure of the Republican landslide.

Democratic Reactions Differ

Although the forecasts were almost unanimous in their indication of heavy Democratic reverses in Congress, the party leaders yesterday behaved like men who had stumbled into a pit on a road where no pitfalls had been marked. After a night of counsel their confused voices were raised in different tones and the party futures they charter had little similitude. Robert E. Hannegan, the National Chairman of the Democrats, echoed Gov. Thomas E. Dewey; Republican National Chairman B. Carroll Reece; prospective Speaker Joseph W. Martin Jr., and other Republicans by saying that victors and vanquished must combine to sustain the nation's strength and its well being.

But Henry A. Wallace, leader of the radical Democartic wing, including the CIO-PAC, which sustained such conspicuous defeat on Tuesday, and Senator Claude Pepper of Florida, who contests that leadership with Mr. Wallace, urged "liberals," the term they reserve to their own followers, to continue the "fight," and predicted eventual triumph for the left wing in the party and with the American electorate.

And Senator J. W. Fulbright of Arkansas, who has some years to serve, urged President Truman—who also has two—to appoint a Republican as Secretary of State and then resign the Presidency to be succeeded by that appointee. His thesis was that the voters clearly called for a change in the party in power and, to avoid a legislative-executive stalemate in such times as these, it would be the part of patriotism if Mr. Truman would step aside. The only available comment on this proposal was a remark made privately by an administration official in Washington who said that the Senator was "willing to send his wife's relations to the forefront of the battle."

Truman Remains Silent

The President himself, whose plan to make some speeches for Democratic tickets in the campaig, had been exchanged for a course of complete silence at the behest of political advisers, had nothing to say publicly to anyone at all. To the extent that he and his official record were the issues, apart from those created by fourteen years of Democratic rule and the policies of his predecessor, Mr. Truman was the worst beaten of all his party yesterday. Not only did his home State of Missouri reject the appeal of the incumbent Democratic Senator, Frank P. Briggs for another term. The voters of a Congressional district in Kansas City defeated Enos Axtell, whom the President had caused to be nominated for Representative over Roger C. Slaughter, member of the House for that area, on personal grounds. "Either Slaughter is right or I am," said Mr. Truman in a critical survey of Mr. Slaughter's record on administration programs and an explanation of why he would oppose his renomination.

The Times

Among the Republicans, sobered by the victory they expected but did not think would be so complete, the leaders stood on their election night pleas for cooperation and pledges that they would do their share. But there was one exception. Representative Harold Knutson of Minnesota, who will be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee if seniority prevails in his instance, repeated his demand for legislation cutting back income taxes 20 per cent in the next Congress and repealing certain excise levies for revenue purposes.

Since no one has explained how this reduction could be made without reducing budgets for the War and Navy Departments below the figures which they have set as the minimum for national safety, this call from Mr. Knutson was disturbing to many who feared Republican House victory for the very reason that it would put him in charge of revenue bills. But aside from this the statements of the successful party leaders were moderate, sober and even placatory to the badly beaten President and party with whom they must share government responsibility for at least two years.

New York, N.Y.

Results Studied by Labor

In the labor front there was silence while the union spokesmen examined the heavy list of casualtiese among those who have made labor programs, particularly those of the CIO, their special legislative concerns. There was balm for the CIO in the indicated survival of Senator Harley M. Kilgore against the powerful challenge of Tom Sweeney for his seat. And radical Democratic groups, in which labor is prominent, took heart also over the re-elections of Representatives Vito Marcantonio and Adam Clayton Powell in New York City.

But the comfort was small in contrast, and for John L. Lewis and the United Mine Workers and ALF leaders who opposed Senator Kilgore there was none in that result. Senators James M. Mead of New York, Joseph F. Guffey of Pennsylvania and James M. Tunnell of Delaware, legislators with the "perfect CIO score," went down to defeat. So did Representative Hugh DeLacy in Washington State, Jerry Voorhis in California and numerous others whom union labor has celebrated as "fair-minded." The results called for a period of measurement and reflection, and the union spokesmen decided to avail themselves of the privilege.

Thurs. 11-7-46

The capital city showed especial interest in three consequences of the election: the conspicuous persons who would come and go from Congress; the possible effect of the sweeping Republican triumph on economic foreign policy as distinguished from political (the succession to UNRRA, projected international loans, reciprocal tariff agreements as examples), and resignations of "brain trusters" and other survivors of the repudiated New Deal who have clung to the

Government payroll by transfer largely but chiefly by grim determination.

What changes will be made in economic foreign policy programs which the President has pledged abroad no one ventured to anticipate with any certainty. That Senator Harry F. Byrd, re-elected as a Democrat from Virginia but head of the bi-partisan economy bloc, would speed the parting brain trusters and New Dealers with enthusiastic Republican assistance no one, however, doubted. So much of the conversation in the Capital dealt with personalities, old and new.

The names chiefly mentioned were those of Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., returned to the Senate once more by Massachusetts after resigning his seat to become a combat army officer; Senator David I. Walsh, whom he defeated, and who as chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee is an opponent of that Army-Navy merger which Mr. Lodge favors; Representative Andrew J. May of Kentucky, rejected by his loyal mountain district after the criticism of the Senate committee on war contracts; Albert J. Reeves Jr., of Kansas City who in defeating Mr. Axtell defeated the President of the United States and the Pendergast machine as well; Representative Sol Bloom of New York City, who must give up his prized job as chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs with the social prominence and power that goes with it; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, who as chairman of Foreign Affairs in the Senate, will now have actual as well as token influence on the international policies of the nation; and Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, who will be the floor leader of the Senate and probably the architect of the national revenue policy of Congress for the next two years.

Dewey Widely Discussed

But in Washington and outside it one name was heard above all the rest—that of Thomas E. Dewey, triumphantly re-elected Governor of New York and by reason of that once more placed in the forefront of those who are thought to aspire to the Republican Presidential nomination in 1948. In this connection it was also noted that former Gov. John W. Bricker of Ohio had again showed great voting strength in a State from which Presidential nominees often and logically come. And, though long a foregone conclusion, the choice by both parties in primary and election of Gov. Earl Warren of California was marked down as qualifying him for the same high national consideration.

In this review and post-mortem it was natural that the first Republican to have been elected to a Senate seat by New York in twenty years should take an important place. Irving Ives will find himself a prominent member of the Senate when he goes to Washington to succeed Mr. Mead, and the place he will have in legislative counsels will be his to make as he chooses.

FULL STATE SWEEP

The Times

Anti-Communism Revolt Called Big Factor in Dewey Landslide

New York, N.Y.

HIS PLURALITY IS 675,588

Thurs. 11-7-46

State Republicans Gain Six House Seats, Strengthen Control of Legislature

By JAMES A. HAGERTY

Three main factors contributed to the Republican landslide in New York State that resulted in the re-election of Governor Dewey by a majority of more than 675,000 and the election of all his running mates on the Republican State ticket, including Irving M. Ives, nominee for United States Senator.

These were: a widespread belief that Mr. Dewey had been an efficient Governor and was much better qualified to head the State government than Senator James M. Mead, his Democratic, American Labor and Liberal party opponent; general dissatisfaction with the administration of President Truman, and an increasing tide of anti-Communism and resentment among old line Democrats at the alliance of their party with the Labor party with its Communist membership. Governor Dewey's sweeping victory was accomplished by the votes of enrolled Democrats.

Governor Dewey defeated Senator Mead by 675,588 majority with eight election districts, all up-State, missing. He carried the State outside New York City by 865,208 and lost New York City to Senator Mead by 189,620. The total vote in the State with eight election districts missing was Dewey 2,813,133, Mead 2,137,545.

Democratic Defection Shown

The Mead vote was divided 1,537,658 on the Democratic line, 424,362 on the Labor party line and 175,525 on the Liberal party line, the Liberal party thereby gaining the status of a legal political party by polling more than 50,000 votes for its candidate for Governor.

In New York City, Senator Mead received the votes of 850,163 Democrats, 355,231 Democrats and 164,058 members of the Liberal party. The New York City vote for Governor Dewey on the Republican party line exceeded the vote for Senator Mead on the Democratic party line by 329,669, showing a tremendous Democratic defection. *The Times*

The Labor party vote came well up to the expectations of its leaders and the Liberal party vote, although below its leaders' estimates was large for a new party. The Democratic defection in the city, however, was believed by leaders of that party to mark the beginning of the end of its alliance with the Labor party, which three times helped to carry the State for the late President Roosevelt. *New York, N.Y.*

Anti-Communism, these Democratic leaders said, was a large factor in this Democratic defection and some of the local Democratic leaders were reported to feel that they had paid too high a price for the support of the Communist-tinged Labor party and that future alliances would be sought with the anti-Communist Liberal party.

Flynn Heads Anti-ALP Move

A move in this direction has been started by Edward J. Flynn, Bronx Democratic leader, who refused to permit local Democratic candidates to accept Labor party endorsement. Borough President John Cashmore, Brooklyn Democratic leader, was reported to be resentful over the appearance of Henry A. Wallace, former Secretary of Commerce, on the eve of the election, and to be opposed to future alliance with the Labor party in its present form. *Thurs.*

The vote for Benjamin J. Davis Jr., Communist cnadidate for Attorney General, was 86,297 in New York City, 26,986 in Manhattan, 20,734 in the Bronx, 31,423 in Brooklyn, 6,801 in Queens and 353 in Richmond. Communist campaign headquarters estimated a vote of about 6,000 for Mr. Davis in the rest of the State. The vote for Robert Thompson, Communist candidate for Controller, totaled 79,957 in New York City, according to a tabulation made by Communist campaign headquarters.

Presumably all or most of these Communist votes were cast for Senator Mead, former Governor Herbert H. Lehman, coalition candidate for United States Senator; Erastus Corning 2d. for Lieutenant Governor and Henry Epstein for Associate Judge of the Court of Appeals. Literature distributed by the Communist party before the election urged support of these candidates. *11-7-46*

Governor Dewey carried every county in the State except Albany, Bronx, Kings and New York. He carried Buffalo, Senator Mead's home city, by 26,137, and every other large city in the State except Albany, which went for Senator Mead by 19,227, and New York City.

Mr. Ives defeated Mr. Lehman by a majority of 256,663, with 39 election districts, all up-State, missing. Mr. Ives had a majority of 746,256 over Mr. Lehman outside New York City, but lost the city to the former Governor by 489,593. The total vote in the State, with 39 election districts missing, was Ives 2,552,197, Lehman 2,295,534.

The vote for Mr. Lehman, generally regarded as one of the best Governors the State has had, was remarkable in view of the general Republican trend. He ran 420,000 better than the head of his ticket.

Like Senator Mead, Mr. Lehman carried only four counties of the sixty-two in the State, Albany, Bronx, Kings and New York Counties.

GOP Gains 6 House Seats

The Republicans gained six seats in the House of Representatives and lost none. Successful Republican candidates in Congressional Districts now represented by Democrats, were Gregory McMahan, Fourth District; Robert Tripp Ross, Fifth District, and Robert Nodar Jr., Sixth District, all in Queens; Jacob K. Javits, Twenty-first District, Manhattan; David M. Potts, Twenty-sixth District, the Bronx, and Kenneth B. Keating, Fortieth District, Monroe County. The State's delegation in the new House will stand 28 Republicans, 16 Democrats and one American Laborite.

The principal Republican disappointment was failure to defeat Representative Vito Marcantonio in the Eighteenth Congressional District and Representative Adam Clayton Powell Jr., in the Twenty-second. Mr. Marcantonio defeated Frederick v. P. Bryan, his Republican opponent, by 5,500 majority. Mr. Powell led Capt. Grant Reynolds, Republican, by 13,209.

The defeat of Vincent J. Longhi, American Labor party member with Republican endorsement, by Representative John J. Rooney, Democrat, in the Twelfth Congressional District, Brooklyn, was no disappointment to the Republicans. Mr. Longhi lacked the support of the Republican Congressional Committee.

Legislature Gains Made

The Republicans gained sixteen seats in the Assembly and six in the State Senate, and will control the new Assembly by 110 and 39 and the new Senate by 42 to 13. There will be two Labor party members of Legislature, both elected in Brooklyn with Republican endorsements. They are Samuel Kaplan of the Twenty-fourth Assembly District and Kenneth Sherbell of the Tenth Senatorial District.

In the First Judicial District, where Supreme Court Justices Samuel H. Hofstadter and Aaron Steuer were re-elected without opposition, Justice Edgar J. Nathan Jr., appointee of Governor Dewey and Republican, Labor and Liberal party candidate, and Assistant Mayor Thomas L. J. Corcoran, Democratic and Labor party candidate, were elected over District Attorney Samuel J. Foley of Bronx County, Democratic and Liberal

C. C. Wimbish Retains Post In Ill. Senate

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Fri. 11-8-46

Rep. Douglas Defeats Roberts In Los Angeles

By The Associated Negro Press

The Republican sweep of Congress did not touch the two incumbent Democratic members of the House of Representatives.

Representative Dawson, of Illinois and Representative Adam Clayton Powell of New York City, were reelected over determined opposition, late tabulations showed Thursday.

Dawson was reelected by a 9,000-vote margin over Republican candidate King, while Powell defeated aspiring Republican Grant Reynolds.

REMAIN DEMOCRATS

In Chicago, the second and third wards remained in the Democratic Party column. C. C. Wimbish was reelected to the Illinois State Senate in the Third District and State Assembly victors included Corneal Davis, Democrat; Edward Welters, Republican, First District; Fred J. Smith, Democrat and Charles Jenkins, Republican, Third District and Charley Skyles, Democrat, Fifth District.

In California, the incumbent Representative Helen Galagan Douglas defeated Republican airpirant Fred Roberts of Los Angeles

ANP Roundup Shows Increase In Legislators

Daily World
Atlanta, Ga.
Sun. 11-10-46

Pennsylvanians, Illini Lead In State Assemblymen

ELECTION ROUND-UP

(By The Associated Negro Press)

NEW YORK, — Rev. A. Clayton Powell, Democrat, reelected to congress with 32,722 votes over Grant Reynolds, GOP, polling 19,513. Four Democratic state assemblymen reelected. City Councilman Ben Davis, running for New York attorney general, polled 87,431 votes in city, highest total ever given a Communist candidate. J. Finley Wilson defeated for state senate.

CHICAGO— William L. Dawson Democrat, reelected to congress polling 36,761 votes to defeat William E. King, GOP, who got 27,501. County Commissioner Mike Sneed and State Sen. C. C. Wimbish, both Democrats, reelected. Two Republicans, three Democratic state assemblymen reelected.

CINCINNATI— Rev. David Turpeau, GOP, reelected to state legislature.

PHILADELPHIA— Five Republicans elected to state general assembly.

INDIANAPOLIS — Wilbur Grant, Republican, elected to state legislature.

DETROITER REELECTED

PITTSBURGH—Homer S. Brown, Democrat, reelected to state legislature.

DETROIT—Joseph Brown, Democrat, brother of Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh, elected to state legislature.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—James McKinley Neal, Democrat, elected to Missouri legislature.

KANSAS CITY, Kan.— William Towers, GOP reelected to state legislature.

ST. LOUIS — Two Republicans, one Democrat elected to state legislature.

BOSTON— Lawrence H Banks, Independent Republican, elected to state legislature.

OHIOAN TO SENATE

CLEVELAND— Harry E Davis, GOP, elected to state senate, two Republicans to general assembly.

LOS ANGELES — Fred Roberts loses congessional race to Democratic incumbent, Helen Gahagan Douglas. State FEP bill also loses.

NEWARK — Dr. J. Ottto Hill, GOP, reelected to state legislature

BITTER GOVERNORSHIP FIGHT BEING RENEWED IN GEORGIA

The Times, New York, N.Y.
Sun. 12-29-46

Arnall and Talmadge Forces Contend Over Meaning of the State Constitution

By GEORGE HATCHER

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

ATLANTA, Dec. 28—The Arnall and Talmadge forces in Georgia once again are aligned against each other in a bitter struggle to determine who will be the State's next Governor.

Governor Arnall and his supporters seek to turn over the Governorship to Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson, former executive secretary to the Governor and an Arnall appointee. At present Lieut. Gov.-elect Thompson holds the post of Revenue Commissioner.

The followers of Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge, whose death last week produced one of the most controversial situations in the history of Georgia politics, hope to have the Legislature elect 33-year-old Herman Talmadge as his father's successor.

Herman is a graduate of the University of Georgia, served as a Navy officer during the war, and managed his father's tumultuous and triumphant "white supremacy" election campaign last summer.

No Explicit Provisions

The State Constitution does not have explicit provisions dealing with the naming of a Governor-elect's successor in case of death before he is sworn into office. There are several provisions, however, which might apply in the present situation but varied interpretations by political and legal leaders have resulted in considerable debate as to which procedure would be constitutionally proper. The Georgia Supreme Court will very probably be asked for an opinion.

Governor Arnall maintains he could remain in office for four more years if he felt inclined to do so. He points to a provision in the Constitution which directs that a Governor is to hold office "until his successor is elected, and qualified" and that a Governor can only be elected every four years.

Mr. Arnall proposes, however, to keep the Governorship only until the 42-year-old Lieutenant Governor-elect, Mr. Thompson, is sworn in Jan. 14 and eligible to succeed him. The Governor then would step out in favor of Lieut. Gov.-elect Thompson.

Phrase Stirs Question

The Legislature convenes January 13, the day before Mr. Thompson is to take the oath of office as Lieutenant Governor, and the supporters of Herman Talmadge are expected to seek immediate action. The Talmadgites contend that the Legislature could elect Herman Talmadge on the basis of a provision in the Constitution which states that the General Assembly shall elect a candidate from the two receiving the highest vote in the general election "if no person has received a majority of the total vote in the general election."

The State Constitution further provides that the General Assembly shall choose one of the leading candidates "who is in life and does not decline the election at the time for the General Assembly to elect."

While these provisions were based upon the possibility of no candidate receiving a majority of the votes, backers of Herman Talmadge assert that the "who-is-in-life" phraseology could be construed as applying also to the majority candidate.

Since Georgia's primary is tantamount to election under the State's one-party system, comparatively few votes were cast in the November general election. Herman Talmadge received an estimated 500 to 1,000 write-in votes in the November balloting which, in the opinion of those who are trying to seat him, qualifies Talmadge as a candidate for election by the Legislature.

Sun, 12-29-46

Carmichael Is Out

James V. Carmichael, who polled more popular votes than Eugene Talmadge in last summer's primary, but lost under Georgia's peculiar county-unit system, also is said to have received about 500 write-in votes in the general election. He has announced, however, that he would not accept the Governorship even if it were possible for the Legislature to elect him. Mr. Carmichael had the strongest possible endorsement of Governor Arnall in his primary race last summer.

The actual count of write-in votes will not be known until the returns are turned over to the Legislature by the Secretary of State. The Legislature is required to confirm results of a general election.

Followers of Governor Arnall hold that the power to elect a Governor is given the Legislature only in the event of a tie vote in a general election. And in support of Mr. Arnall's assertion that he is entitled to remain in office beyond his present term, they point to a constitutional provision, which states:

"The executive power shall be vested in a Governor who shall hold office during the term of four years and until his successor shall be chosen and qualified."

Constitutional Enigma

This constitutional provision, it is contended, not only requires the Governor to continue in office until a successor is elected by the people and inaugurated, but it also adds time to his first term and therefore does not place him under the constitutional ban against a second term.

The possibility that the Legislature may order a special election also has been advanced by the House Speaker pro tem, Fred Hand, who is expected to become Speaker when next month's Assembly opens. Mr. Hand insists the Legislature has the authority to call such an election and that he will recommend that it do so. Observers point out, however, that Governor Arnall would undoubtedly veto a special election measure and that it would be extremely doubtful if a required two-thirds vote could be mustered to override him.

In the final analysis, it seems certain that regardless of which faction gains a preliminary victory, the issue will wind up in the State courts.

On Ballyhoo

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Editor Constitution: I would like to take a neutral political stand and pass on a bit of information to future candidates for various political offices, since it is too late to adhere to the same presently. It concerns candidates who might be campaigning for support from Negroes. In so doing, I shall relate and attempt to clarify an incident which I observed, and noticed the erratic method in which the candidate's "ballyhoo men" were using to attract the interest of the group mentioned.

An automobile rigged up with a P. A. system was making the rounds in a colored section of town. In order to attract attention to the announcements being made and thereby influence would-be voters, they were playing records of a very poor taste—"Alley Blues," I call them. The point in error is the seemingly Socratic deduction about Negroes. In other words, those persons of the said group who might "lend an ear" to such "trashy music" are the very ones in all probabilities, who aren't registered and probably never will be. On the other hand, those persons who might be influenced by "dignified ballyhoo" resent the type of "noise bait" being used as an appeal to the group. If this isn't quite clear, I refer interested parties to the method used by the late philosopher, Socrates, in his deductive reasoning. This did prove worthy to said philosopher in the way he used it, but because one man of any given group is a hoodlum, it doesn't hold that all men of that group are hoodlums. Even 20th century philosophers uphold this point of view.

Wed. 11-20-46

WILLIAM H. SULLIVAN.

Atlanta.

Where Pavement Ends The Mourning Begins

The Courier
ATLANTA, GA., Dec. 21.—(U.P.)—Out where the pavement ends, the mourning began tonight.

Eugene Talmadge, who spoke the language of the tenant farmer, the small town businessman and the pineywoods settler, was dead.

Montgomery Ala.

They loved him, too, because he often parked his big shiny automobile at the roadside and walked across new-plowed ground to talk with some tenant farmer. And because when he left, he'd likely invite him to come by the capitol for a visit when he was in Atlanta.

During his years in office, thousands took him up on the invitation, parading in overalls and brogan shoes through the governor's reception room, bringing him produce or the season's first boll of cotton from their farms.

On his campaign trips, Talmadge often chewed tobacco. A reporter riding in his car noticed one day that every time Talmadge stopped to chat with a farmer, he would unloose a stream of brown tobacco juice on the floor of the shiny new automobile. He asked Talmadge what was the idea.

12-22-46

"These farmers like that," he replied. "It lets them know I don't give a damn about these expensive cars."

Newspaper editors all over the state—even the many who fought Talmadge during his life—sharpened their kindest pencils to eulogize him in death.

Said the Macon News:

"While this newspaper opposed Eugene Talmadge's political ideologies, we had a sincere affection for the man. We admired his loyalty to his friends, his genuine love for the state to which he gave the best years of his life. He believed in the things for which he fought. But he was no happy warrior. He fought with all he had and no holds barred."

The Columbus Ledger-Enquirer commented:

"We were frequently annoyed with Eugene Talmadge, but we were always aware of the terrific driving power of the man. He was a rugged foeman who asked no quarter, and gave none. With him there was no middle ground. He had the impact of a sledge hammer upon the consciousness of thousands, who either loved or hated him. And there must have been much that was wonderfully good in him, else so many would not have idolized his very footsteps.

"Let no man imagine that the thrust of his personality will instantly disappear, or that his memory will quickly wither."

GEORGIA PONDERS GOVERNOR PUZZLE

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Laws Are Studied in Death of Talmadge—Arnall's Staying in Office Is a Possibility

ATLANTA, Ga., Dec. 22 (U.P.)—The death of Gov.-Elect Eugene Talmadge set political leaders to studying law books today to determine who will become Governor of Georgia Jan. 14, when Mr. Talmadge would have been inaugurated.

Mon. 12-23-46

These were the major possibilities:

Gov. Ellis Arnall might serve another term. The State Constitution says elections for Governor canbe held only every four years. The Governor holds office for four years "and until his successor is chosen and qualified."

The General Assembly, with a strong Talmadge faction, might elect Herman Talmadge, son of the late political leader. The Constitution says the Legislature shall elect a candidate from the two leaders in the general election, if neither received a majority of the total vote, The elder Mr. Talmadge got a large majority, but his son received an estimated 500 to 1,000 write-in votes.

Thompson a Possibility, Too

M. E. Thompson, who was chosen in the general election as the State's first Lieutenant-Governor, might take office and bring quo warranto proceedings to oust Governor Arnall. But Georgia law says that quo warranto proceedings shall not lie against the Governor.

The General Assembly might use a constitutional clause giving it power to change the date of the Gubernatorial election, or it might call a special election next August, since by law vacancies in State offices can be filled by off-year elections.

Some observers think Governor Arnall might hold office until Mr. Thompson becomes Lieutenant Governor, then resign. Mr. Thompson was formerly Governor Arnall's executive secretary.

Mr. Arnall would not disclose his plans, except that he would obey the ruling of the courts. If the judiciary rules that he should stay in office, he said, he will continue to serve as Governor.

10,000 Bow at Talmadge Bier

ATLANTA, Dec. 22 (AP)—More than 10,000 Georgians, men and women whom Eugene Talmadge addressed as "my fellow-countrymen," moved for five hours today past the open coffin of the man they elected Governor four times.

The crowd stood three and four abreast at times, braving a biting wind in a queue stretching around three sides of the capitol building. Many wept unashamed as they took leave of the man they followed almost fanatically for twenty years. A few saluted their dead leader as they turned away.

Lillian Smith:

'Talmadge Can Do No More Than Georgians Let Him'

The Courier. Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sat. 11-30-46

ATLANTA—(ANP)—Lillian Smith, author of "Strange Fruit," addressed Atlantans last week on "Mr. White Man," subject of her forthcoming book, and asserted that "I am not afraid of the next four years in Georgia because Gene Talmadge can do no more than the people let him do."

Miss Smith declared that the Governor-elect has been like a magnate to all those who hate, and likened the haters among mankind to the vultures that live on dead things.

SEES HOPE

Addressing the men's brotherhood of Providence Baptist Church and their friends who thronged the fashionable West Side edifice, the speaker deplored the fact that every white person in Georgia is imprisoned by the idea and lesson of segregation.

Despite the evils in our society, Miss Smith stated, all is not dark. "There is an awakening, even in our churches, although some of them are not only sleeping, they are snoring on the matter of segregation."

Miss Smith took time out in her message to advise Negro people to try, too, to understand white people. "Within the past few years, I have noticed developing a consuming hate among colored people, particularly northern Negroes, against white people," she observed. In conclusion, she suggested:

ASK HUMAN EQUALITY

"First, Negroes should discard the expression 'social equality'. Such a word stirs up all the prejudices in the hearts of white people. Always plead for human equality instead.

"Second, Negroes should plead for the rights of their children to grow. They should demand that white people stop lynching the spirit of their children. For every time a colored child is relegated off into some segregated section, his spirit is being lynched more truly than if his body were lynched.

"And, white youth are being lynched also by the unholy and unlovely practice of segregation."

Arnall Puts Foot Down On Herman

The Advertiser
Montgomery, Ala
Wed. 12-25-46

Says He'll Hold To Chair To Keep Talmadge' Son From Getting It

Party Pot Boiling

Georgia's Tangled Politics Further Snarled By Leaders' Announcements

By O. P. HANES

ATLANTA, Dec. 24.—(AP)—Gov. Ellis Arnall moved today to balk the son of his old political foe, Eugene Talmadge, from taking over in January the Governor's chair which his father would have assumed had not death intervened.

The 39-year-old Arnall announced he would remain in office until Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson, 42, is sworn in and then vacate the gubernatorial post, leaving it to Thompson.

The announcement set up another bitter Georgia political battle in which the followers of "Old Gene" will seek to muster enough votes in the general assembly which convenes Jan. 13 to have 33-year-old Herman Talmadge, a Navy officer in the war, declared governor.

The elder Talmadge won the Democratic primary nomination last July over James V. Carmichael, backed by Arnall, and former Gov. E. D. Rivers. He would have been inaugurated for a fourth term of four years Jan. 14. Arnall defeated Talmadge in 1942.

First Time It's Happened

Talmadge's death last Saturday was the first of a Georgia governor-elect prior to inauguration. The situation it created is not dealt with specifically in a new State constitution adopted in 1945 or the old constitution of 1877.

Herman Talmadge and others who followed his father to the political wars for 20 years withheld comment on the Arnall statement. House Speaker Roy V. Harris one of the Talmadge advisors, announced, however, that campaign headquarters would be opened Thursday in a downtown hotel for the election of Herman by the Legislature.

The legislative decision pitting the forces of Talmadge against those of the Arnall-Thompson faction concededly will find its way to the Supreme Court. Arnall gave notice he would not relinquish the office to anyone but Thompson.

Showdown Jan. 13

The initial showdown will come Jan. 13 when the general assembly convenes. First order of business is the canvass at a joint session of the general election votes for governor.

Should the Talmadge forces control, they could declare a vacancy in the office and proceed with a vote on the two high men in a write-in vote which was cast. These two are Herman Talmadge and Carmichael, who has announced he would not accept the office on the basis of a legislative election. Wed 12-25-46

But if the Talmadge move failed, the Arnall-Thompson faction would be in position to call for a canvass of the votes for lieutenant governor and the certification of Thompson to that office. Arnall then would resign in favor of Thompson.

In that event Thompson could serve until a successor for the unexpired term—in this case two more years—was elected at the 1948 general election. Should Herman win out in the legislature and the courts he would be entitled to a full four-year term.

Arnall's Position

Citing a provision of the constitution fixing the term of a governor as four years and until his successor is chosen and qualified, Arnall said.

"Under this view, which I believe to be correct, I am constitutionally entitled to retain the office of governor for four more years. I do not desire to extend my tenure of office through a technical legal argument."

He then told in detail of his plan to holdover until Thompson took the lieutenant governor's oath, asserting the people had said in the primary and general election that they wished Thompson to succeed to the governor's office "if for any reason the governor then elected was unable to serve."

A few hours earlier Thompson had said in a statement that the people had expected him to serve as governor in the event the governor-elect died and that "I shall not shirk this responsibility."

Warns of Trickery

Declaring that the voters had made their wishes known in the primary and general elections, Thompson's statement indicated he was prepared to go to the courts in the event there was any legislative or legal maneuver to prevent his becoming governor. He said:

"I hope under the circumstances that no one will dare resort to trickery or legal technicalities to thwart the expressed will of the people of this state."

Arnall's statement confirmed earlier reports that an Arnall-formed to fight against a Talmadge taking over the governor's chair.

The Advertiser
Wed 12-25-46

The concluding paragraph said:

"I do not propose to abandon the office of governor at a time when to do so would leave a state of hopeless confusion as to who was authorized to exercise the executive power. It is my constitutional duty to prevent this and I propose to discharge that duty. The constitution of Georgia will be upheld and the will of the people as to the exercise of the executive power expressed in the July primary and the November general election will be effectuated."

Montgomery, Ala.

Arnall's Wise Decision On the Governorship

The Courier-Journal
Louisville, Ky. Wed. 12-25-46

THE succession struggle for the Governorship of Georgia has suddenly spotlighted yet another paradox in a political drama already bristling with them.

In this instance it is the fact that the same electorate chose as Governor and as Lieutenant Governor men of diametrically opposed political philosophies. For Governor, Georgians named EUGENE TALMADGE, the personification of Southern demagogic reaction. For Lieutenant Governor they named M. E. THOMPSON, revenue commissioner in the present liberal administration of Governor ELLIS ARNALL, and the antithesis of TALMADGE in philosophy and manner.

It has become clear since TALMADGE'S death that the succession—not clearly fixed under Georgia's constitution—will be between Mr. THOMPSON, who would have had a legally incontestable claim to the office had TALMADGE been inaugurated before his death; and HERMAN TALMADGE, the 33-year-old son of the late Governor-elect. HERMAN TALMADGE has no more legal right to become Governor than any of the other 1,057,000-odd Georgians who never have been elected to any office. But that, of course, cuts no figure with the engineers of the TALMADGE machine who hope to induce the State legislature, meeting in January, to "elect" HERMAN Governor. The younger TALMADGE has an almost uncanny resemblance to his father in mien, mind and method. His "election" to the Governorship would be enough to insure extension of the TALMADGE machine and the TALMADGE attitude indefinitely. If Mr. THOMPSON is confirmed as Governor, fulfilling the clear intent and spirit of the law even though its letters are blurred, HERMAN'S political future must abide by the usual course. He will have to get himself normally elected to some office before he becomes a political figure. And four more years of liberal government in Georgia may extinguish the TALMADGE tradition.

It should not be forgotten that TALMADGE was elected by the State's County unit vote only, and despite the fact that his leading opponent, JAMES CARMICHAEL, polled a greater popular vote. This is the key to Mr. THOMPSON'S election as Lieutenant Governor. He attracted the ARNALL vote, as did Mr. CARMICHAEL; but unlike the latter, he did not suffer from the presence of ED RIVERS, a poor third in the Governor's race who nevertheless weakened CARMICHAEL'S vote.

Governor ARNALL has made the wise decision to support Mr. THOMPSON'S claim for the Governorship, rather than attempt to retain the office himself as had been suggested immediately after TALMADGE'S death. An attempt by him to cling to the office would have been almost as baseless as is the case for HERMAN on the part of the TALMADGE machine.

Two Governors for Georgia?

By Associated Press

ATLANTA, Dec. 30.—Two rival governors of Georgia, with offices less than 20 yards part, may result from the unprecedented scramble over the late Eugene Talmadge's fourth term.

A high Talmadge source who declined to be identified said the situation is expected to arise if the Talmadge legislature designates Herman Talmadge, 33-year-old son of the late Governor-elect; and his political pledges of legislative support—26 more than a clear majority of House and Senate. But Arnall has indicated he regards such a move as illegal. Arnall is exepcted to retain office unless allowed to resign in favor of the Lieut. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson. He is elected by the legislature to become Governor, and if Arnall refuses to surrender his office.

All warrants must be signed by three persons—State Auditor B. E. Thrasher, State Comptroller-General Zack Cravey, and State Treasurer George Hamilton. Thrasher and Cravey, a Talmadge lieutenant, are understood to be ready to recognize Herman as legal governor if he is elected by the legislature Jan. 13.

Talmadge leaders plan to allow Hamilton, who broke with 'Gene over finances in 1936 and was thrown out of office by the Talmadge National Guard, has indicated he probably would accept warrants for most State Depts., but might question those for the Governor's office if there are rival claimants.

tose," said Dr. Edgar J. Paullin, "and this condition is not due to his medicine.

"His pulse is a little faster and he is a little weaker."

The doctor termed the governor-elect "critically ill," using for the first time that phrase. Heretofore the physician has called Talmadge's illness "very serious."

The 62-year-old governor-elect received two blood transfusions Friday.

It was very evident after Dr. Paullin's visit that the crisis was expected at any moment. The physician planned to remain at the Piedmont Hospital for awhile. That also was unusual.

Talmadge's family was still gathered at the hospital in two rooms near the fiery champion of white supremacy. Some of his closest political associates also were at the hospital.

Talmadge is scheduled to begin his fourth term as governor, Jan. 14.

White Supremacy Issue Enlivened by Talmadge Death

PM New York, N.Y. Mon. 12-23-46.

(*Jennings Perry on Talmadge, page 24.*)

Eugene Talmadge will be buried this afternoon, but his death has made a livelier issue than ever of the "white supremacy" platform on which he was elected to a fourth term as Georgia's Governor.

Battle lines were already drawn for a finish fight on the question of "succession" to the Governorship, into which Talmadge was to have stepped Jan. 14. His death Saturday, attributed to cirrhosis of the liver, left the fight wide open, for the State Constitution made no clear provision for replacement of a Governor-elect.

Talmadge reportedly expressed hope, shortly before his death, that his successor would keep his campaign promises. Prominent among those was his determination to bar Negroes from the vote, and Talmadge supporters were set to fight any chance of liberal Gov. Ellis Arnall remaining in office.

Arnall supported James V. Carmichael in this year's primary. Carmichael won the popular vote, but Talmadge—carrying the rural districts—was nominated under Georgia's county unit vote system.

A handful of Negroes was among the crowds filing past his bier in the State capital yesterday, but dominating the scene was a huge floral wreath near the open casket. It was simply inscribed: "K. K. K." (Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.)

All State buildings will remain closed today while a funeral cortege carries Talmadge's body to his McRae, Ga., home for interment in the local cemetery.

Asks High Court To Set Aside Election

The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga.

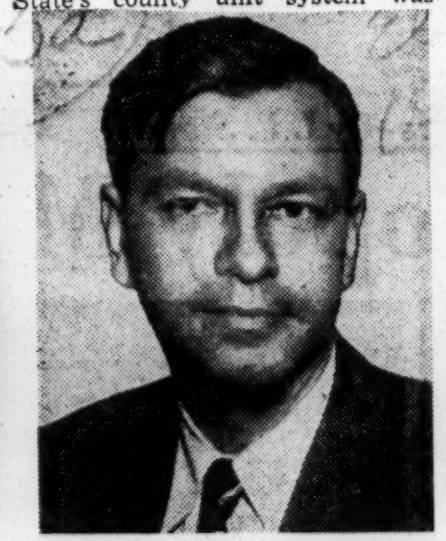
WASHINGTON, Nov. 29—(AP)—L. P. Glass, of Watkinsville, has petitioned the Supreme Court to set aside results of Georgia's recent general election and to order another one. Sat. 11-30-46

The petition, on file Friday at the Court, claims the Nov. 5 ballot, as printed in Georgia, was rigged in favor of the Democrats and was "unfair and illegal" in seven particular instances.

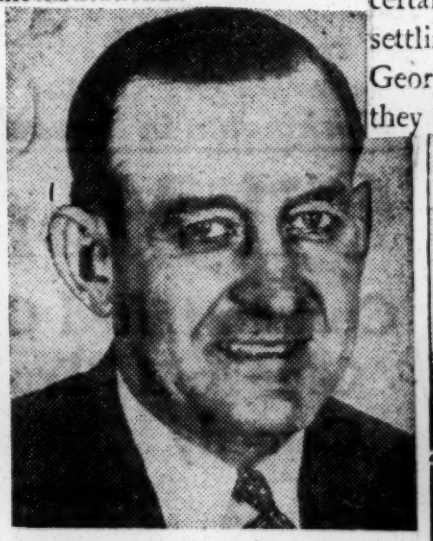
Glass says he is "exercising his constitutional right to petition the Government for a redress of greivances" in submitting his plea to the Court. He names no defendant and merely calls upon the Court to throw out previous results and order a new election.

The Supreme Court recently declined twice to interfere in Georgia primary balloting, challenged in suits charging that the State's county unit system was unconstitutional.

Gov. Ellis Arnall is barred by Georgia law from succeeding himself, but the State constitution holds he must continue in office "until his successor shall be chosen and qualified." According to one interpretation, that would keep him in office until 1951. 12-23-46



Friends of Herman Talmadge argue that he received most of the write-in votes (1000) when his father was elected and therefore is next in line. They predict Arnall will be impeached by the Georgia legislature if he attempts to keep office after Jan. 14. 12-23-46



M. E. Thompson, elected with Arnall's support, may succeed because Georgia's new constitution provides for the Lieut.-Gov. to take office "in case of the death, resignation or disability of the Governor." Some say Arnall might resign in Thompson's favor. 12-23-46

Associated Press Photos

EUGENE TALMADGE WAS PROBABLY A GOOD husband, a kind father, and a lover of animals. But politically he was sheer poison, and it would be hypocritical for us to pretend to feel anything but relief at the intervention of death to prevent his taking office as Governor of Georgia for the fourth time. The platform on which he stood was the reestablishment of "white supremacy" in the state by legislation designed to circumvent the Supreme Court's ruling that Negroes could not be barred from the primaries. In addition, he had promised to drop the prosecution of the Klan, which Governor Arnall has been vigorously pressing, and no doubt he would have made Georgia safe for its newest purveyors of intolerance—the Columbians. Talmadge is reported to have expressed a dying wish that his successor would keep his campaign promises. His followers are apparently backing his son Herman, the recipient of a large write-in vote at last month's general election, for selection by the General Assembly. The fact that the son sought such a vote in nominal competition with his father suggests that an attempt was being made to provide for the contingency which has now arisen. However, the constitutional position is extremely obscure, with every Georgian faction pressing its own interpretation. Fred Hand, speaker-designate of the General Assembly, says that a new election must be held as soon as possible, and that would certainly seem to be the most democratic method of settling the issue. It would at least give the people of Georgia a chance to retrieve the backward step which they took last summer.

The Nation, New York, N.Y. Sat. 12-28-46

EUGENE TALMADGE

Gene Talmadge Passes Quietly

Bitter Political Contest Touched Off By Death

Last Fight Lost.

On Inauguration Eve

Sun. 12-22-46

By ED BRIDGES

United Press Staff Correspondent

ATLANTA, GA., Dec. 21.—(U.P.)—Eugene Talmadge, three times governor of Georgia, died today on the threshold of a fourth term, touching off a bitter contest for a governorship which he had promised would be devoted to preserving white supremacy in the state.

The boisterous career of the 62-year-old former country lawyer ended quietly in an Atlanta hospital room at 7 a.m., just 23 days before his scheduled inauguration.

Death was attributed to cirrhosis of the liver and hemolytic jaundice. His condition had been complicated by a series of stomach hemorrhages.

His condition turned critical on Monday, and even before his death a triangular battle shaped up behind the scenes for the governorship.

His Possible Successors

Almost certain to be the leading contenders for the position are:

1. The present governor, liberal Ellis Arnall who once beat Talmadge at the polls but could not legally oppose him in the 1946 primary.

2. Talmadge's son and campaign manager, Herman, 34, who would doubtless carry on his father's conservative program and white supremacy battles.

3. Lt. Gov.-elect M. E. Thompson, who would have automatically succeeded to the state's highest office had Talmadge died after his inauguration.

Arnall's succession to the position would come under a law providing that the governor shall serve four years and until a successor is elected and "duly qualified." This is construed in some circles as meaning inaugurated.

Thompson, who is due to be inaugurated as Lieutenant Governor as soon as the legislature convenes, may claim the governorship on grounds that he is next in line of succession, even though Talmadge died before he took office.

In recent years Thompson has been a middle-of-the-road politician but leaned toward the Arnall administration. He formerly was Arnall's executive secretary and later his revenue commissioner.

Herman May Be Governor

Although both Arnall and Thompson are expected to claim the office, an old statute that dates back to "carpetbagger" days in the south may hold the secret of the new governor's name, and it may be Herman, a mental and physical carbon copy of his father.

This law requires returns from the general election to be kept sealed until the legislature meets, opens and counts the ballots. The statute was used to forestall stuffing the ballot boxes in days after the Civil War.

Political experts pointed out that a section of the constitution gives the legislature authority to name a Governor from the living candidate receiving the highest number of votes in the general election.

Sun. 12-22-46

Both Young Talmadge and James V. Carmichael, the Marietta lawyer who was drafted in the gubernatorial primary, were believed to have received a number of "write in" votes in the November general election. Carmichael said today he would not claim the office, even if his write in count was the highest.

Burial At McCrae

As the battle for his job developed, Talmadge's family arranged for his funeral and the last trip to the tranquil Telfair County farm where he liked to go on week-ends for hunting and fishing or to swap yarns with neighboring cotton farmers.

Funeral services will be held at the First Baptist Church in McRae Monday at 2 p.m. Three Methodist ministers will officiate.

An honorary escort of several hundred friends and political associates, headed by five former Georgia governors, will accompany the body to McRae. The funeral cortege leaves Atlanta at 8 a.m., Monday. The ex-gubernatorial escort includes John M. Slaton, Hugh Dorsey, Clifford Walker, Senator Richard Russell and former Gov. E. D. Rivers.

Talmadge's body will lie in state from 1 p.m., to 5 p.m., Sunday in the rotunda of the state capitol, scene of his greatest political triumphs.

For three terms he ruled there in his own characteristic fashion which often made headlines across the country and threatened him with eviction and impeachment.

"Talmadge Keeps . . ."

He had a favorite campaign reminder — "Talmadge keeps his promises" — and he never let the voters forget it. When the legislature bucked him, he sometimes ruled by executive order or the bayonets of his state troopers. When office holders who had drawn his ire refused to be fired, he occasionally had, them removed bodily. This was the case when he had State Guardsmen drag a protesting Highway Board Chairman from office. Once, he had a safe blown open to get funds when a stubborn state treasurer refused to make the payments.

Talmadge was beaten at the polls in 1942 by Arnall, then attorney general. Because of a fight between Talmadge and Regents of the University System of Georgia, the state's colleges and universities had been removed from the accredited lists of the Southern Association of Colleges and other educational institutions of the country.

The 1946 Federal Court decisions upholding the rights of Negroes to vote in primary elections gave the wiry, politically-wise Talmadge the springboard for a new campaign.

His March Through Georgia

He made a burning issue of white supremacy and marched from the North Georgia mountain country to the marshes of the south in the self-appointed role of a saviour of southern traditions.

Talmadge flinched at the fact of Negroes swarming to the polls on July 7 to vote in a bloc against him, but he had promised the people that it would never happen again if he was elected governor. Bills have been prepared for introduction in the next legislature to restore the white primary, but with Talmadge's death their fate was uncertain.

Talmadge was born Sept. 23, 1884, at Forsyth, Ga. His younger life was spent in the country, and it was in the grassroots that he discovered a political secret he used over and again.

He scorned the vote of city dwellers, bragging that he had never carried a county with a streetcar in it. Under the old Georgia unit vote system by which governors are nominated, he knew that three small counties with only a few hundred voters had two unit votes each and were as influential on election day as one six-vote county like Fulton which has Atlanta's half million population.

His Hates

Talmadge was college-trained and spoke without flaw when the occasion prompted it. But when he reached the city limits where the farms begin, he shed his coat, uncovering bright red suspenders, and put on his best display of Georgia backwoods dialect.

Talmadge loudly championed states' rights, looked on most people from outside Georgia as "furriners," and fiercely resented Federal bureaus and agencies of the New Deal. He waged constant war on the WPA, called it "boondoggling."

He once brought national condemnation upon himself by referring to President Roosevelt's physical infirmity. From that point—in 1935—on he was violently anti-Roosevelt.

In 1938 when the late President tried to purge Sen. Walter F. George in a three-man race, Talmadge ran a strong second. Mr. Roosevelt's candidate ran third.

During his off-years in politics, Talmadge operated a law practice and published a personal newspaper, The Statesmen, to keep his name and views on current affairs, before the public. On the paper's masthead were the words: "Editor—The People."

Breakup of Talmadge Machine Is Hinted

PM New York, N.Y.

Special Correspondence

ATLANTA, Dec. 24.—Young Herman Talmadge's hopes of succeeding to the Governorship was shadowed today by hint of a revolt within the Georgia political machine his father ruled under the banner of "white supremacy."

First sign of the split came yesterday from Rep. Charles L. Gowen of Brunswick soon after Talmadge's funeral. Gowen announced he will oppose Fred Hand, the Talmadge choice for Speaker of the Georgia House.

"Now that the Governor-elect is dead," Gowen said, "each and every representative is free to vote his own preference."

Sun. 12-24-46

If others follow Gowen's lead in disavowing allegiance to the memory of the machine boss, young Talmadge's hopes may wither on the vine when the state legislature meets on Jan. 13 to count ballots and decide who was elected to succeed Gov. Ellis Arnall, the liberal.

In a hitherto solid front, the Talmadge camp has maintained that Herman is the rightful successor since he polled the most write-in votes at the election which headed the late Gene Talmadge to his fourth term.

Friends of Arnall maintain that Arnall must remain in office until —as the Georgia constitution provides—his successor is "chosen and qualified." The Talmadge forces insist this can be done by the General Assembly. Arnall men disagree.

Lieut. Governor-elect M. E. Thompson, third man in the picture, yesterday issued a statement declaring:

"The voters of Georgia expect me to take over as Governor, and I hope no one will dare to resort to trickery or legal technicalities to thwart me."

12-24-46

Arnall and Thompson have been close personal and political friends in the past, but there was some speculation that the latter's blast was directed equally against Arnall and 34-year-old Talmadge. The Georgia constitution provides for succession by the Lieut.-Gov. in case of the Governor's death, but makes no clear provision for the death of a Governor-elect.

Talmadge forces yesterday produced an opinion by Superior Court Judge Charles W. Worrill holding that the legislature was authorized to choose and qualify Arnall's successor. He said:

"In my opinion they also owe to the people . . . the duty of keeping faith with them on the vital issues of states' rights, the white primary and the preservation of the county unit system."

Talmadge trailed James V. Carmichael in popular votes in the last primary, but won the election under Georgia's county unit vote system.

Friends of Arnall predict that he will today announce that he is instructing the Attorney General to petition the State Supreme Court for a declaratory judgment to settle the question of succession.

Brunswick Candidates Win With Negro Backing

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

BRUNSWICK, Ga. — (S N S) — Two candidates endorsed by the Progressive Democratic Club (Negro Democrats) and backed by the administration were swept into the city commission Tuesday along with 90 percent of the Negro vote going for the administration.

A. T. Harrison was elected from the North Ward and J. R. McQuaig was elected from the South ward. More than 700 Negroes cast votes and the candidates they supported won by a majority of about 300.

According to J. M. Atkinson, secretary of the Progressive Democratic Club, a club committee talked with the candidates then chose the best two. Sat. 10-26-46

One issue in this election was the need for a hospital and the privilege for Negro physicians to treat their patients in the hospital. One white man raised the question as to the fitness of Negro doctors to operate in the hospital; despite the fact that there were Negroes on the committee to vouch for the qualifications of Negro doctors, Mayor Hopkins stated he had made an investigation in to the matter and had found that white and Negro doctors took and passed the same examination, therefore they were qualified.

Tuesday, Dr. Patterson was notified that Negro doctors may attend their patients at the hospital. Plans now are being formulated for the use of the operating room.

Many improvements among the Negro citizens of Brunswick are expected, according to J. M. Atkinson.

Tuesday's Vote

Daily World Atlanta, Ga. Fri. 11-8-46

The figures from Tuesday's election show that Negro voters, like the whites, demonstrated a surprising apathy toward their personal responsibility in the matter of choosing public officials. In view of the severe upset in the July 17th voting, this attitude is not altogether surprising to us, since in the last analysis they were confirming what was already conceded since last July.

Nevertheless, strong and healthy government cannot be maintained by those who would go only part of the way and leave the unfinished task to other hands. This is especially true of the Negro voter. It is he, more than the average American voter, who needs to manifest a genuine interest in the ballot.

On the purely local scene, there were many trying perplexities to be faced by the Negro voter. In the first instance, especially at precinct 3-B, election machinery was severely overtaxed by the large number of voters at that station. This suggests what we have always contended, that that station should be split up thus sending some of the voters to the Booker T. Washington high school or perhaps, University Homes. For when a man has to lose the better part of a half day's pay in order to get to cast a ballot, it is asking much from one who in many cases, is not willing or able to pay.

In another sense, it is to be regretted that so great a cloud hinged about the race between Mrs. Mankin and the victor, Judge Davis. The long chain of developments, turns and crooks which this struggle has taken since last July, is enough to fill a sizeable book.

But in spite of that, the great mass of voters were brought right up to the very night before election to find some court order still being passed to determine whether he would or would not have an opportunity to vote for his choice for the post. We repeat, the whole affair was poorly conducted and it is to be hoped that even at this late hour, it may be settled to the satisfaction of al

Talmadge Easier, Hospital States

The Constitution Atlanta, Ga.

Gov.-Elect Talmadge was resting "more comfortably" yesterday after suffering some discomfort Friday night, attaches at Piedmont Hospital, where he is confined, reported.

The Governor-Elect was admitted to Piedmont Friday, his private nurse said, and is bothered with "a little disturbance" which physicians hope to have corrected in a few days. Sun. 12-1-46

Talmadge was discharged from Piedmont yesterday a week ago and had been reported at his home in McRae last week.

He suffered stomach hemorrhages more than two months ago while in Jacksonville, Fla., and was treated at a hospital there and at Piedmont here.

The Governor-Elect's two personal physicians were out of town yesterday.

AN HOUR OF DECISION IN GEORGIA

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-31-46

We know what we can expect of a gubernatorial regime led by Governor-nominee Eugene Talmadge. We can expect precisely what we feared would happen: a reign of violence, economic deprivation, and intensification of the whole pattern of segregation in Georgia.

Our columnist and New York correspondent, Earl Conrad, approached Talmadge in Atlanta last week and asked for an expression of moderation and common sense from "the leader of the Anglo-Saxons." Conrad told him there was fear among Negroes and right-minded white Georgians, and would he allay this fear with a statement of good will? And Talmadge replied . . .

He replied out of the tradition of chattel slavery, out of the tradition of supremacy advocated a century ago by John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. Talmadge, talking the language of Hitler and Jan Christian Smuts, said that what the Negro needed, loved and respected was a good spanking administered out in back of the barn.

From the moment of Talmadge's nomination by means of the undemocratic, even totalitarian device of the county unit system, the lynch supremacist element of Georgia took its cue. First, four were lynched at Monroe; then strife broke out in Athens, Ala.; then lynchings came in Louisiana. We cannot tell where this trend will end, or whether it will end.

What is shameful about this is that the will of the decent people of Georgia has been flouted. A great and growing corps of right-minded white people in the South have taken the path of repudiation of the Old South, and now, by trickery, they are opposed.

In a situation such as this the eyes of America are turned now upon the judges of the United States District Court of Georgia who are about to deliver a decision on the constitutionality or unconstitutionality of the unit system of voting. Can honorable men, in the face of Talmadge's unabashed declaration of intention, fail to transcend the provincialism of narrow, regional thinking and fail to declare this local system unconstitutional? Can these judges fail to see the struggle that will ensue if they endorse the principles of John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis, Adolph Hitler and Eugene Talmadge?

As we enter a new period of the testing of human rights everywhere, and no less than anywhere here in the United States, can federal judges fail to render a decision which will be applauded by forward-moving mankind everywhere? Or will they approve of Talmadge and the outmoded county unit system of Georgia and open the floodgates of a struggle by the upsurging common masses of America, white and Negro, North and South, against the last stand of "Anglo-Saxon" white supremacy?

FILE SUIT TO ANNUL TALMADGE VICTORY

Two Georgia Voters Attack Validity of County Unit Election in State

BRUNSWICK, Ga., Aug. 2 (AP) — A suit was filed in the Federal District Court here today attacking the constitutionality of Georgia's county-unit primary election system, and seeking to block the nomination of Eugene Talmadge for his fourth term as Governor.

Mr. Talmadge won the nomination in the July 17 primary. He received a majority of the county unit votes, but, in the popular vote, trailed James V. Carmichael, who had the support of Governor Ellis Arnall. Nomination in the Democratic primary is tantamount to election in one-party Georgia.

The suit, filed by Charles S. Reid, former Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, and John L. Tye Jr., a lawyer of Atlanta, was on behalf of Mrs. Robert Lee Turman of Fulton County (Atlanta) and Cullen B. Gosnell of De Kalb County. The action contended that the Georgia primary law, which provides for the county-unit system of nominating State officials, was in conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Seriously Ill, Talmadge Back In Hospital Bed

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

Strong Doubt Of Ability To Take Oath Voiced, Succession Confused

Fri. 12-20-46

ATLANTA, Dec. 19. — (AP) — Georgia's colorful, "white supremacy" governor-elect, Eugene Talmadge, lay tonight in near-critical condition from a recurring stomach ailment.

The wirey, 62-year-old farmer-lawyer, who won the Democratic nomination last Summer by shouting his determination to bar Negroes from the ballot box in Georgia, was conscious but dangerously ill. Members of his family were summoned after a fresh setback last night, and although he rallied slightly after two blood transfusions, grave anxiety was expressed by friends.

An authoritative source said it appeared that Talmadge would pull through, but the next 48 hours were regarded as decisive.

Should Talmadge be unable to take the office on Jan. 14 for a fourth term, his political foe, Gov. Ellis Arnall, might remain in office for an uncertain period. Georgia's newly-adopted constitution is vague on succession where a governor-elect fails of inauguration. Authoritative legal sources were divided whether Thompson, who will be inaugurated as Georgia's first lieutenant governor, could hold office indefinitely—even for another four years—or whether he would have to surrender his office to M. E. Thompson, who will be inaugurated as Georgia's first lieutenant governor. Most legal sources expressed belief that the Georgia Supreme Court would have to decide the issue unless Arnall voluntarily vacates the governorship at conclusion of his term.

Talmadge was first stricken last Oct. 4, and was rushed to a Jacksonville (Fla.) hospital before dawn in critical condition from a hemorrhaged vein in the esophagus of the stomach. He was released Oct. 19 and returned to his home at McRae, Ga., but soon afterward was admitted to an Atlanta hospital for further treatment. He returned home just before Thanksgiving, but another setback brought him to the hospital again.

The suit asked that Ben Fort, Secretary of State; Lon Duckworth, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and Miss Grace Cannington, secretary of the committee, be enjoined from certifying nominees in the recent primary. 8-3-46

A companion suit was filed by Alex W. Smith, a lawyer, of Atlanta, and former president of the State Bar Association, on behalf of Earl P. Cook, a student at Georgia Tech, seeking to have the recent contest in the Fifth Congressional District declared unconstitutional. In this, Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin, the incumbent, received the popular majority, but Judge James C. Davis carried the county units. Both candidates will appear on the general election ballot in November.

Judge Frank M. Scarlett denied injunctions in both suits, but issued a rule nisi requiring the defendants to appear before a three-judge Federal court in Atlanta at 10 A. M. Aug. 16.

Georgians Eschew Advice

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I heartily endorse your editorial approach to the solution of the problem of amicable relations between whites and Negroes in the South, but your recent editorials on the election of Talmadge in Georgia have not been entirely satisfying.

Carmichael received about 200,000 white votes and 100,000 Negro votes. Talmadge received about 300,000 white votes, and Rivers received about 70,000 white votes. Had Rivers not run, it is a safe assumption that his entire vote would have gone to Talmadge. Therefore, the ideas sponsored by Talmadge received the whopping white majority of 370,000 to 200,000—almost two to one—a fact which you have not stressed.

As one of Georgia ancestry, birth, and rearing, I do not hesitate to interpret Talmadge's election as due entirely to Georgia's antipathy to outside influence. Georgians will take even Talmadge in preference to being forced under pressure of a Supreme Court decision to change their way of handling bus segregation regulations. Outsiders may consider this a warped mentality, but Georgians are not greatly interested in the opinions of outsiders.

I believe that thinking white people of Georgia (not too numerous) agree that the solution of the Negro problem will come when Negroes improve their own level of responsibility under leadership of their race, the whites meanwhile encouraging. It will be a long, slow, stumbling progress, but it is sure. You cannot legislate good will; mutual respect and confidence always come when they are deserved. The white people of Georgia wish to follow this path of their own volition and not under compulsion, and I believe most of them sincerely regret that it was necessary to elect Talmadge in order to register their protest against compulsion.

GEORGE B. JOHNSON.
Hilton Village.

ARNALL WILL DEFEND GEORGIA'S UNIT LAW

The New York Times
New York, N.Y. Sun. 8/4/46

ATLANTA, Ga., Aug. 3 (U.P.)—Gov. Ellis Arnall, although he bitterly opposed Eugene Talmadge's nomination for a fourth term, directed Attorney General Eugene Cook to defend Georgia's county unit voting system. Mr. Talmadge received a large majority of county unit votes, primarily from rural counties, though lacking a plurality.

Mr. Cook will represent the State at a Federal court hearing on Aug. 16 on a suit brought by Mrs. Robert Lee Turman of Fulton County and Dr. Cullen B. Gosnell, head of the Political Science Department at Emory University, to have the county unit system declared unconstitutional.

The suit pointed out that "in Fulton (Atlanta) County it requires 106 plus voters to have the same value as one vote in Chattahoochie County." Echols County also has some 3,000 people and two county unit votes and Fulton County has about 500,000 with only six unit votes. 8/4/46

The suit contended that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of the United States, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

The county unit system has been in effect in Georgia for at least fifty years and has been a State law since 1917.

RALPH McGILL

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.

Memories Of Georgia Politics

It was but a few weeks after the close of the gubernatorial campaign and election of 1942.

This campaign had been an unusually bitter one and it had fallen to my lot to fight in it and to be a part of the furious give and take of battle.

The telephone rang and a voice said:

"Is that you, Ralph?"

"Yes," I said. "It is." Sun. 12-22-46

"You don't know who this is, do you?"

"I don't believe I do"—I began, trying desperately to identify the voice which sounded most familiar, yet which wouldn't fall into the proper notch of memory—and then it came to me.

"Sure, I do, Governor," I said, "I just wasn't expecting to hear from you, I guess."

"I want you to come over and see me," he said.

I said I would be glad to and we fixed the time for an hour later.

Visit I went to the Talmadge office in the William-Oliver Building. The fires of the campaign still were smoldering, and so his secretary refused to speak. He was standing in the door to his office, grinning at both of us.

After a few remarks about the campaign, and his analysis and explanation of some of his moves, a statement I do not yet feel privileged to reveal, he came to the point.

"For a long time," he said, "I have been gathering material about life. I am not vain about it, but I want it written and I have come to the conclusion, after talking it over with others, that you are the man to write it."

"Governor," I said, "I am sincerely complimented. I really am. But I am not the man to do it."

"I've already thought of the title," he said, grinning, but very serious.

"What is it?"

"We'll call it 'The Life of Eugene Talmadge, by His Enemy, Ralph McGill'."

"Governor," I said, "I am against you, but I am not your personal enemy."

"I know that," he said, "but the title sure would sell a lot of books." And we both laughed.

"Well," I said, "I am going to England in a few weeks and I just can't do it. You wouldn't want me to start and then get hit by a bomb over there and not be able to finish it."

So the book was written by someone else.

Chapter There was another chapter. A few months ago I talked with him again. He was preparing to do his own book. It was to be a story of politics and was to contain his own ideas about political campaigning. I wish most profoundly that book had been written. He also wanted me to tackle again the story of his life and we discussed that.

"You know," he said, "what I really wanted to be?"

"No," I said, "and I am curious to know."

"A newspaperman and a writer," he said. "I never really wanted to be a lawyer or a politician."

"Well," I said, "there are a lot of persons who wish you had never been a politician, or at least so good a one."

He laughed. He was proud of his ability as a politician. He also felt there was a sort of destiny about him, and maybe there was.

Talks I had, between 1936 and the time of his passing, several conversations with him. Politics and the personalities in it long have held more fascination for me than any other subject. There is nothing I enjoy more than a hard slam-bang political fight. I had to learn that and I learned in a hard school which made Georgia politics, however bitterly fought, seem rather mild. That was the long, Tennessee political, gun-toting feud between the Stahlmans and the Leas. I learned, too, that a polite political campaign was entirely ineffective.

But the most valuable lesson I learned was that if you get in mud—you will get muddy—and if you do get muddy it is a mistake to try to scrape it off. That only smears it. Let it dry and it will fall off, because it isn't real. It is just political mud. He felt that way, too. We threw a lot of truth and mud, but when it was done we could still differ as much as ever on principles, yet meet with mutual respect.

Objective That explains what a lot of persons have told me they never understood—how, when a bitter Talmadge campaign was done, I could write objectively of him and meet and talk with him. He had learned the same lesson long before I had. It explains, too, why after the hard-fought campaign of the recent Summer, he could come by The Constitution office for a friendly talk. He believed we were honest in our fight, although he believed us wrong. He didn't think there was any ulterior motive. So he came for a talk of the campaign.

The strange thing about the real politician—which a lot of persons never understand—is that he is, in his non-campaign talks, a lot more truthful and honest than the Johnny-come-lately reformer type.

A politician lives by keeping his promises to others in politics. That explains why some sensational personalities have appeared in politics through the years, only to fizz and fade out.

Watson I know that it was Tom Watson who gave him his early inspiration. Once John Monaghan, who had roomed with him at college, took me out to the Governor's Mansion. That was, as I recall, in 1941. We talked a long time and then I said, "Governor, I've always believed Tom Watson was your early inspiration."

He shook his head, doubtfully.

"It was, too," said Mr. Monaghan. "I remember you walking up and down that room at Athens repeating his speeches, word for word and gesture for gesture."

The Governor laughed.

"I walked 10 miles once to hear him speak," he said.

And that was all.

He was a puzzling man. But fires burned in him. And he had what few men are given, the ability to pull people to him, to make fanatic friends and fierce enemies. Never to have seen a Talmadge crowd, on which he could play as Kreisler plays his violin, was to have missed something in politics. It will seem strange without him and any fight that may come again will lack zest and, yes, fun.

Georgia Governor-Elect Now Semi-Conscious; Family At His Bedside

Sat. 12-21-46

ATLANTA, Dec. 20.—(AP)—Governor-elect Eugene Talmadge has taken a "very definite" turn for the worse within the last few hours, his physician said tonight, after an unusual 11 p.m. visit.

"The Governor is now coma-

Coma Augurs Losing Battle By Talmadge

The Enquirer
Montgomery, Ala.

gressive Negro league polled a huge majority of the 448 Negro ballots but lost the white vote by a majority of 41. R. F. (Dick) Armstrong, former mayor was the insurance man's nearest opponent in ten

Davis' other two opponents, who did not make a strong showing in the populous Negro-dominated Fifth ward, were M. M. Hester and H. E. Mangum, polling 89 and 39

White Georgian Elected By Negro Vote

Atlanta, Ga.
Wed. 11-27-46

ALBANY, Ga. (ANP) — Edward J. Davis, popular white insurance man, was elected city commissioner here Monday during the municipal primary- elections by the overwhelming support of Negro Fifth ward voters.

Davis backed by the Albany Pro-

First East Moline Negro Candidate For School Board Loses

EAST MOLINE, Ill.—The first Negro ever to seek election to the school board here was defeated at the polls last week.

He is John H. Auston, a molder in one of the city's largest industrial plants. Auston's unsuccessful bid for office netted 240 votes but his two white opponents garnered 742 and 708 votes, respectively.

Interviewed on election day, Auston declared the main purpose of entering the campaign was to show the strength of the Negro vote in his community and also take leadership in interesting other Negroes to take active part in civic affairs. Auston pointed out that he had a special interest in the school system in East Moline, as he and several other Negro families have children in attendance.

ILLINOIS GOP WINS 5 CONGRESS SEATS

The Times

Full Returns Give Party 20 of 26 Members, the Highest Point in 15 Years

New York, N.Y.

Special to The New York Times.

CHICAGO, Nov. 6—Republican majorities climbed today in the almost complete figures on Tuesday's landslide in Illinois. Full returns clinched gains of five Congressional seats, giving the party 20 of the 26 Illinois members of the House. It is the highest point in sixteen years.

Republicans also had stormed through Mayor Edward J. Kelly's Democratic Fortress, carrying 11 Cook County offices. This marked the first setback Mayor Kelly has suffered since he took office in 1933. The achievement was interpreted as an augur of GOP success in next spring's Mayoral election.

In addition, yesterday's balloting produced Republican majorities of 25 seats in each of the two houses of the State Legislature. In the House, Republicans increased their seats from 79 to 89, while Democratic seats dropped to 64, a net change of 10 seats, half of them in Cook County. Four additional seats, all in Cook County, were picked up by the Republicans in the Senate, to bring the count there to 38 Republicans and 13 Democrats. *Thurs. 11-7-46*

"Did Very Well," Says Kelly

"The Republicans finally have risen and shaken off the shackles of the Kelly machine," said Gov. Dwight H. Green, who had spearheaded his party's campaign battle.

"We did very well under the conditions in the country," said Mayor Kelly.

Asked whether he was going to run for re-election in the spring, Mr. Kelly smiled and said:

"Let the people talk."

Col. Robert R. McCormick, editor and publisher of The Chicago Tribune, who has been called the unofficial leader of the Republican party in Illinois, issued this statement:

"We have beaten the crooked city machine.

"We have beaten the Communists.

"The duty remains to prevent the money-mad millionaires from dominating the Republican party."

In the Congressional contest for Representative-at-large, with 329 of the State's 9,045 precincts missing, William G. Stratton, Republican, has a majority of 318,304 over Mrs. Emily Taft Douglas, the Democratic incumbent. Mr. Stratton lost only four downstate counties.

Upset in 22d District

The upset for the Republicans came in the Twenty-second District, which includes the downstate cities of East St. Louis and Alton. There Melvin Price, Democratic incumbent, was re-elected by 1,911 votes in spite of an aggressive campaign by the Republican, Calvin D. Johnson. Representative Price's victory was attributed to unexpected support from war veterans in rural Republican counties. He was in uniform when he was first elected to Congress in 1944.

The results in the five Cook County districts in which Republicans ousted Democratic incumbents follow:

District 2, Richard B. Vail, Republican, 154,987; William A. Rowan, Democrat, 148,287. (Two precincts missing).

District 3. Fred E. Busbey, Republican, 167,437; Edward A. Kelly, Democrat, 125,252. (Three precincts missing).

District 7. Thomas L. Owens, Republican, 252,694; William W. Link, Democrat, 205,746.

District 9. Robert J. Twyman, Republican, 54,195; Alexander Resa, Democrat, 51,884.

The scope of the ballot avalanche which cracked the Democratic City Hall machine of Mayor Kelly became evident today when final or nearly complete returns showed these Republican winners of Cook County offices, some of which control heavy patronage:

Elmer Michael Walsh for Sheriff, Louis E. Nelson for County Treasurer, William F. Waugh for Probate Judge, William N. Erickson for president of the county board, Edward B. Simon for County Superintendent of Schools, John W. Tauchen for Probate Court Clerk, William M. Devine and Eli A. Golan for Board of Tax Appeals, Michael J. Rudnik, Anthony A. Oils and William S. Nordburg for Sanitary District Trustees and Daniel A. Roberts for Circuit Court Judge.

Powerful Offices Retained

The most powerful offices apparently retained by the Democrats included the two having jurisdiction over all the election machinery—those of County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki and County Clerk Michael J. Flynn.

By scantier margins, the Democrats were shown holding on to the following places:

John S. Clark as County Assessor, James M. Whalen for Sanitary Trustee, Thomas J. Bowler for Criminal Court Clerk; nine, perhaps all, of the ten Chicago memberships on the County Board, and all twelve Municipal Court Judgeships.

Illinois voters also overwhelmingly approved the soldier bonus plan, described by Governor Green as the most liberal in the nation, which provides for issuing $385,000,000 in bonds to pay bonuses averaging almost $400.

Use of voting machines in future elections in Chicago and its Cook County suburbs also was by a record-smashing count approved in the election.

Unofficial returns from the State showed that the much-needed constitutional amendment, often called the Gateway Amendment because it would have made changes in Illinois' obsolete constitution, was doomed to defeat.

William Dawson Wins Re-election As Illinois Congressman

Globe and Independent Nashville, Tenn. Fri. 11-8-46

Negro Candidates Fared Very Well in Last Tuesday's Election According to Long Distance Information

Many Negro candidates were elected in Tuesday's General Election held in the State of Illinois, City of Chicago and Cook County. Among some of those who were victorious were William Dawson who goes back to Congress from the First Congressional District, C. C. Wimbush, as State Senator; Cornelius Davis, Republican, Fred Smith Republican; C. Styles, Republican. The veteran Charles Jenkins also survives and goes back to the State Legislature in Springfield, as does E. A. Welters.

The Nashville GLOBE representative was told over long distance that the Republican landslide did not catch all of the Negro Democratic representatives on the list of those elected.

Because of the splendid weather it was learned that there was a large vote, far beyond that of two years ago, that went to the poll to register their choice, so that they have now given a mandate to Cook County and Chicago officials to carry on for the next two years or more.

A complete list of all the persons elected could not be secured over the phone up to Wednesday evening.

Chicago Voters Take Strong Stand For Liberal Candidates

Defender Chicago, Ill. Sat. 11-16-46

Heavy off-year balloting on Chicago's predominantly Negro South side, turned back the Republican tide that swept progressive Roosevelt representatives out of office last Tuesday, assuring Negroes of one liberal in Congress, and six in the state legislature, according to still incomplete tabulations.

The vote cast on the basis of legislative records returned all incumbents, including two Republicans to office. The teeming district, which has been in the Democratic column since the first Roosevelt term, was the only Cook County area not taken over by the GOP surge.

Reject Bilbo Line

Overcrowded and exploited, residents of the first through the sixth wards were still able to see through the Bilbo-Rankin label, chief GOP weapon, and voted overwhelmingly for FEPC, OPA, and low cost housing proponents.

Re-elected to Congress was William L. Dawson (D). Returned to the state legislature were: Sen. C. C. Wimbish (D), and Representatives Edward Welters (R), Corneal Davis (D), Charles J. Jenkins (R), Fred Smith (D), and Charles M. Skyles (D). On the purely local scene, Edward M. Sneed, Democratic County Commissioner, was returned to office.

In the first congressional district which covers the first and second wards, Congressman Dawson received nearly 10,000 votes more than his GOP opponent, Wm. E. King, who polled 27,501. State Sen. Wimbish of the third district, covering the second ward polled 36,761 votes, winning over GOP candidate Benjamin C. Clanton by the same margin.

In the first ward, where 35 per cent of the voters are Negro, their 13,490 votes gave the Democrats a comfortable majority. In the fourth ward, which is one-third Negro, 31,223 votes were cast, with state and local offices going to candidates from the districts of Negro concentration. The fifth ward where Negroes comprise 33 per cent of the 51,270 registered voters remained in the Democratic column.

2nd, 3rd Wards Turn Tide

The votes which returned most local representatives to office came from the second and third wards, where the Negro population is greater than in any other part of the city. Heavy balloting in this area re-elected Sneed as one of the 10 County Commissioners from the city.

Only area of Negro concentration going over to the Republicans was the sixth ward, where they comprise less than one-third of the voting population.

Martin Makes Political History In Chicago

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Political history was made in Chicago last week when the final tally of the November 5 election returns assured victory of Dr. J. B. Martin who becomes the first Negro member of the Sanitary District Trustee Board.

Counted out in earlier returns two weeks ago, Martin was notified last Monday night, that he had unseated James M. Whalen, one of the most powerful political personalities in the State of Illinois, who has served as president of the Sanitary District for 16 years and as a member of the board for 24 years. *Sat. 11-30-46*

Polling more than a million votes, Dr. Martin was elected to a six year term at a yearly salary of $10,000. He will serve approximately 5,000,000 Illinois citizens in Cook County.

When notified of his victory, Dr. Martin declared: "I appreciate the confidence the people of Cook County have placed in me in electing me to the Sanitary District. shall exert every effort to rende

president of The Chicago Committee of One Hundred, which endorsed him, stated:

"In Dr. Martin, the people of Chicago will have a frank, outspoken, fearless and aggressive leader who will fight for a greater Chicago and for the equal rights for all its citizens."

Interviewed in his Chicago office, the husky six-foot tall baseball magnate, disclosed he had no idea of entering politics when he came to Chicago in 1940.

"At the insistence of officials of the Negro American League, I came to Chicago to purchase the Chicago American Giants," he said. "I had planned to limit my stay to 10 days, long enough to complete the transaction. Others asked me to remain."

After graduating from the school of pharmacy at Meharry Medical College, Dr. Martin returned to Memphis where he opened the now famous South Memphis Drug Company. Although born in Holly Springs, Miss., it was in Memphis, Tenn., the original home of the Chickasaw Indians, that he first found fame and fortune. He was a powerful figure in both business and politics for many years in the state of Tennessee.

When Dr. Martin left Memphis he was chairman of the Shelby County Regular Republican Organization. In 1940 he came to Chicago taking up where he left off politically, but in a bigger way. In Memphis he was a power behind

Defender

the men who ran for office. In Chicago one of his first acts was to connect himself with the Cook County Regular Republican Organization. The Republicans put him on the regular ticket for Cook County Commissioner and he surprised all Chicago when he polled more than a half-million votes.

Record Breaker Chicago, Ill.

J. B. Martin has not only done big things politically in Chicago, but he has broken all records in Negro baseball promotion. In 1943, as president of the Negro American League, he promoted the East-West Baseball Classic into the biggest baseball event of the nation. More than 51,000 cash customers saw the players of the West outdo the men of the East, at Comiskey Park. No other baseball affair, white or black, drew such a record. Ten thousand or more were turned away. Sat. 11-30-46

When he became president of the Negro American League in 1939, baseball fans saw one of their own take the helm. His interest in the game runs back prior to 1925, the year he and his brothers, Drs. W. S., A. T. and B. B. Martin, purchased a baseball park which is now rated one of the finest in the league.

The affable president of the Western circuit knows baseball from the ground up, and his remarkable experience with the Memphis Red Sox Baseball Club, owned by the Martin Brothers, and as president of the Southern Baseball League in 1934, and currently owner of the Chicago American Giants, stamp him as a top notch executive.

Mrs. Martin Comments

When asked to comment on her husband's election, Mrs. Martin, the former Lula McGuire and one of Chicago's leading society matrons, said that although she is more than happy over Dr. Martin's election, she was not at all surprised "because J. B. usually gets what he goes after." The Martins have two children, Dr. J. B. Martin Jr., one of Detroit's leading physicians and William Martin who operates the South Memphis Drug Company.

Although the half-million Negro citizens of Cook County are jubilant over Martin's election to the Sanitary District Trustee Board which consists of nine trustees, many thousands of them are not fully aware that the Sanitary District commands a greater influence over the lives of the citizens of Chicago than any other governmental body and it offers a larger number of jobs than any other elective office in Cook County.

Dr. Martin will assume his new post when the Sanitary District Trustee Board meets December 2, 1946, in the district headquarters at 910 North Michigan ave.

J. B. MARTIN

WINNER'S WIFE Defender Sat.

Chicago, Ill.

MRS. J. B. MARTIN

Wife of Dr. J. B. Martin, successful candidate for trustee of the Chicago Sanitary district, who was highly pleased but not too surprised at her husband's victory. After election results were published, Mrs. Martin said: "Dr. Martin always gets what he goes after, so I am not surprised at the result." GOP candidate was first Negro ever elected to $10,000 a year trustee's job. 11-30-46

Dawson Lists $2,040 Expenses

Daily Worker 4

Atlanta, Ga.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—(NNPA)—Representative William L. Dawson, Democrat, reported to the clerk of the House that he had received contributions to his campaign for election from the first Illinois Congressional district totaling $2,040.

He listed his expenditures in his first report as totaling $718.

His unsuccessful opponent, William E. King, Republican, reported contributions of $500 and an expenditure of $200.

The report of Mr. Dawson, filed with the clerk of the House October 25, listed the following contributions:

September, Democratic National Committee, $1,000; October, Democratic National Committee, $1,000; Chicago Retail Druggists Association, $40. Wed. 11-27-46

Under expenditures he listed Burt Jacobi, Chicago, bill posters, $200; L. V. and J. Sound Company, sound truck, $300; Praga Press, literature, $218.

Mr. King's report, filed October 26, listed a single contribution of $500 from the Citizens' Finance Committee and a single disbursement of $200 to Burt Jacobi for bill posters.

Final reports are due to be filed on or before December 5.

INDIANA COUNTY ELECTS FIRST STATE ASSEMBLYMAN

The Afro-American Baltimore Md

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — (ANP) Defeating his white opponent by 1958 votes, Charles E. Decker, Republican, became Vanderburgh County's first colored member of the State assembly. Sat. 11-30-46

Almost all-white town elects Negro to its city council

Rafaella Tribune
Los Angeles, Calif.

MALDEN, Mass. — This town, whose population is 99% white, recently elected Herbert L. Jackson, 37, the first Negro to ever run for political office here, to its city council.

11-7-46

Jackson ran on a non-partisan ticket and led the other six councilmanic candidates in his ward. He studied at Boston university and Suffolk Law school and operates a cleaning establishment founded by his father 62 years ago. He is married and has two children.

1-7-46

REPUBLICANS POLL BIG BAY STATE VOTE

The Times

Walsh Loses Boston to Trail Lodge by 324,797—Democrats Pick Up House Seat

New York, N.Y.

By WILLIAM M. BLAIR
Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

BOSTON, Nov. 6—After fourteen lean years, the Republicans have come back into their own in New England. They will control all top offices in five of the six States, losing only in Rhode Island, where the Democrats retained their hold.

In the midst of the Republican landslide, however, the Democrats gained a House seat in Massachusetts.

Thurs. 11-7-46

Representative Pehr G. Holmes of Worcester, member of Congress since 1931, was ousted by Harold D. Donahue, also of Worcester, who served in the Navy as a lieutenant commander. Mr. Donahue, winning by almost 3,000 votes, was the only candidate endorsed by the Congress of Industrial Organization's Political Action Committee to be elected. His chief campaign material was the pre-war isolationism of Mr. Holmes.

Walsh 324,797 Behind Lodge

Senator David I. Walsh absorbed the worst defeat of any major Democratic office holder in Massachusetts. A veteran of twenty-five years in the Senate, he was swept out of office on a plurality of 324,797 for Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. The winner polled 968,840 votes to Senator Walsh's 644,043 to lead the Republican ticket on returns from all but twenty-seven of the State's 1,882 precincts.

The Senator-elect also swept the Democratic stronbhold of Boston, 144,091 to 126,936. He was the third Republican to win in Boston in modern times. Senator Leverett Saltonstall carried the city two years ago and President Calvin Coolidge turned the trick in 1924.

Lieut. Gov. Robert F. Bradford, a direct descendant of William Bradford, second Governer of the Bay State colony, was elevated to the Governor's chair by a plurality of 151,641. He defeated Gov. Maurice J. Tobin, 893,523 to 741,882. Governor Tobin, who was first elected two years ago with a 150,000 majority, managed to hold Boston by 9,135 votes, receiving 142,797 to Mr. Bradford's 133,668.

The broad sweep also carried office all candidates for minor offices on the Republican ticket. The incoming Governor will have an eight-to-one margin in the Governor's council.

Industrial Areas Reject CIO-PAC

The results were considered a crushing blow to the CIO-PAC. There was almost a complete turn about in the Democratic industrial areas. It enabled Representative Joseph W. Martin Jr., now Minority Leader and slated to become speaker, to defeat Mrs. Martha Sharp of Wellesley decisively in the fourteenth district. Representative Martin carried Fall River for the first time.

A state-wide referendum to require Labor Unions to file annual financial statements with the State was adopted by a decisive two to one margin. This was taken by many observers to indicate a changed feeling with regard to Unions. The referendum was sponsored by the Republican Attorney General, Clarence A. Barnes, who was reelected.

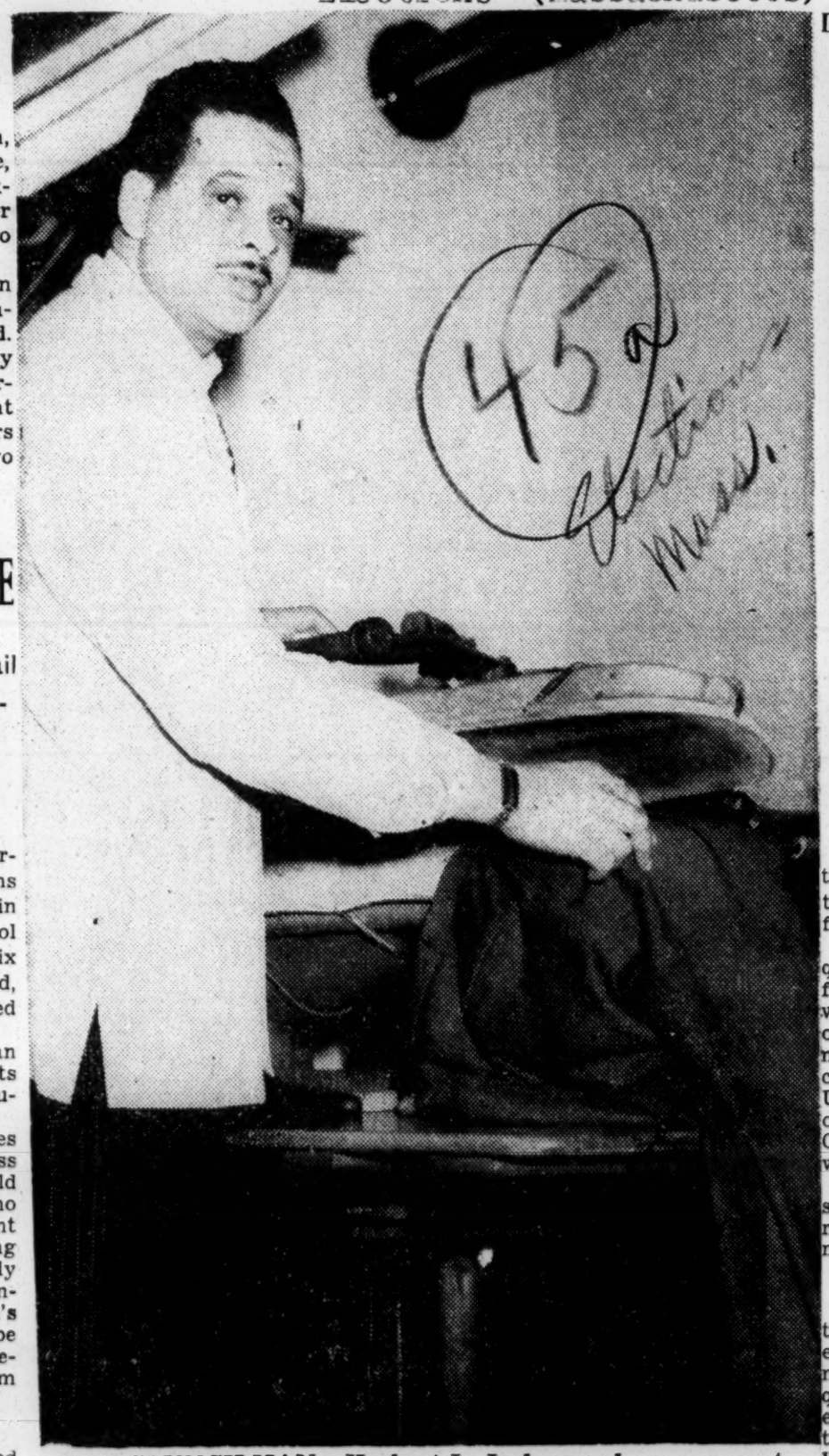
The voters also approved jury service for women in an advisory referendum which still leaves the matter up to the Legislature.

Approval of World Federation

Fragmentary returns indicated that the referendum on world federation had strong approval, but many voters failed to mark the question. The non-binding referendum question, sponsored by the Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, was the first in the country to test the sentiment of a sizable segment of the electorate.

It asked whether legislators should be instructed to ask the President and Congress to instruct American delegates to the United Nations to support amendments to the United Nations Charter and make it a world federation capable of preventing war. The question appeared on ballots in eighteen out of forty State Senatorial districts and nine Representattive disricts.

In Newton, 84 per cent of the voters marked the question, voting 26,734 for it and 1,912 against. Brookline gave 15,337 for and 1,371 against, with 7,801 not voting. Quincy approved the question 22,560 to 2,246.



45a Elections Mass.

CITY COUNCILMAN—Herbert L. Jackson, who was recently elected to the City Council of Malden, Mass., at work in his tailor shop, one of the town's prosperous businesses.

DEFEATS TRUMAN'S MAN

Albert L. Reeves Jr.

Associated Press Wirephoto

Bostonian Elected to Legislature

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

By ELLIOT FREEMAN

BOSTON — In one of the biggest political upsets in the State, Laurence H. Banks, attorney, was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives from the 9th Suffolk District, defeating his opponent, Rep. Dennis P. Glynn, white.

Sat. 11-16-46

The vote for Mr. Banks was 4,653, while Representative Glynn received 3,884 votes. In 1945, Mr. Banks had been defeated for the City Council by only 493 votes.

The election of Mr. Banks marked the first time in 44 years that a State position has been held by anyone not white. It was the third time Rep. Glynn had been Mr. Banks's opponent.

Boston Elects Negro G.O.P. Assemblyman

Kansas City, Mo.

BOSTON, 11-15-46 (ANP) — This community centers and social cer[illegible]out practically every key [illegible] state went Republican and in its owned buildings and recreation ce[illegible]crat in the state. sweep it elected its first colored In the municipal hospital separ man to the state legislature in provided for white and colored pa nearly a half a century. Atty. Law- In the district jail white and col rence H. Banks, unsuccessful but council. Others included Charles unyielding candidate for many H. Williams and Bill Lewis. Com- years, won here by nearly 800 mu[illegible] candidate William Harri- votes over Dennis Patrick Glynn, son, running from the 12th ward, white, in the Boston-South End was a loser last week. Ninth ward. Banks ran on an in- The new Republican governor, dependent Republican ticket. Robert F. Bradford, originally led Massachusetts had not been able the fight here for FEPC and is to elect a colored man under re- generally credited with spurring cent Democratic administrations. Gov. Tobin to the enactment of Many had run for representative such legislature this year. The from the predominantly colored election of Henry Cabot Lodge Ninth ward, only to have white Jr., will give Massachusetts two and colored candidates split the Republican senators in congress.

CIO says race hate helped to reelect Mayor Jeffries

2-9-46

DETROIT — Anti-Negro propaganda was one of the tactics used by Mayor Edward Jeffries, of Detroit, to win reelection over labor candidate Richard Frankensteen in last November's elections, Irving Richter, National United Auto Workers legislative representative, charged this week. 2-9-46

Wrote Richter in the CIO-PAC News, "In white neighborhoods a great volume directed against the Negro was mailed and distributed door to door. Millions of little cards were circulated throughout the white areas of the city similar to this one: 'Negroes Can Live Anywhere In Any Area—Any Section —of Detroit with Frankensteen Mayor—Negroes—Do Your Duty Nov. 6'." Also sent to white neighborhoods, he said, was a leaflet which "contained distorted, touched-up photographs of Frankensteen and Charles A. Hill, Negro candidate for council endorsed by the PAC . . ."

GOP WINS DETROIT IN MICHIGAN SWEEP

The ——— Times

Vandenberg Runs Ahead as Party Carries Rivals' Stronghold and Flattens CIO-PAC

New York, N.Y.

By WALTER W. RUCH

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

DETROIT, Nov. 6—Gleeful Republicans, amazed by their own successes, tabulated in Michigan today a landslide victory which for the time being all but silenced the Democratic party as a political power in this industrial State.

The Republicans elected a Governor, Kim Sigler; re-elected Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, retained all of their eleven seats in the House of Representatives while taking away three of the six held by the Democrats, and, for the first time since 1932, carried populous Wayne County (Detroit), and by sizable pluralities.

A Republican sweep had been expected, but not even the most optimistic partisan of that political faith had had the temerity to suggest openly before the election that the iron grip of the Democrats on Wayne County could be broken so completely. In keeping with the national trend, however, Michigan voters turned the election into a rout. Thurs. 11-7-46

Senator Vandenberg, as had been expected, led his ticket. With unofficial returns in from 3,321 of the 3,957 precincts in the State, the Senator led his Democratic adversary, James H. Lee, assistant corporation counsel of Detroit, by 882,433 to 424,886.

Former Cowboy Elected Governor

Mr. Sigler, former Nebraska cowboy whose political star has ascended rapidly since, three years ago, when he began a crusade against corruption and vice in high places, had a lead of 860,124 to 555,531 over Murray D. Van Wagoner, former Governor, on the basis of reports from 3,473 precincts.

By comparable margins, the remainder of the Republican State ticket was carried into office. Elected were Eugene C. Keyes, Lieutenant Governor; Frederick M. Alger Jr., Secretary of State; Eugene F. Black, Attorney General; D. Hale Brake, State Treasurer; Murl K. Aten, Auditor General, and Leland W. Carr, Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Republicans bettered their pre-election estimates of a gain of two seats in the House of Representatives. They ousted George D. O'Brien of the Thirteenth District and elected in his place Howard A. Coffin, smashed Louis D. Rabaut's hopes for a seventh consecutive term from the Fourteenth District by electing Harold F. Youngblood, Detroit plumber, and in a renewal of a perennial battle, elected John B. Bennett of Ontonagon in the up-State Twelfth District over Frank E. Hook, Ironwood attorney.

The most astounding result in the Republican sweep, however, was in Wayne County, where four Democratic officials, the prosecutor, sheriff and both of the two coroners, were replaced by Republicans.

CIO-PAC EFFORT FAILS

James N. McNally, Grosse Pointe Justice of the Peace, was elected prosecutor to succeed Gerald K. O'Brien; Edward Behrendt won over Sheriff Andrew C. Baird for that office, and Drs. Albert L. French and Lloyd K. Babcock were named as coroners over Drs. Albert A. Hughes and Edmund J. Knobloch.

The returns were interpreted as a stinking rebuke to the efforts of the CIO-PAC, which had made one of its most determined campaigns to exert political strength in this state, where a high percentage of the voters is to be found in the ranks of unions affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Leaders of the labor-political movement were generally silent today.

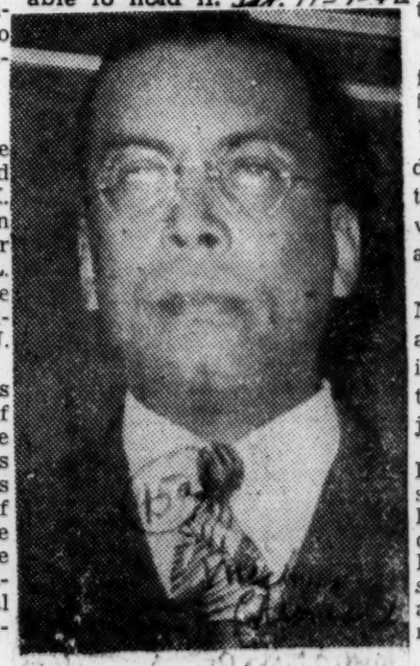
George F. Addes, secretary-treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, CIO, said, however, that the results of the election did not constitute an affirmation of the principles of the Republican party, but were "an angry protest by the people against a Democratic party leadership which, during the past eighteen months, shamelessly betrayed the Roosevelt program for world peace and domestic progress."

A constitutional amendment authorizing a payment of $10 a week to veterans for each week in service in this country and $15 a week for overseas service, involving an outlay of about $270,000,000, was leading by a three-to-one margin with most of the votes tabulated.

Defeated The Mich. Chronicle Wins Seat

Detroit, Mich

Mrs. Jeanetta Welsh Brown, Democrat, who was defeated in a close race for the State Legislature. Although Mrs. Brown enjoyed an early lead Wednesday a.m. she was unable to hold it. Sat. 11-9-46



Atty. Joseph Brown, Democrat, who was elected to the Michigan State Senate from the 2nd Senatorial District. He survived a Republican landslide. 11-9-46

Mrs. Brown, Robt. Ward Lose In Heavy Voting

The Mich. Chronicle Detroit, Mich.

Sat. 11-9-46

Fighting against the largest Republican landslide in Michigan since 1932, Atty. Joseph Brown, Democrat, won a seat in the Michigan State Senate from the Second Senatorial district.

The Republican avalanche which swept the state and severely shook Wayne county, saw the defeat of Mrs. Jeanetta Welsh Brown, first Negro woman candidate for the State Legislature from the First District, and carried in the entire Republican slate for representative from Detroit.

Mrs. Brown Falters

Mrs. Brown was in seventh place in the early returns but failed to hold on as the finals began to pour in.

Atty. Brown, running for public office for the first time, came into the finals with the distinction of having beaten the encumbent in the primary elections last summer.

McNamara Wins

Patrick McNamara was successful in winning the right to fill the vacancy in the Common Council.

Robert L. Ward, Republican candidate for senator in the 3rd Senatorial District, was defeated. It was Ward's fourth attempt to win a state office.

The proposal to create an all-Negro City in the West Eight Mile area was defeated 849 to 692 marking the second time in two years that residents of the area have rejected incorporation.

In Chicago, Congressman William Dawson, Democrat, held on to his seat in Congress as a Republican landslide wrecked the Kelly Machine and displaced hundreds of Democratic officeholders in the state. Early returns gave Dawson an 8,000 vote lead over his opponent.

In New York, Cong. Adam Clayton Powell, retained his seat in Congress, defeating the Rev. Grant Reynolds.

In the gubernatorial race, the election of Kim Sigler, Republican candidate, was conceded by Democrat Murray D. Van Wagoner.

Early returns had given Sigler a majority of more than 110,000.

Sen. Arthur Vandenburg piled up such a strong lead over his Democratic opponent, James H. Lee, that a majority of 250,000 was predicted for him. Mich. Chronicle

All of Sigler's running mates won by margins approaching 2-1.

Throughout the nation it appeared that the Republicans had won their first major victory in 18 years. They had not captured so many offices since Hoover was elected in 1928. Detroit, Mich

It appeared that the Republicans had gained control of both houses of Congress, despite earlier feeling that the Democrats would hold a slight edge in the Senate.

An early gain of more than 40 members was recorded for the Republicans in early Congressional returns. Sat. 11-9-46

Detroit Negro Named To State Legislature

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 11-15-46

DETROIT, —(ANP)— As per-centages go in an election, Negro voters here feel that they have the advantage since one out of three of their candidates, two Democrats and one Republican, is all the more amazing because the state senate in the second district.

Brown, a brilliant young attorney who has made quite a reputation and who is extremely popular here, is peculiarly fitted for his position in the senate. He is a fighter of no mean ability, active in civic affairs and learned his politics under his uncle, Cecil Brown, the only Negro candidate to be elected in an election, Negro Rowlette, with whom he is associated in a law firm. Rowlette has been the most prominent woman in the state for many years, and has been whole Democratic slate of which she was a part, went down to defeat.

Jeannetta Welch Brown, the third Negro candidate and by far the most prominent woman candidate for the state senate in the history of the state, was defeated by a Polish Republican, Charles C. Diggs for so many years, and which is also a part of the dense Negro section. Robert L. Ward, Republican, was defeated by a Polish Democrat.

Yet in the third district his Polish Republican opponent's 20,342.

Dixie Editor Demands Full Rights For Negroes

Defender Chicago, Ill.
Sat. 10-5-46

By MAJOR ROBINSON

NEW YORK.—The economic status of the South is in danger of complete deterioration unless Negroes are given their full rights as citizens and protection by the Federal government, Percy Green, militant Mississippi editor, in New York to aid with filing petitions at Washington to unseat Sen. Theodore Bilbo, declared last week.

At a press conference at the recent Civil Rights Congress, Green, owner of the Jackson Advocate, took issue with those who urge the Negro to leave the South. He said the South is a rich country that needs developing and Negroes should be able to share in its potential wealth, not run away. Mississippi dalies recently editorialized that "Green should be lynched for his preaching of political rights for the Negro."

"There must be no compromise by interested groups from the North with reactionary southerners in fighting this problem. I don't believe that the issue can be won by gradualism. For 70 years we have been gradually trying to do something and the time is ripe now to fight until victory is won, he declared.

"Not all whites in Mississippi are anti-Negro. I feel that without the help of the liberals who have been on our side we wouldn't have made the advances we have until now. The aid we receive from Northern groups, to my mind, shouldn't be considered 'outside help' as some like to term it, but should be spoken of as coming from people helping an American cause because what affects the Negroes in the South affects all citizens in New York, California and all over.

"Not all violence in Bilbo's campaign was physical. The Bilboites, taking a page out of Hitler's campaign book when he was blitzkreiging through Europe, adopted a psychological approach, saying to Negroes seeking to vote 'go ahead and vote, but you know what'll happen to you tonight.' It's difficult for a Northerner to understand the fact that some Negroes in the South live under a shadow of fear knowing that the white man can carry through with physical action his verbal threats without any recourse for them to justice."

While there are over 500,000 Negroes in his state eligible to qualify as voters, Green pointed out that only three or four thousand actually qualified, with 2500 of this number casting ballots. If Negroes are given the right to vote, the 46-year-old editor declared, the whole nation will be better for it and our State Department would be in a better position to argue colonial questions with Great Britain and other countries without being embarrassed by their own "race problems."

Fraud Charged to Bilbo in Petition for Ouster

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 9-28-46

WASHINGTON

Charging that the nomination of Senator Theodore G. Bilbo in the Mississippi Democratic primary on July 2 was "tainted with fraud,' duress and illegality," over 50 colored and white qualified voters in the Jackson (Miss.) area on Sept. 16 demanded his impeachment by the Senate.

The request was made in a petition filed with the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections and to Investigate Campaign Expenditures. The latter of which Sen. Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.) is chairman, has already decided to make an investigation.

Substantiating the statement with documentary evidence, the group asked also that the Senate declare his election as Democratic nominee null and void and refuse to seat him if elected, as expected.

Small Majority Cited

In the petition, it is pointed out that Bilbo, nominated by a majority of less than 4,000, conducted an "aggressive and ruthless campaign" to effectively deprive and deny approximately 500,000 colored persons of their Constitutional rights.

Aware that they would vote against him, it adds, Bilbo:

1. Engaged in and inspired systematic and continuous attacks upon the colored race in general, the colored population of Mississippi and the duly qualified colored electors of Mississippi, the attacks taking the form of vituperative, insulting, abusive and slanderous statements.

Aggravated Tension

2. Exhorted, agitated and made inflammatory appeals to the passions and prejudices of the State's white population to aggravate the tension existing between the white and colored races "for narrow, selfish and political purposes."

3. With wilful intent, individually and in concert with others, incited acts of violence and intimidation against the colored population, and especially against the duly qualified electors.

As a result of his conduct, it was stated, wholesale attacks were waged against colored persons throughout the State during the primary by the white residents, including white public officials acting under color law, "with like wilfullness, wantonness and purpose."

Blow Against Nation-State

Not only did the election of Senator Bilbo violate the U.S. Constitution, particularly the 15th Amendment; Federal laws and decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, but it also violated the laws and statutes of Mississippi, the complaint points out.

Making charges, the petitioners say that the Senator, among other things:

1. Has violated his oath of office of United States Senator to support and uphold the Constitution of the United States and its laws. *Afro-American*

2. Cannot reasonably be relied upon in the future to support and uphold the Constitution and its laws. *Baltimore, Md.*

Contempt for Government

3. Has demonstrated a cynical contempt for the orderly processes of Government and has endangered and undermined the foundations of orderly and democratic government.

4. Has brought the august and honorable Senate into contempt, ridicule and disrepute. and

5. Has been and is now a member of the Ku Klux Klan and still subscribes to its principles and actions.

Proof of Statements

Attached to the petition were the following exhibits:

1. Excerpts from Bilbo's campaign speeches in which he urged white people to "use every means" to prevent colored persons from registering and voting;

2. A photostatic copy of the radio interview, Aug. 9, in which Bilbo admitted to the nation his membership in the Klan.

3. Photostatic copies of statements of more than 50 colored citizens of Mississippi asserting that white persons, responding to Bilbo's appeal, used fraud, force or intimidation to prevent them from registerng or casting their ballots. *Sat. 9-28-46*

Held Reliable Evidence

The originals of the statements, the complaint states, are in the files of the Civil Rights Congress in New York City, which directed, supervised and participated in their collection.

Previously, the Senate Campaign Committee had received charges against Bilbo from Northerners, but informed sources state that the Mississippi evidence is expected to carry more weight with the committee.

In addition to Senator Ellender, committee members are Sens. Burnet R. Maybank (Dem., S.C.), Elmer Thomas (Dem., Okla.), Styles Bridges (Rep., N.H.), and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Rep., Iowa).

Violence Marks Election in Miss.

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

By PERCY GREENE

JACKSON, Miss. — While there were no reports of violence on election day, July 2, when colored citizens voted in the State Democratic Primary for the first time in the history, violences began the day following election and almost daily since. *Sat. 7-20-46*

There have been increasing reports of intimidation, violence, brutality, and even death visited on colored citizens on election day since the small number voted.

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo was joined in his violent race-baiting in a lesser degree by the four other senatorial candidates, Ross A. Collins, former U.S. Congressman; Tom Q. Ellis, State Supreme Court Clerk; Nelson Levings, World War II Navy Commander; and Frank "Peachtree" Harper salesman, farmer and small business man.

Had it not been for the actual violence and fear of violence on the part of colored voters, wide spread over the State, it appears certain now that there would have to be a second senatorial primary.

One Killed

Reports of election day violence against colored people began with an account in one of the State's leading dailies of the shooting to death of F. C. Fowler, of Chooton County, by the Town Marshal.

He said he shot and instantly killed Fowler when he stopped his car and Fowler got out and started towards him like he was fixing to draw a weapon.

In Gulfport, a number of colored were beaten and there is fear that at least one was killed.

Undertaker Jailed

J. T. Hall, wealthy undertaker, was arrested and lodged in jail on election day, but it is almost impossible to obtain information regarding the election day incident because of fear.

In Canton, just 25 miles from the State capital, it was reported, that a well-known business man and property owner was beaten with a heavy club by a deputy.

When the news spread rapidly over the town no other colored attempted to go to the polls and generally stayed in their homes and off the streets.

Arrest Voter, 77

In McComb, in the southern section of the State, where a jim-crow veteran hospital is planned, a 77-year-old citizen registered and qualified by exemption from poll tax, was the first to attempt to go to the polls. *The Afro-American*

He was met by a group of men, one of whom, after stopping and threatening him, had him arrested and charged with attempting to shove him off the side walk. Following the incident no other colored attempted to go to the polls

Voting Place Moved

At Prentiss, home of the Prentiss Normal and Industrial Institute, patterned after Tuskegee Institute, and founded by one of its graduates, J. E. Johnson, protege of Booker T. Washington, the voting place was moved after a few appeared to vote.

In Natchez, in the southwest section of the State, a serious election day incident was narrowly averted due to a hurried meeting of white and colored leaders.

According to reports, the incident came about when colored people going to the polls were told they could not vote, but were later allowed to do so. All of there votes were challenged.

According to newspaper reports, Adams County, of which Natchez is the principal town, had the largest number of qualified colored voters of any county in the State. *Baltimore, Md.*

All non-white voters in Bolivar County were also challenged. The county is in the heart of the Mississippi delta and also had a large number of colored citizens qualified in the election. *Sat. 7-20-46*

Other reports say an increasing number of letters from colored people, especially World War II veterans denied the right to vote, threatened, and intimidated and beaten, are being secretly sent to the NAACP and the Civil Rights Congress and the Political Action Committee in New York City.

Appeal to Mob Violence Cited

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

National Council and League Prefer Charges

Sat. 9-14-46

TERMED 'UNFIT'

Million Signatures on Petition Presented

WASHINGTON

Acting on a complaint laid before it by Edgar G. Brown, president of the National Negro Council, the Senate Campaign Investigating Committee, Friday, unanimously voted to inquire into the methods used by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo to successfully win Democratic nomination as Senator from Mississippi.

Citing Article I, Section 5 of the U.S. Constitution, Brown contended that Bilbo was guilty of "disorderly behavior" in his frank admission that he was a member of the Ku Klux Klan and by his appeal to mob violence during the heat of his campaign.

Under the law, the Senate can deny a seat to any member because of "disorderly conduct."

Bilbo's radio appeal for "all red-blooded Anglo-Saxons of Mississippi to resort to any means to keep colored citizens from voting in the July 2 primary" was an act of "disorderly behavior," Brown pointed out to the committee in his affidavit.

Petition Presented

Mr. Brown also placed before the committee a petition which he said bore more than one million signatures, demanding the immediate impeachment of Sen. Bilbo.

Dr. James L. P. Rumble, of New York, chairman of the Citizens' National League, Inc., also demanded that Bilbo not be allowed to take a seat in the Senate.

Dr. Rumble declared that Bilbo "was entirely unfit" to represent any group of citizens and was a "disgrace to America's highest deliberative body."

A third complaint against Bilbo's campaign methods came from Ross Collins, one of the Mississippian's unsuccessful opponents, but it was not supported by a sworn affidavit as required by law.

Accepts Investigation

Sen. Allen J. Ellender (Dem., La.) chairman of the Senate Campaign Committee, has expressed the opinion that the charges against Bilbo probably were more within the jurisdiction of the standing Committee on Privileges and Elections, headed by Sen. Theodore Green (Dem., R.I.) than those of his special group.

However, he said, investigators would go into them and file reports on their findings. No investigators have yet been appointed, but are expected to be selected within the next few days.

Mr. Brown, in his statement to the committee, indicated that his organizaion did not intend to stop with merely securing an investigation by the Senate committee.

Charging that the Ellender committee was "packed with a majority of Southern Senators," Mr. Brown said he would present his demands for the expulsion of Bilbo before the whole Senate sitting as a body.

Expressing little confidence that the Ellender group would act satisfactorily in the matter of the charges against Bilbo, Brown asserted that "the racial views of Chairman Ellender are too well known." *The Afro-American*

Reviews Run-Around

Reviewing the run-around his organization had received from the Senate in previous attempts to secure an investigation of Bilbo, Brown reminded the Ellender Committee, that a formal protest was presented Sen. Green of the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee the day after Bilbo had made his appeal for mob violence.

"This communication," Brown said, "after a formal meeting of the Senate Privileges and Elections Committee, was referred to the Senate Elections Investigating Committee, headed by Sen. Ellender. *Baltimore, Md.*

"In the absence of Sen. Ellender, Sen. Edward M. Johnson (Dem., Colo.), the acting chairman, was urged to take immediate steps to send Senate investigators to Mississippi before the Mississippi primary on July 2, and to join efforts of the council in a plea to President Truman that troops be sent to Mississippi to insure order and peaceful voting.

Maybank Accused

"These efforts for prompt action were thwarted by Sen. Burnet R. Maybank of S.C., a member of the Senate Elections Investigating Committee. *Sat. 9-14-46*

"The formal protest by the council to Sen. Kenneth McKellar (Dem., Tenn.) president pro-tem of the Senate urging Senator Maybank's removal from the committee for failure to permit the Senate Elections Committee to investigate the Mississippi primary election and the outrageous and unlawful conduct of Sen. Bilbo in keeping within the $30,000 Senate authorization for 1946 was never answered or even the letter acknowledged."

Four of the five members of the Ellender committee were present at the Friday session. They were Sens. Burnet R. Maybank (Dem., S.C.), Burke R. Hickenlooper (Rep., Iowa), and Styles Bridges (Rep., N.H.), in addition to Ellender.

The fifth member, Sen. Elmer Thomas (Dem., Okla.) is in Denmark for a meeting of the International Food and Agriculture Organization.

The Cavalier Rebuked

Times-Dispatch

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:

I was very interested in Mr. Hunter's column, "The Cavalier," Nov. 1, 1946. If he writes many ics like this one he will his intention—start a second civil war. *Richmond, Va.*

It is quite humorous, the way he blames the North for the South's mistakes, namely the election of Bilbo. It is true that Walter Winchell makes many mistakes, but he certainly hit the nail on the head when he said that there aren't free elections in the South. *Wed. 11-6-46*

Mr. Hunter states, "All Mr. Winchell knows about Dixie is what he reads in the papers." Mr. Hunter writes for the newspapers; Mr. Winchell reads the papers and gets a bad impression! Must I make my point clearer?

I am a Northerner who started school here at VPI with no opinion formed of the South. Up to this point my opinion has been favorable, but Mr. Hunter's article makes me wonder. If he speaks for a group, my opinion must change.

I stated that I am a Northerner but above all, I am an American! Let's all keep this in mind.

ROBERT G. FOGET.

Blacksburg

IT'S A LAUGH SON!

Ira Ellender, Chicago, Ill.

It's a joke, son, it's a joke.

This could well be the comment of that great Senator Claghorn, radio impressario par excellence who is currently wowing the country with his characteristic parody of Dixie statesmen, if he were to describe the sorry spectacle of Sen. Theodore Bilbo returning to the Senate next January.

As each newly elected Senator is somberly sworn in he is required to take an oath to uphold the constitution.

And at our last reading the 15th amendment guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote was part of that constitution. Certainly the United States Supreme Court thought so when they forced Southern states to permit Negroes to vote in Democratic primaries.

Yet when "The Man" Bilbo got scared and thought he had a chance of losing the Mississippi primary last week he promptly forgot about his oath when he said in effect, "Damn the constitution. You-all Anglo-Saxon folks better get me back in the Senate any way you can. Scare those niggers if possible. Beat or kill 'em if necessary. But keep 'em from the polls. Even if they vote you still don't have to count their ballot." *Sat.-7-20-46*

Now the Senate has been looking under every desk and stool for so-called subversive elements for years. The reason they claim they are so hard on Communists is because they are not supposed to favor supporting our present constitutional forms. It is reasonably certain that if a Communist Senator-elect had said, "Damn the constitution," he wouldn't be seated when he appeared to take his oath next January.

Bilbo? Well, he's not a Communist nor is he interested in the welfare of the people. He's just a homegrown hate-mongering fascist who does a pretty good job of aping Hitler.

And of course, that's different. With tongue in cheek and fingers crossed "The Man" will no doubt be permitted by his august colleagues to stand once again in the Senate chamber next January and solemnly swear to uphold the constitution—an oath he knows and they know he has no intention of keeping.

It's a joke, son, it's a joke.

Slaughter Got What He Deserved

The Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 8-16-46

The Negro voters of Kansas City can take credit for the defeat of Congressman Roger Slaughter without fear of successful challenge. Democrat and Republican, Negroes voted almost solidly against the man who a year ago killed the FEPC with his controlling vote in the House Rules committee.

The 7,000 votes which Enos Axtell, the successful candidate, received in the wards heavily populated by Negroes, were over twice what he needed to win over Slaughter. But had Axtell not piled up this lead in the first four wards, he would not have beaten Slaughter who carried the 9 Southside wards.

The power of the Negro vote was never more convincingly demonstrated than it was last Tuesday. Slaughter is still rubbing his eyes, hoping that his defeat was just a horrible dream which will soon pass away. Little did he believe that he could be defeated with the influential money interests he had behind him.

But Slaughter found out on election day that money and "silk stocking" friends do not help when the ordinary man gets aroused. He learned that it was he who was wrong and not President Truman who often urged the Rules committee to vote favorably on the FEPC bill and other progressive legislation. The fifth district congressman learned the hard way that he cannot disregard the interests of a large part of his constituency and get away with it.

Because Bilbo, his fellow in thought, could do as he pleased in Washington without making an accounting at home, Slaughter was led to believe that he could do likewise. But Missouri is different from Mississippi. In Bilbo's state, Negroes and ordinary white citizens do not go freely to the polls and express their opinion. In Missouri they do—and they did it in a big way.

The fate of Roger Slaughter should be a lesson to other public servants who fail to represent all the people. Slaughter is taking his defeat bitterly—the mark of a small man. Instead of bowing to the will of the people, he cries "Communist," his theme-song throughout his campaign. Is it Communist to want a job and to want it bad enough to fight for it? Is it Communistic to want a job bad enough to go to the polls and "ax" the man who killed the legislation which would make ability more important than color when a man seeks employment?

Slaughter was wrong. President Truman and the people were right. Communists did not defeat him, but aroused Americans did. The voters of Kansas City can be proud of the job they did in "slaughtering" Slaughter. While the nation watched, Missourians of the fifth district went to the polls and did what was expected of them. They put down Slaughter, friend of the rich, enemy of the FEPC, the working man's bill. The men who bottled up the Rules committee finally got what he deserved.

Four Negroes Elected in Missouri

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Fri. 11-8-46

Special to the Daily Worker

ST. LOUIS, Nov. 7.—An outstanding victory was gained here in the election of four progressive Negro state representatives, three Republicans and one Democrat, marking the first Negro group elected to the state legislature since adoption of the new state constitution

Negro people, for the first time, now have substantial representation.

The campaign of WM Massingale was most outstanding, in the extent of independent support he gained. These included support by the Communist Party here, which proved more effective than the regular Democratic machine backing.

The U. S. Senate seat and nine of 13 congressional seats went Republican, although the GOP sweeps was less pronounced in the larger cities than in the rural areas.

Seven Negroes Win In St. Louis Primary

Chicago, Ill. Sat. 8-17-46

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—(ANP)—Despite a general public apathy St. Louis voters nominated seven Negroes to fill the offices of magistrate, state representatives and constables and voted an FEPC law last week.

The Fair Employment Practices law was carried by a majority vote of 1,050. The law prohibits discrimination in city employment.

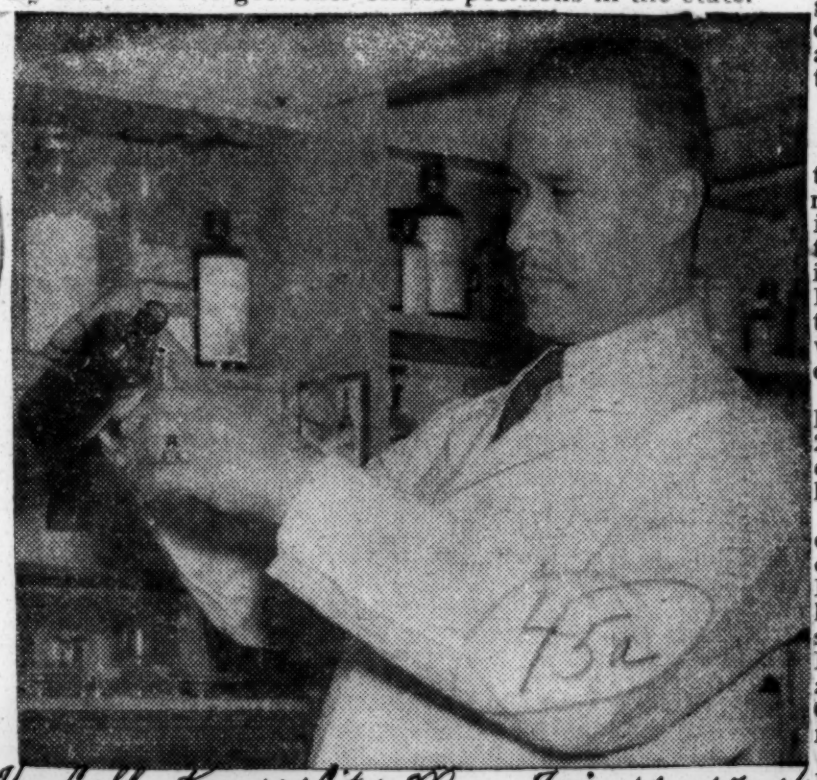
Dr. G. J. Dixon, a veteran Republican and Judge George L. Vaughn, Dem., were the winners in the race for nomination as magistrate. Atty. John W. Harvey and T. W. Massingale, Dem.; were nominated for state representatives along with Atty. James C. Bush and Josiah C. Thomas, Rep. Nominated for the office of constable are Democrat Dewitt T. Lawson and Republican W. A. Morant.

Missourians Step Forward

The Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 11-15-46

For the first time in history, four Negroes will sit in the Missouri house of representatives. At long last, the Show Me State is moving up alongside those states where Negroes in the law-making body are habit of long standing. One Negro at a time has sat in Missouri's assembly from time to time but never as many as four.

These four men will not be able to revolutionize the state overnight but their presence, gentlemanly conduct and their display of ability when given the opportunity will create new friends for the Negro and will reduce some of the anti-Negro feeling too prevalent in Missouri. The election of four Negro legislators this year should be the springboard from which Negroes in Missouri will always keep several representatives in the state assembly and strive to get other official positions in the state.



The Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 11-15-46

NEW LEGISLATOR TAKES VICTORY CALMLY.—James McKinley Neal, druggist who was elected to the Missouri state legislature Tuesday, Nov. 5, went calmly about his pharmaceutical work Wednesday morning as usual in his drug store at 25th and Brooklyn. Neal, a Democrat, defeated Julius B. Jones, Republican, despite the G.O.P. landslide that hit even Jackson county Democratic stronghold. Neal will be the first Negro Democrat ever sent to the legislature from Kansas City, and will be the second Kansas City Negro ever to sit in the state assembly. The first was L. Amasa Knox, Republican, who was elected in 1929 and served one term.—McKibben photo.

First Negro Democrat

Neal, who was backed by all major Democratic organizations in the county, will be the first Negro Democrat ever sent to the state legislature from Jackson county. He will be the second Negro from Kansas City to sit in the legislature, the first being L. Amasa Knox, attorney, who was elected to the legislature in 1929 on the Republican ticket. He served one term.

Neal and Jones ran in the fourth legislative district which includes the 4th and 14th wards both of which are largely Negro.

In a statement issued the day following the election, Neal said: "I want to thank all who supported me in the election. I realize fully the great responsibility which goes with the office and, as I said during the campaign, I will serve all of the people in my district to the best of my ability."

Many Congratulate Him

Neal went about the duties at the drug store Wednesday as if nothing had happened, but he was interrupted all during the day by telephone calls and personal visits from friends and well-wishers. He retired Tuesday night before the results of the legislative race were certain, but had a broad grin on his face Wednesday morning.

Neal, a native of Georgia, has lived in Kansas City for about 20 years. Before he became owner of the drug store 13 years ago, he was in insurance executive.

He is a member of the American Legion, the Paseo Baptist church, the Masonic lodge, the Beau Brummell club, the Morehouse college alumni club, the Paseo Y.M.C.A., the N.A.A.C.P., the National Negro Business League and is a member of the Jackson County Democratic Advisory committee.

Neal is married and lives at 2004 E. 23rd St. He has one daughter, Mrs. Collis H. Davis, who is an instructor at Hampton Institute, Va.

McKinley Neal To Assembly

Defeats Julius Jones for Seat In Legislature

James McKinley Neal, Democrat, won a seat in the Missouri state legislature in Tuesday's election, surviving the Republican landslide which invaded even Jackson county, long a Democratic stronghold.

Neal decisively defeated his opponent, Julius B. Jones, Republican, by a vote of 7,511 to 5,565. Neal, a pharmacist who owns a drug store at 25th and Brooklyn, romped to victory while the top of his Democratic ticket took a severe beating.

The Call Kansas City, Mo. Fri. 11-15-46

LEGISLATORS FROM ST. LOUIS.—These three St. Louisans wil sit in the Missouri state legislature at Jefferson City as a result of the November 5 election. They are, left to right: Atty J. Claybourne Bush, Republican, elected from the 17th legislative district; Josiah C. Thomas, Republican, publisher and printer, elected from the 11th district, and William Massingale, Democrat, labor leader, elected from the 10th district. Messingale is president of the CIO United Building Service Employes Union.—Photo Courtesy of St. Louis Argus.

Four Negroes To Missouri Assembly

The Call Kansas City, Mo. 15a

Fri 11-15-46

ST. LOUIS, MO—Four Negroes will sit in the Missouri State Legislature when it convenes in January as the result of the November 5 election.

Three Negroes were elected from St. Louis and one from Kansas City. The three St. Louis legislators, two Republicans and one Democrat, are:

The new state legislators are:

Josiah C. Thomas, Republican, who was elected from the 10th district by defeating John W. Harvey, Democrat. The vote was Thomas, 5,728; Harvey, 3,395.

William Massingale, Democrat, elected from the 11th district defeating Peter Ferrara, Republican, white, by a vote of 5,635 to 5,333.

J. Claybourne Bush, Republican, elected from the 17th district, defeated Joseph Kierly, white, Democrat by a vote of 4,816 to 3,538.

In addition, Dr. G. J. Dixon, Republican, was elected magistrate in the third district.

Dr. Dixon, former justice of the peace, defeated Atty. George L. Vaughn, Democrat, for the post of magistrate in the third district. Dr. Dixon, a physician, polled 12,946 votes to Vaughn's 8,389. William A. Morant, Republican incumbent, defeated DeWitt Lawson, Democrat, for constable in the third district. The vote was 13,229 to 8,034.

Congressman John B. Sullivan, who was a friend of Negroes and a signer of the FEPC discharge petition, went down in defeat in the Republican avalanche.

Minority Group Voters Swing with N.J. GOP

The Afro-American
Baltimore, Md.

NEWARK

With the exception of the city of Camden and Hudson County, colored voters in the State swing along with the Republican upsurge which swept Alfred E. Driscoll into the governorship with a 225,000 majority over Lewis Hanson. Sat, 11-16-46

This group of voters supported the 35-million-dollar Veterans' Housing Bond, Sundstrom and Keen for Congress, and re-elected H. Alexander Smith to the U.S. Senate. They also went along with the GOP tickets for Assembly and State Senate.

Dr. James O. Hill of Newark was re-elected to the Assembly for the fourth time. James B. Marshall, Democratic Assembly candidate from Essex County, was defeated although he polled the second highest Democratic vote in the county.

In East Orange, Dr. Theodore Inge, independent, ran third in the race for City Councilman. Andy Razaf, Englewood, independent Councilmanic candidate trailed his Republican opponent.

Marcantonio Demands Open Hearings to End Hearst Smear

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y. Tues. 12-3-46

Rep. Vito Marcantonio denounced in strong language yesterday attempts of a group of newspapers to vilify him and "smear" his recent re-election by tying it to the election day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican election captain. On the eve of his second appearance before a Manhattan grand jury, the Congressman demanded that the House Committee on Campaign Expenditures, investigating his election, hold all its hearings in public.

He challenged the Hearst press in particular to submit evidence on its charges of coercion and intimidation at the polls. He further demanded the right to cross-examine all witnesses and an opportunity to present his own witnesses.

Marcantonio's statement, telegraphed to Rep. J. Percy Priest, chairman of the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, follows:

CALLOUS DISREGARD

"With callous disregard for every ethic of decent and democratic journalism, several New York City newspapers have been holding kangaroo court on the question of whether the recent election in the 18th Congressional District of this city was or was not free

"Having begun before Primary Day to poison voters' minds with a deliberately false picture of political conditions in this district, and having sunk itself in a cesspool of vilification during the Primary and Election campaigns from which to smear me and my candidacy for reelection to Congress, this part of our local press now is intent upon trying to make its irresponsible fictions appear true.

"Appointing itself witness, judge and jury—this press has not overlooked any lie, distortion nor hypocrisy which could further its unprecedented campaign of calumny. But since my reelection proves that the majority of voters in my district do not place trust in these newspapers, I assume that a large part of New York's population likewise do not have any faith in the honesty of the New York Mirror the New York Journal-American, the New York News, the New York World-Telegram. Still, suspicions have been aroused among many people, simply by the repetitions of false stories.

"The people of New York are entitled to know the full unbiased story of the election in my district. The people are entitled to know all the facts which the majority of the press has suppressed.

"Therefore, as the successful candidate in the 18th Congressional District election, I hereby request that your Committee hold open hearings in the City of New York at the earliest possible time to determine, on the basis of all the facts, whether there was any interference in the district with the right to vote

MARCANTONIO
Asks Open Hearing

freely and secretly, without coercion or intimidation.

"Moreover I challenge any and all, the Hearst press in particular, to submit evidence on this issue at the public hearings.

"Finally, I request the right to cross-examine these and other witnesses at these open hearings and request an opportunity to present my witnesses. Having been subjected to months long attack by the press this right to cross - examine will enable me to aid in bringing to light the facts which should be made known to your committee and through you to the people of New York.

Tues. 12-3-46

"As a Congressman, I respect the dignity and repuation of Congress. These must not be degraded nor undermined by press malice. In the name of that dignity and to uphold this reputation, I request that the public hearings and the right to cross-examine witnesses be granted as soon as possible."

Marcantonio to Face Grand Jury Again; Fifth Witness Held

PM New York, N.Y.
Wed. 11-20-46

A Grand Jury, which didn't get its fill in nearly two hours of questioning yesterday, will ask Rep. Vito Marcantonio again next Tuesday for whatever information he can give about the fatal election-day beating of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican precinct captain.

With four men already held as material witnesses, a fifth, Joseph Ferraiolo, 34, of 410 E. 105th St., a Welfare Dept. cleaner who had been previously questioned, was ordered held in $25,000 bail for questioning after he was described as having "vital information."

District Attorney Frank X. Hogan repeated that all evidence thus far indicates Scottoriggio was the victim of a political assault but said again that "we are not excluding other motivation." He refused to say whether the police have any fuller descriptions of the assailants.

Progress?

Hogan refused to comment on what progress has been made but speculation was free and easy to the effect that he would hardly have cut short his Bermuda vacation and returned to work, as he did, unless his subordinates, whom his return cuts out of the limelight, were getting places.

Marcantonio signed a waiver of immunity before his Grand Jury appearance, which lasted from 2:45 to 4:30. He looked sick, and in fact he said he had left his bed to testify in defiance of his doctor's orders. He has a badly infected hand.

Marcantonio, ALP candidate who defeated Republican candidate Frederick Bryan for Congress in the 18th C. D., was accompanied to the Criminal Courts building by his attorney and long-time friend, Peter L. F. Sabbatino. Marcantonio wore a gray fedora, black overcoat, gray suit, white shirt, maroon tie, and pigskin gloves.

No Statement

Before entering the Grand Jury room he said "I have no statement to make at this time." Afterward he said the Grand Jury foreman had told him to keep quiet and that he would "abide by that."

This refusal to comment extended even to his refusal to say whether he knew Scottoriggio.

Marcantonio had been subpoenaed to appear yesterday but said that he had promised, "God willing," to appear voluntarily next Tuesday.

Asked if Marcantonio was a willing or a hostile witness, Hogan said "I won't attempt to characterize the action of witnesses."

Meanwhile attorney David Goldstein, brother of General Sessions Judge Jonah J. Goldstein—who was the Republican - Liberal candidate for Mayor last fall—appeared before General Session Judge James G. Wallace to say that he had been retained as attorney for Joey Rao and "Trigger Mike" Coppola, two gangsters held in $250,000 bail each as material witnesses in the Scottoriggio murder.

David Goldstein said he had been retained "over the telephone" by a person he could not identify, but he had nothing to show that he had been retained. Wallace therefore declined to let him see the two men. Some hours later Goldstein returned with a letter from Ralph Coppola, brother of "Trigger Mike," authorizing him to appear as attorney for the latter. Thereupon, over the opposition of Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet, Wallace gave Goldstein permission to see Coppola.

Goldstein again asked permission to see Rao, was again refused, and said he expected to have authorization from Rao's wife and brother to appear as the hoodlum's attorney.

Ferraiolo, the cleaner, was committed to jail in lieu of $25,000 bail after Grumet told Judge Wallace that he believed Ferraiolo had "vital information." Ferraiolo had been questioned by Grumet's office before, but Grumet refused to add to that information.

Hogan refused to say whether he would seek to hold Emilio Tizol as a material witness in the Scottoriggio case. Tizol, a Marcantonio campaign worker, is to be sentenced today for disorderly conduct for threatening a Bryan worker.

Jury Hears Marc In Scottoriggio Case; 3 U. S. Probers Here

PM New York, N.Y.
Wed. 12-4-46

By John K. Weiss

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) made his second appearance yesterday before the New York Grand Jury investigating the fatal election day slugging of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican captain in the 18th Congressional District.

Neither Marcantonio nor District Attorney Frank S. Hogan would comment other than to say that this would be Marcantonio's final appearance.

Marcantonio, who was before the jury for an hour, told reporters outside the District Attorney's office that he had advised Hogan that he would be "perfectly agreeable" to further appearances if necessary.

Soon after, Nathan D. Stein, an attorney, served papers in a habeas corpus proceeding on Hogan for the release of Dominick Petrone, 41, former boxer and ALP election district captain in Harlem, who is one of six material witnesses being held in high bail in the Scottoriggio case. The argument on the writ will be heard at 2 p.m. today by Supreme Court Justice Denis O'Leary Cohalan. Petrone went to the Tombs under $12,000 bail on Nov. 15.

Development in the Congressional investigation of the election for his Committee are now in the City, and that a preliminary report from at least one of them is expected to be ready for the Committee's consideration at the

Priest said that three investigators 18th District are expected early next week.

Chairman J. Percy Priest, whose Committee on Campaign Expenditures is conducting the investigation at the request of Marcantonio's representatives, confirmed yesterday that he would present Marcantonio's request for open hearings on the investigation to his Committee on Monday.

Monday meeting.

He also indicated that the nature of the preliminary report would probably be a deciding factor in determining whether Marcantonio's request would be accepted.

In supporting Marcantonio's request for open hearings, the American Labor Party released today a tabulation of election facts designed to show that "Congressman Marcantonio's election was the free and unfettered choice of the voters in his district."

The ALP pointed out specifically:

¶ The percentage of registered voters who cast their ballots on election day in the 18th C. D.—97.5 per cent—was the highest of any district in the City.

¶ The registration fell less from the 1944 Presidential election totals in the 18th C. D. than any other district in the City.

¶ Special policemen and representatives of the District Attorney's office were assigned to cover polls.

Marcantonio Subpenaed By Grand Jury

Daily Worker, New York, N. Y.

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (D-ALP) was subpenaed yesterday to appear this afternoon before a New York County Grand Jury investigating the election day death of Joseph R. Scottoriggio. *Tues. 11-19-46*

At his home, Rep. Marcantonio said he planned to appear before the Grand Jury despite an illness which has confined him to bed for the past few days.

Scottoriggio, who was attacked in the Eighteenth congressional district, died last week. His death has become the center of attempts to smear the progressive congressman.

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan joined in the chorus of "political motive" hunters yesterday when he said "everything" pointed to such a possibility in Scottoriggio's death.

Four men are now being held as material witnesses, two under $250,000 bail, in city jail. They are Dominick Petrone, William Donaghy, Joey Rao and Michael Coppola.

GOP Vote Captain Dies From Election Day Beating

PM, New York, N.Y. Tues. 11-12-46

The Manhattan District Attorney's office and police today went all out in an effort to discover who slugged Republican District Captain Joseph Scottireggio on Election Day and inflicted injuries which led to his death yesterday at New York Hospital.

So far, the authorities have uncovered no evidence to link the mystery attack on Scottireggio with the fiercely fought political campaign in Manhattan's 18th Congressional District, where Rep. Vito Marcantonio, sole American Labor Party member of Congress, won re-election over his Republican opponent, Frederic V. P. Bryan.

Police and DA investigators, racing each other for a solution, were checking a number of other possible motives—non-political in nature—but so far have reported no progress.

Scores Quizzed

They have questioned scores of persons who might have witnessed the attack or who might know something about it. Since Scottireggio underwent a delicate operation last Wednesday to remove pressure on his brain, no less than 20 detectives have been on the case at any one time.

Scottireggio was assaulted—police believe by two men—near 104th St. and First Ave. at 5:45 a.m. Election Day, 15 minutes before the polls opened. He was on his way to polling place duty at PS 168, 316 E. 105th St.

His wife, Cecelia, is the only known witness.

Saw Attack

She said she saw the attack from the window of the Scottireggio apartment, 400 E. 103d St., in the East River Housing Project. She said she saw a man sneak up behind her husband and hit him on the head. She said her husband fell, striking his head on the pavement. Then, Mrs. Scottireggio said, the attacker jumped up and down on her husband.

Mrs. Scottireggio was unable to give a good description of the assailant or others she said she saw nearby.

Since last Friday, when fears grew that Scottireggio might die, the case has been in charge of Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody of the Homicide Bureau. Assistant District Attorneys William Serignano and Joseph Caputo, who have been on the investigation since Election Day, are continuing the probe.

Meanwhile, Police Commissioner Arthur Wallander told reporters at a press conference in Police Headquarters yesterday that Mayor William O'Dwyer had ordered police to "make vigorous efforts to apprehend the perpetrators of the crime."

Wallander said O'Dwyer had called him as soon as word came of Scottireggio's death. He added that O'Dwyer's first question to him upon returning from a California vacation had been:

Mrs. Scottireggio
Husband Dies of Injuries

"Did you get the men who did it?"

He said the Mayor felt "very badly about it," and added: "We all do."

Terming the attack on Scottireggio a "damnable crime," Wallander said that any member of the Police Dept. who made an arrest or got information leading to an arrest and conviction would be well rewarded.

He promised a promotion to first grade detective "on the spot" for any patrolman or third grade detective who brought about an arrest and conviction.

Wallander said that every available man had been used and would be used to break the case, and said no stone would be left unturned in the investigation.

While authorities pushed their investigation, a detective who has been on the case since it started, told reporters yesterday that trying to get anyone to talk in "that neighborhood" was "tough."

'Don't Talk'

"They don't talk," he said, "especially to cops, but our men have been digging day and night. Thus far, we have been up against a stone wall, and all information we have run down has netted nothing specifically."

Scottireggio was unconscious before his operation last Wednesday, and never regained full consciousness after it. An autopsy will be performed at Bellevue Hospital today.

Besides Mrs. Scottireggio, a 14-year-old daughter survives. Mrs. Scottireggio had been near her husband in the hospital since his admission, sleeping in a room provided by authorities of New York Hospital.

Gov. Dewey's comment, after he had visited Scottireggio at the hospital the day after Election was:

"It was a savage, brutal beating by left wingers. It was done to intimidate others who were working for a free election . . ."

At Sea Island, Ga., where he is vacationing, Dewey said yesterday he was "deeply distressed" at word of Scottireggio's death. He had no comment on the possibility of a State investigation.

Marcantonio, who has been confined to his home on doctor's orders since Election Day, issued the following statement, when informed of Scottireggio's death:

"The attempt on the part of certain sections of the press to, in any way, connect the attack on Scottireggio with the political campaign in the 18th C. D. is outrageous. I have personally conducted an investigation and found no evidence or clues of any kind, nor have we been able to gather any information whatsoever. No violence was connected with my campaign at any time, nor have I at any time condoned such actions."

Pays Tribute

Bryan, who rushed to the hospital as soon as he heard of the death, said Scottireggio was a "courageous, honorable and sincere American who died in doing what he thought the right thing to do, as an American citizen."

Bryan and other Republican leaders have offered $3000 for information leading to the arrest of Scottireggio's attackers. Yesterday, the New York *Journal-American* offered $10,000.

Neighbors said yesterday that Scottireggio, who had been employed as an accountant by the Federal Public Housing Agency, 270 Broadway, had been a happily married man. They said he hardly ever took a drink, and was a leader in social activities at the East River Housing Project where he lived. Before coming to work for the FPHA, Scottireggio had been employed by the War Dept. in Washington.

Press 'Make' Scottoriggio News

Daily Worker, New York, N.Y.

Two loaded questions hurled at District Attorney Frank S. Hogan in a press conference, and his "no comment" replies to both of them, set commercial press speculating yesterday on "vote buying" and "police bribery" angles on the unsolved election day slugging and death of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican district worker.

Hogan was asked to comment on:

1. Reports that money was passed in the 18th Congressional District to swing the election of Rep. Vito Marcantonio. *Tues. 11-26-46*

2. Reports of police bribery with the aim of defeating Frederick Bryan, Marcantonio's opponent.

Hogan declined to comment, stating any answer might injure his investigation of the Scottoriggio death.

SUN LEADS PACK

POLITICAL MOTIVES

The New York Sun, leading the pack of afternoon papers, there-

upon rushed a late edition to the streets shouting "HOGAN IS MUM OVER REPORTS OF VOTE-BUYING." A smaller headline declared "DISTRICT ATTORNEY REFUSES COMMENT ON ALLEGED POLICE BRIBERY IN 18th DISTRICT."

It was learned, however, that Sun in an effort to build up a new investigation of the Scottoriggio provocation against the Harlem Congressman.

Hogan postponed today's scheduled second appearance of 2135 Second Ave., was locked up in the Tombs in default of $2,000 bond, the sixth material witness case.

Meanwhile, Joseph Mondello, 30, Grand Jury held in the case. Mondello, whoun Grumet declared was fined last July on a bookmaking charge, was arrested last Friday night.

Assistant District Attorney Jacob

First Candidate Wins Political Race in White N.Y. District

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 11-16-46

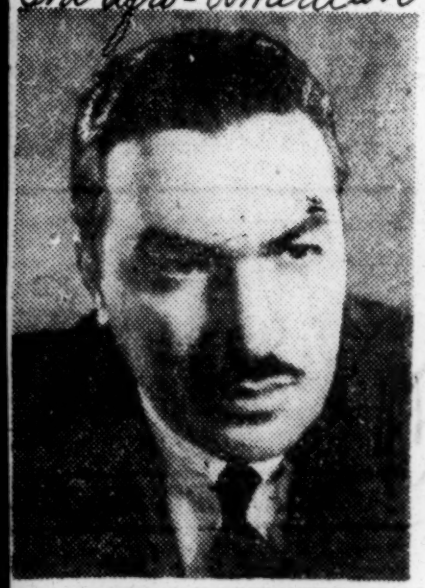
NEW YORK—Harold A. Stevens, Democrat, an attorney of 295 Convent Ave., one of four colored candidates elected to the Assembly here in last week's general elections, is the first colored person to win a political race in a chiefly white district in the State of New York.

Having campaigned in the 13th District on Washington Heights, election returns showed that Mr. Stevens had 10,488 votes against his Republican opponent, Raymond J. Burke, white, with 9,896 votes. Both are Catholics. Other opponents, Elias Tittler, labor candidate, received 3,697, and Edna Mosely, liberal, 976.

Raymond Jones, Democrat, leader of the eastern half of the district, said the white voters number over 18,000, mostly Irish Catholics, while there are only approximately 15,000 colored. The new Assemblyman is a veteran, a former president of the Catholic Interracial Council, and at one time served as counsel for the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Opponents in Congressional Race

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.
Sat. 8-31-46



REP. A. C. POWELL

GRANT REYNOLDS

Efforts of Representative Adam C. Powell to win the primary elections of three parties in New York Aug. 21 were unsuccessful. Grant Reynolds emerged victor on the Republican ticket, with Powell ending up with nominations by both the Democratic and American Labor parties. They will face each other for the post in November.

Adam C. Powell, Jr. Is Re-elected N. Y. Congressman

Globe and Independent Nashville Tenn.
Fri. 11-8-46

Four Negro Members of the Assembly Will Go To Albany for One Term

New York City—(By Long Distance Phone)—Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the fiery Congressman from Harlem, was re elected to U. S. Congress and will go back to Washington with the New York delegation. Four other race men were elected to the General Assembly, namely: William Prince, William P. Andrews, Harrold Stevens and Hulan Jack. Many others of the Democratic as well as the Socialist and Labor Tickets lost on a small margin.

The lone member running for the Assembly from the Brooklyn New York District, was only fifteen votes behind up to Wednesday afternoon, and it is understood here that he is going to ask for a recount of the ballots.

Thousands survive the Dewey landslide, because Governor Dewey swept the entire State of New York and carried into the office with him not only the Congress and the Senate, but in the General Assembly, Lower and Upper Houses. He is expected to have a larger working majority up in Albany than he had in his first election.

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., defeated the Republican candidate, Grant Reynolds by a comfortable majority. It was a hotly contested campaign, and the results were in doubt until twelve o'clock today, Wednesday.

MR. DEWEY WINS

Governor Dewey has won a handsome victory. The large majority by which he has been re-elected is a deserved tribute to the success of his first Administration. There was nothing spectacular about that Administration. It was blanketed by the war and by the great national and international issues which have developed since the war ended. But though it is these larger issues rather than State matters on which the attention of most New Yorkers has been focused, yesterday's vote shows that the people of the State have not lost sight of the fact that they have had at Albany a quietly efficient and well-balanced Government, staffed by competent men and equipped with an adequate knowledge of the State's business. It is a widespread popular appreciation of this fact that has re-elected Mr. Dewey.

The campaign directed against Mr. Dewey's Administration by the Democratic candidate and the Democratic party emphasized "liberalism" as its issue. But it made the mistake, we believe, of defining its faith in liberalism too largely in terms of proposals for liberal spending from the public treasury. This was the main theme of Mr. Mead's argument from first to last. The large benefits which he promised to dispense at Albany to veterans, to school teachers, to trade unionists, to civil servants and to many other groups of voters were the principal feature of his campaign. But it is evident that a great many voters chose this year to ask themselves how these benefits were to be paid for, and that they found no answer to this question in Mr. Mead's remarks. In the light of Governor Dewey's smashing victory there is reason to believe that the time may be passing when a convincing claim to "liberalism" can be established chiefly by the method of promising large public outlays for the benefit of large numbers of voters and by denouncing one's opponent as a "reactionary" if he fails to match these promises.

With this victory, Mr. Dewey now faces a great opportunity in his second Administration. Many enterprises upon which it was impossible for the State to embark during war days will now become practicable. Many State issues long overshadowed by the war will come back into prominence. There will be fine opportunities for leadership, on a basis of State experiment, in such important matters as housing and industrial relations.

Mr. Dewey has the great advantages of youth, vigor, unified party control at Albany and a ringing public endorsement. We congratulate him on his victory, wish him well in his second term and believe that he will best serve both the State's interests and his own by buckling down to the job at hand.

The Courier
IN NEW YORK, Atty. Harold A. Stevens, was elected to the State Assembly from a district in which whites predominate. A Catholic, he was running against a GOP Catholic opponent. This is the first time this has happened in New York State, but it has occurred in Ohio and Massachusetts, and many years ago Farmer-Laborite John A. Ryan was elected several times to both Houses of the Washington State Legislature from an area where Negroes were as scarce as hen's teeth.

GOP Sets Powell Back in Primary

The Afro-American Baltimore, Md.

NEW YORK — (ANP) — Rep. Adam Clayton Powell was defeated last week by Grant Reynolds for Republican nomination for Congress in the 22nd Congressional District, but was nominated by the Democratic party.

Reynolds tallied 2,168 GOP votes to Powell's 1,598. His Democratic party triumph over Harold E. Simmelkjaer was by 7,643 to 690 votes.

An American Labor party nominee, Powell went down with Rep. Marcantonio's group in one of the worst political defeats the ALP has ever suffered.

Realizing that a bitter battle is ahead for his party, the fiery Italian told 200 party members, "We accept the challenge of reactionary Republicans and Democrats in name only. Never before have reactionaries, fascists, money and power unloosed such vilification against one candidate."

Castigating his opposition as "venomous" and "degenerate," he called for the united effort on the part of "colored people, whites, Catholics, Jews and Protestants," assuring them that "the power of the Bilbos and Rankins is retreating. Sat. 8-31-46

Colored Winners

Besides Reynolds and Powell, other colored politicians seeking offices in the primary were:

Harold A. Stevens, attorney, was nominated for the general assembly by the Democrats of the 13th Assembly District in Manhattan by a majority of 1500 votes in a district that has a majority of white voters. (The Democratic nomination in this district with Democratic vote of 4 to 1, is sure of an election in November);

Charles Collins, ALP, who defeated Harold I. Panken by 1516 to 214 votes in the 21st District of Manhattan; Cyril W. Stephens, ALP, who won over William E. Prince, 314 to 57 in the Seventh District (Manhattan), and William T. Andrews, Democrat, victor in the 12th District.

Powell, who leaves soon for a month's vacation, thanked members of the Democratic party for supporting him and wired Reynolds a congratulation on his victory. "The loss in the Republican primary was a triumph of machine Republicans over independent Republicans," Powell stated.

See DA Playing for Time In Scottoriggio Case

Daily Worker New York, N. Y.
Wed. 11-27-46

By Harry Raymond

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan's postponement until Dec. 3 of Rep. Vito Marcantonio's second appearance before the grand jury was seen yesterday as a move to gain in a helter-skelter search for threads to patch up some tenable theory to rig an indictment against the Harlem Congressman in connection with the election-day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican election captain.

Hogan admitted his investigation had revealed no over-all plot to control the election in the 18th District, where Marcantonio defeated Frederick Bryan, the Republican Twenty-four hours earlier Hogan

comment on an announcement on the House Campaign Investigating Committee was sending in-vestigators to New York to probe political-motivated assault."

The district attorney declined to comment on an announcement that with the slugging of the ups. Intercepted telephone calls, and "political for the congressman, report efforts to make it appear to terrorize them. They report a ure down to 800.

ters were con-large number of arrests, police pick-sons in connection with investiga-TO DISFRANCHISE

East Harlem tion of the Scottoriggio case. The nd campaigned Hearst Daily Mirror estimated 1,300 had been taken in for questioning, what the Republicans failed to do at

The Journal-American cut the figmerely because they had Marcantonio signs in their windows and on their fire escapes.

Many Harlemites report they were taken in for police questioning

"They are trying to do with this residents, who voted and ca

the ballot box," one East Harlem voter said. "They are seeking through the Hearst press, the district attorney's office and now through congressional committee action to disfranchise the voters of the 18th district."

Police continued to hold David A. Levy, 10th Assembly District Republican leader in "protective custody" in a hotel room.

Around Levy, one-time Marcantonio supporter, Joseph Rao and Michael Cappola, residents of the 18th District, held on $250,000 bail, Hogan is trying to weave a plausible web.

Hogan is reported to be aiming to show Scottoriggio was slugged because he was allegedly the one Republican election district captain in the 10th A. D. who refused to go along with Levy in last minute support of Marcantonio. There are conflicting reports concerning Levy's alignment in the campaign.

Mayor: Find Who Killed Scottoriggio

Mayor William O'Dwyer and Police Commissioner Arthur W. Wallander came up with further proof yesterday that they weren't kidding when they said the Scottoriggio slaying was the top priority job for City's Police Dept.

At a City Hall press conference the Mayor sounded off again:

"A man has been killed on our streets. We must solve that. It may take 20, it may take 50, it may take 1000 policemen. The important thing is to find out who killed him. That's the first thing. The second thing is that we must find out what is going on in that area."

Joseph Scottoriggio, a Republican election captain in the 18th Congressional District, was brutally assaulted on his way to the polls election morning. He died several days later.

At Police Headquarters the word went out that a new police division, 4A, will be set up in East Harlem on Jan. 1 to provide closer supervision of all Harlem police. The new division will cover the 104th St. Precinct, in which the Scottoriggio slugging occurred, and the 126th St. Precinct. Both of these were previously assigned to the 6th Division.

Also from Headquarters came the report that 152 patrolmen will be added to the detective force next Monday. The men, all young blood in the department, will be added to the citywide plainclothes detail.

The identities of the 11 top cops who are being forced into retirement also were revealed when they appeared before police surgeons. They included two deputy chief inspectors, three inspectors, one deputy inspector, and five captains. 12 — 13 — 46

Scottoriggio Case Still Unsolved; Jury Ends Quiz of Marcantonio

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.
Wed. 12-4-46

By Harry Raymond

Rep. Vito Marcantonio emerged smiling from the grand jury room yesterday after an hour's session. District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, who joined the pack of Hearst newspapers trying to link the name of the Labor Congressman with the election-day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican district captain, announced, according to Marcantonio, he would not be required to testify further.

Meanwhile, the District Attorney and more than 100 police officers assigned to the case offered no solution of the fatal slugging.

Marcantonio accompanied by Allen Goodwin chairman of the American Labor Party Law Committee and Peter L. F. Sabbatino, former assistant district attorney and attorney for the Congressman, arrived at Hogan's office at 2:30 p.m.

The Congressman entered the grand jury room. He emerged an hour later declining to comment on his testimony.

Asked how Hogan treated him, Marcantonio replied: "No comment."

It was his second appearance before the grand jury in connection with the Scottoriggio investigation. Yesterday's appearance had been delayed on the district attorney's initiative for a week. This delay was seen deliberate on the part of Hogan, who has been charged with stalling for time while attempting to patch together some plausible circumstances to smear the Congressman.

Marcantonio's appearance before the grand jury came 24 hours after his stinging denunciation of a group of newspapers, and the Hearst press in particular, challenging them to submit at once any evidence they allege to have on coercion or intimidation at the polls.

He demanded the House Campaign Expenditures Committee, investigating the 18th Congressional District election, hold open hearings, permit him to put his own witnesses on the stand and permit full rights of cross-examination.

Marcantonio charged the Hearst press has appointed itself "witness, judge and jury" and "has not overlooked any lie, distortion nor hypocrisy which could further its unprecedented campaign of calumny."

"The people of New York are entitled to know the full, unbiased story of the election in my district," Marcantonio declared. "The people are entitled to know all the facts which the majority of the press has suppressed."

FRANK S. HOGAN
Looks in wrong places

MARCANTONIO GETS SECOND JURY QUIZ

The Times New York N.Y.

District Attorney Has Finished Questioning Representative on Slugging, Latter Says

Wed. 12-4-46

Representative Vito Marcantonio spent another hour yesterday before the New York County grand jury investigating the fatal Election Day slugging of Joseph R. Scottoriggio, Republican election district captain in Harlem. The first inquiry was on Nov. 19.

Mr. Marcantonio was the successful Democrat-American Labor party candidate in the Eighteenth Congressional District election. His Republican opponent was Frederick v. P. Bryan.

The Representative and his interrogator, District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, refused to comment on either session. On the first visit Mr. Marcantonio testified under subpoena. He appeared voluntarily yesterday

After the session Mr. Hogan said he had no further questions to ask the witness, who agreed to return if the grand jury requested, according to the Representative. He was accompanied by his lawyer, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, and Allen Goodwin, chairman of the American Labor party's law committee.

Mr. Marcantonio said he had not been in touch with any member of the Congressional Campaign Expenditures Committee, which is to investigate whether voters in the Eighteenth district were permitted to cast their votes "freely and secretly and without coercion or intimidation." One of the committee's investigators is in the city.

12-4-46

The New Yorker reported that the office of Representative J. Percy Priest, chairman of the committee, had acknowledged receipt of Mr. Marcantonio's recent telegram demanding open hearings in the investigation and the right to cross-examine the committee's witnesses and produce witnesses for himself. The message explained that Mr. Priest was not in his Washington office when the telegram was received.

Mr. Hogan was served last evening with papers in a Supreme Court habeas corpus proceeding for the release of Dominick Petrone, 41 years old. Petrone is a former pugilist and American Labor party election district captain in the Marcantonio-Bryan election. He is one of the six material witnesses being held in high bail in the investigation.

Petrone's bail of $12,000 was fixed by Judge James G. Wallace in General Sessions on Nov. 15 at the request of the District Attorney's office. Argument on the writ is to be heard by Justice Cohalan at 2 P. M. today. The papers were served by Petrone's lawyer, Nathan D. Stein.

Two of four unidentified thugs beat and kicked Mr. Scottoriggio at First Avenue and 104th Street fifteen minutes before the opening of the polls at 6 A. M. He died several days later in a hospital. Since then hundreds of witnesses have been questioned before the grand jurors and by the police.

MARCANTONIO VISITS INVESTIGATOR HERE

The Times

Representative Vito Marcantonio visited yesterday afternoon the office of Robert H. Barker, investigator for the Congressional Campaign Expenditures Committee, in the Federal Building here.

Before entering Mr. Barker's office Mr. Marcantonio said he wanted to make it clear that "I am here at my insistence." He said he would insist that the committee "serve me with any charges so I may have an opportunity to answer them."

New York, N. Y.

Mr. Marcantonio, elected on the Democratic and American Labor party tickets, has appeared twice before a New York County grand jury investigating the fatal slugging of Joseph Scatterreggio, Republican election worker in the Eighteenth Congressional District on election day.

Sun. 12-8-46

Representative Arthur G. Klein, Democrat, of the Nineteenth New York Congressional District, declared yesterday that he would oppose efforts to refuse a seat to Mr. Marcantonio in the new Congress.

"Mr. Marcantonio has been duly elected by the voters in his district," Mr. Klein said. "He has been a public figure for many years and the people of his constituency are familiar with his activities and political beliefs. During a legally constituted election they have indicated their preference for him."

"All slayers, without favor, should be brought to justice," Davis emphasized, "including the well-known slayer of the Ferguson brothers, Negro veterans who were shot to death by policeman John Romelka who still walks the beat in Freeport, L. I."

Gov. Dewey, who has intervened in the Scottoriggio case, has been under fire for refusal to act in the Ferguson case.

The press of New York does not have to look for Romelka—he is just 24 miles from the editorial offices of the World-Telegram and the Mirror," Davis added.

CHARGES DERELICTION

Davis charged the police are so anxious to look for "so-called left-wingers" in the death of Scottoriggio, as directed by Gov. Dewey, that stairs and rang doorbells so that this staunch people's fighter could go back to Congress."

Wed. 12-11-46

He called upon the Negro people to deny the vote to the Negro people in the South are now trying to cancel the vote of the people of Harlem by ousting Rep. Vito Marcantonio, City Councilman Benjamin J. Davis charged yesterday.

The Negro Communist leader also accused Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of rejecting himself into the Scottoriggio case, not to find the murderer but to lay the basis for a "monumental Hitler-like frameup."

"Who leads the Nazi-like raid on Washington upon democratic elections with the proposal to disfranchise the people of Harlem?" Davis asked. "It is John E. Rankin, the rotten little anti-Semite and inciter of lynch mur-

POLL TAXERS TRY TO CANCEL HARLEM VOTE, DAVIS SAYS

Daily Worker
New York, N. Y.
Wed. 12-11-46

The same people in Congress who have always fought

developed in
us far," in particular "to raise their voices

45a 1946

Elections (New York)

Councilmen Demand Probe

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Sat. 12-14-46

Councilmen Benjamin J. Davis and Eugene P. Connolly yesterday demanded a "sweeping investigation" into the Amsterdam Ave. tragedy which has already accounted for 23 lives and may bring the toll to 37. All persons still buried in the rubble of the collapsed dwelling at 2515 Amsterdam Ave. are believed dead.

Communist Councilman Davis, who visited the scene of the disaster early yesterday, returned to City Hall shocked by the sight and determined to press a full City Council probe into the icehouse fire and the resultant tenement collapse.

Connolly, Manhattan Laborite, said the city "would be called to account" for this "horrible loss of life." Connolly said he would ask for "full restitution for those bereaved families" as well as "action to house them." He declared he would check into "financial restitution and other benefits the city should make" in cases like this.

Davis said the "shocking tragedy on Amsterdam Ave. must be fully and officially investigated with corresponding assessing of responsibility and punishment to the full extent of the law of those criminally guilty."

Daily Worker

He did not deny that while "conscious incendiaries may have been involved," it was "clear that had the greedy landlords and absentee real estate interests not been so callous as to the condition of their premises, such as extreme tragedy would not have taken place."

He called for a thorough and immediate probe into the building laws of the city and the possible laxity of enforcement officials.

"Laws, wherever necessary, must be passed to cover this type of criminal irresponsibility and to jack up the penalty," Davis asserted.

New York, N.Y.

He declared it "is amazing that more such tragedies do not occur considering the conditions of slum areas in Harlem and Washington Heights where low income groups of all races and creeds must live and suffer.

Davis demanded the following steps be taken immediately:

- A sweeping investigation
- Compensation for the families involved in the disaster.
- Punishment for all guilty landlord interests and lax city officials.
- Action by the city to take over "all boarded-up premises and housing and put them into condition for immediate occupancy for Negro and white veterans and their homeless families."

Sat. 12-14-46

Davis said that he and his colleague, Councilman Peter V. Cacchione, would begin discussions with American Labor Party councilmen for effective action by the City Council for such an investigation and prevention of future tragedies such as the one on Amsterdam Ave.

The Citywide Committee for Rent Control yesterday urged Building Commissioner Newton T. Saxl, to institute regular inspection of all city buildings. It declared that families were now occupying more than a dozen condemned buildings in Harlem, all without gas or lights.

The Committee asserted these families were forced to use candles and kerosene stoves, adding to the already dangerous fire hazards existing there.

Scottoriggio Smear Recalls Dewey's Tactics as D.A.

The Worker

New York, N.Y. Sun. 12-1-46

The methods used by the district attorney's office to investigate the death of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican precinct captain in Rep. Vito Marcantonio's 18th congressional district are leading to speculation that another Bertram Campbell case, on a far higher political plane, may be in the making.

Campbell was railroaded to jail in Manhattan in 1938 on a charge of passing forged checks. He was given a five to ten year sentence, served three years and was then paroled. Thomas E. Dewey was Manhattan district attorney at the time.

A little more than a year ago, it was discovered he was innocent. Gov. Dewey pardoned him and the state by special legislative act gave him $115,000. He died a few months later, a heart-broken man.

The case shocked the nation and touched off an investigation by the Criminal Courts Bar Association in New York.

As a result of that investigation, Robert Daru, counsel for the Bar Association, charged Campbell was the victim of District Attorney Dewey's desire for a perfect record of convictions in cases brought to trial.

12-1-46

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THAT RECORD, he said, "has been and is a menace to the rights and liberties of the citizens."

But what is most interesting is the method used to obtain the "evidence" on which District Attorney Dewey's office based its case against Campbell.

Campbell, Daru said, was the victim of an "unofficial irresponsible and reckless investigation carried on secretly—a kind of private Gestapo technique as reprehensible and un-American as secret police and lacking only perhaps in acts of violence, but just as dangerous to persons innocently accused."

What is happening in East Harlem today is the official application of this "private Gestapo technique" to an entire community.

More than 1,300 people, according the **Daily Mirror**, have been grilled privately by the district attorney's office. Several are held in jail on huge bail. All telephones in the area are reported tapped and the whole district is under close police surveillance. People are afraid to talk, even to open their doors to strangers.

The atmosphere of tension created by the hysterical red-baiting drive against Rep. Marcantonio before election day has been replaced by an atmosphere of terror.

Both are the product of the determination of powerful national pro-fascist, anti-labor groups and their newspaper organs to "get" labor's outstanding representative in Congress.

District Attorney Hogan worked in Dewey's office. He succeeded Dewey with his boss' blessing. He is thoroughly familiar with Dewey's methods.

★

DEWEY HIMSELF charted the course for the D.A.'s office when he said soon after the beating—without one shred of supporting evidence—that it was done by "left-wing elements.' A man who is priming himself for the presidency of the United States does not make such statements without having to find the means of backing them up.

Though there are several non-political angles to the case, there is little evidence they are being investigated. The entire proceeding thus far smacks more of a political get-Marcantonio movement than finding the guilty parties.

Gov. Dewey is also not a stranger to exploiting crime for political purposes. Back in 1943, his actions in the case of Louis Lepke (Buchalter), convicted of murder, appeared strangely like an attempt to pin something on labor leaders who opposed his drive for the presidency.

Lepke was serving a 14 year term in Federal prison on a narcotics charge when convicted of murder by the state courts. Dewey demanded the Federal government give Lepke up through a presidential pardon.

12-1-46

The Federal government said O.K., provided Dewey would guaranatee that Lepke would fry as per sentence. There was a plea for clemency on Dewey's desk at the time. Dewey refused to give the guarantee that the convicted murderer would be executed.

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THE FEDERAL government finally yielded and turned Lepke over to Dewey. It took two months and six reprieves from the Governor, interspersed with visits to Lepke from Hogan who was strongly anti-Roosevelt though nominally a Democrat, before Lepke finally was electrocuted.

During that period, there were widespread reports in the press, never denied, that Dewey was trying to get Lepke to implicate Sidney Hillman and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union in some of his criminal acts.

Lepke himself charged "some people want me to give others."

"If I had anything to break," Lepke said, "I'd have done so at the time of the mayoral campaign in 1941 in New York."

This Deweyite combination of terror to pin a crime on someone and of exploitation of crime to gain political advantage appears to be operating now in the Scottoriggio case.

Fair Elections Sought

The Nation and News and Courier notes that steps are being taken in New York, to protect law-abiding citizens election days. Investigation of the Scottoreggio case already has caused a shake-up in the city's police force. Elections in New York city should be conducted with the same propriety and with the same security to the voter with which they are conducted in Cameron, South Carolina.

No Facts, But Marcantonio Probe Goes On

Daily Worker Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Dec. 9.—The House Committee on Elections has failed to uncover any "real evidence" to support charges of irregularities in the Marcantonio election, Rep. Percy Priest (D-Tenn), chairman, admitted today. However, the committee has instructed its investigator Robert Barker, former Dies Committee employe, to stay with the case, Priest said. *Daily Worker*

Priest made the statement after a closed session with Barker, in which Reps. Frank Fellow (R-Me) and Oren Harrins (D-Ark), committee members, sat in.

"The New York investigation will continue," Priest said. "Reason for the investigation is that since the election charges have been bandied back and forth there were irregularities and some evidence of intimidation and coercion."

The committee received no official request for the investigation, he said, but acted because of newspaper accounts. He acknowledged receipt of Marcantonio's telegram demanding an open hearing but implied the committee did not have sufficient evidence to justify an open hearing. *New York, N. Y.*

"Has Barker found any evidence to substantiate the charges of irregularity?" Priest was acked.

"I can't say that Barker has," Priest admitted. *Jues.*

"We can't say that we have any real evidence." *12-10-46*

Instructions to Barker to return to New York to continue his fishing expedition were interpreted here to mean that the committee still hopes something may be uncovered which can be used to unseat the ALP Congressman.

Scottoriggio 'Tell All' Man Tells Nothing

The man who was to "tell all" about the election-day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio appeared mute in Washington Heights Court yesterday.

He is Emilio Tizol, 37, of 75 E. 103 St. After his lawyer, Benjamin F. Karpey, told the court his client, who had a long record of arrests and convictions, knew nothing about the slaying, Magistrate Morris Ploscowe sentenced Tizol to 30 days in jail.

Tizol, charged with being disorderly on election day, had spent 25 days in jail, where he was constantly questioned by the district attorney. This time was declared by the court to be part of the sentence. So Tizol will be free in five days.

ALP Backs Marcantonio Public Probe Demand

Daily Worker New York, N. Y. Wed. 12-4-46

The American Labor Party yesterday threw its support behind the demand by Congressman Vito Marcantonio for a prompt open hearing before the House Campaign Expenditure Committee concerning the election in the 18th congressional district. Such a hearing will not please "those reactionary politicians and newspapers who prefer their stock of rumor, inuendoes and smears to the readily available facts," the ALP said.

But it will be welcomed by all decent minded citizens who recognize in the post-election campaign against Congressman Marcantonio a bold effort to nullify the right of democratic choice by voters, it was pointed out.

"The political enemies of Congressman Marcantonio have seized upon the lamentable death of Joseph Scottoriggio to launch a reckless smear campaign against this outstanding representative of the people. The crime which resulted in Scottoriggio's death must be, and is being thoroughly investigated and the criminals brought to justice. This is the task of the District Attorney and the Grand Jury.

"Nevertheless, the reactionary forces in our city and state have not hesitated to try the case in the press. This is but a continuation of the campaign which they have waged in season and out of season, in which Marcantonio has been the immediate target but which he has so consistently and courageously championed.

Among the facts which a public hearing will inevitably establish, the ALP said, are:

● More registrants voted in the 18th congressional district than elsewhere in the City of New York. Out of 87,793 voters who registered in that district, 84,831 voted on election day, which made that percentage of voters the highest of all congressional districts.

"It is, therefore, indisputably clear that the voters of the 18th Congressional District participated to a fuller degree in registering their choice for representative than did the voters anywhere else in New York City," the Laborites said. "In the face of this fact, the headlines alleged 'intimidation' of the voters to keep them from the polls are exposed as deliberate distortions of the truth." *Wed. 12-4-46*

The facts themselves refute the inuendoes concerning alleged "intimidation" at the polls. It is well known every polling place in the city was covered by a regular detail of police. In addition each polling place in the 18th District was covered by special deputy assistant attorney generals who were appointed in unprecedented numbers for this district.

"As a matter of fact," the ALP noted, "it was the office of the state attorney general which came closest to acts of intimidation by directing that photographs be taken of the voters waiting to cast their votes in the polling places. So flagrant was this procedure that application had to be made to the Supreme Court of New York State by Congressman Marcantonio for an injunction to restrain this official interference with the freedom of choice by voters. *12-4-46*

"The same contempt for the basic ...al rights of the people demonstrated in the taking of the photographs is evident in the continued campaign of lies, rumors and hearsay designed to annul the plain mandate of the voters who returned Congressman Marcantonio to office on election day."

Marcantonio to Take Seat Without Challenge

PM New York, N.Y. Wed. 1-1-47

The House Campaign Investigating Committee yesterday declined to challenge the right of Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP, N. Y.) to a seat in the new Congress.

The committee investigated Marcantonio's victory in the 18th Congressional District over Frederick Bryan, Jr., GOP candidate. It attempted to determine, also, whether the fatal beating of Joseph Scottoriggio, a Bryan supporter, was part of a conspiracy to intimidate voters. The Committee declared:

"We recommended that when the investigation before the Grand Jury and by the local officials in the State of New York is completed and if facts are developed to warrant action, that the 80th Congress take cognizance of that fact and reopen the case." *New York, N.Y.*

Hearst Tips Hand On Scottoriggio Case

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

As District Attorney Frank Hogan's investigation into the death of Joseph Scottoriggio failed to turn up any new leads, Hearst's **Daily Mirror** yesterday called upon the new Republican-dominated Congress to refuse to seat Rep. Vito Marcantonio. *Thurs. 11-21-46*

The Mirror editorial, which admitted that it could "not pin any guilt on Marcantonio" in Scottoriggio's death, was the most outspoken example of the "get-Marcantonio" aspects of the case to date. Marcantonio defeated his Republican opponent in the 18th Congressional District, Frederick Van Pelt Bryan, by more than 6,000 votes, with not a single irregularity charged aaginst the American Labor Party Congressman.

In its editorial the Mirror attempted to tie Marcantonio to the proposed unseating of Negro-hater Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo (D-Miss). The Mirror has never in all its history condemned Bilbo, most notorious race-inciter holding office in the country.

If successful, the Mirror's proposal to unseat Marcantonio would set a precedent which could enable the Republicans to expel all their opponents from Congress and set up one-party rule. Action to unseat regularly-elected congressmen has in the past been restricted to those committing frauds.

The demand of the Mirror would face Marcantonio with the prospect of being judged by the party he defeated in the election.

District Attorney Hogan's office revealed that the collection of "material witnesses" it picked off the city's streets had failed to give it any new leads on the murder in the past 24 hours. All Hogan's office would say was that it was continuing the investigation, now in its 16th day.

Scottoriggio, a Republican district captain working for Bryan, was allegedly set upon by two or four men sometime between 5 and 5:30 a.m. on Nov. 5 as he left his home to go to a polling place. Alleged witnesses to the beating are Mrs. Cecilia Scottoriggio, widow of the slain man, and Joseph Ferraiolo, 34, of 410 E. 105th St., variously described as either a neighbor or close friend of Scottoriggio, who is being held in $25,000 bail as a material witness.

Mrs. Scottoriggio has claimed in statements that she saw the assault from her window, which is on the tenth floor of an apartment house diagonally across from the alleged scene of the beating. Ferraiolo was reported to have seen the attack while carrying a table to a polling place. Upon seeing the assault, Ferraiolo is reported to have fled the scene.

Four other men have been held by the District Attorney as material witnesses, although no evidence linking any of them to the case has yet been produced. The four are:

Joey Rao, notorious triggerman and thug with a police record going back two decades, held in $250,000 bail.

"Trigger Mike" Coppola, another thug long known to the police, held in $250,000 bail.

Dominick Petrone, 41, of 434 E

Demands a Congressional Inquiry to Determine Whether Vote in District Was Free

New York, N.Y.

MARCANTONIO ASKS FOR OPEN HEARING

Representative Vito Marcantonio broke a month's public silence yesterday to ask that open Congressional hearings be held as soon as

45a 1946

Elections (New York)

Polltax Bloc Seeks To Oust Marcantonio

Daily Worker New York, N.Y. Thurs. 11-28-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27 (UP).—Rep. John E. Rankin (D-Miss), said today a bloc of Southern Democrats may challenge the right of Rep. Vito Marcantonio, New York American Laborite, to take his seat in the new Congress. Rankin's statement followed an announcement that agents of the House Campaign Investigating Committee would be sent into Marcantonio's district to investigate the circumstances under which he was reelected.

RANKIN

Rankin said the Southern bloc probably would attempt to keep Marcantonio from taking his seat regardless of the outcome of the committee's investigation.

Marcantonio and Rankin have clashed frequently on the House floor in the past several years. Some of their bitterest debate has been over the Fair Employment Practices Commission, vigorously supported by Marcantonio and as virgorously condemned by Rankin.

Rankin said any one member can force a House vote on the right of another member to take his seat. Objection by one member is enough to bring a roll call vtoe on the question.

The House parliamentarian's office said that after such an objection, the House would either vote to let the member take his seat, to let him take the seat pending an investigation, or to prevent him from taking his seat pending investigation.

45a 1946 Elections (New York-- Cottoriggio killing)

Hit Smear-Marcantonio Drive

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-NY) declared yesterday in Washington that the plan of polltax Democrats to deprive Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-NY) of his seat in the 80th Congress would **"deprive the citizens of New York of their right of choice."**

Celler, a Roosevelt supporter for many years, declared that the move sponsored by the notorious Rep. John Rankin (D-Miss) would **"apply a sort of legislative lynch law to Rep. Marcantonio."** He said he believed the House would defeat Rankin's move. Sat. 11-30-46

Rankin is behind the move, Rep. Celler charged, because of his anger at Marcantonio's leadership in the fight against the polltax and other measures which the southern race-inciter has opposed.

"Rankin would punish Marcantonio for his opinions," Celler said. "It would be a sad commentary upon our much vaunted democracy if Marcantonio . . . were kept from his seat because of opinions opposed by Rankin."

Celler said that he was sure Marcantonio deplored the death of one of Frederick Bryan's campaign workers—Joseph Scottoriggio.

From labor sources, more support continued to rally to Marcantonio. The secretary of the National Maritime Union, CIO, Ferdinand Smith, yesterday charged that a "vicious smear campaign" was in progress "to thwart the will of the voters."

Smith demanded that the slayers of Scottoriggio be brought to "speedy justice."

The City Committee of the International Workers Order yesterday demanded of Gov. Thomas E. Dewey that he put an end to the inspired smear against Marcantonio and get busy finding "those who are really guilty of the brutal death" of Scottoriggio.

Mafia and Marcantonio

The News and Courier

The Election Day lynching in New York (it is not so described in the metropolitan press) is leading to interesting revelations. Federal authorities looking into the violent death of Joseph Scottoriggio report an apparent link with a revival of the Mafia and a tie-up with widespread criminal activities. Scottoriggio was a Republican poll watcher in the district where Representative Vito Marcantonio was reelected. Tues 12-24-46

The New York Herald Tribune reports from Washington that the house committee on elections may investigate the campaign of Mr. Marcantonio as a result of the revelations in New York. The federal authorities digging into ramifications of the murder (we call it a lynching) have traced the leadership of gambling and narcotics rings to Frank Costello, whose name has been in and out of the criminal and political news of New York for several years. The Herald Tribune reports that the Mafia and its allies have branches in New Orleans, Kansas City, Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Tampa, Las Vegas and Los Angeles. Charleston, S. C.

How many big city political organizations that have been polling majorities these last 14 years for the New Deal party have allied themselves with Costello's gang? While the investigating spotlight is being focused on Bilbo of Mississippi, and while the Liberalite press screams about Southerners generally, it would be well for the public to devote its attention also to the more sinister operations of the organized underworld, in cooperation with politicians, labor leaders and others preying on the populace.

11 More Cops Asked to Quit in Sweeping Purge

Daily Worker

The purge of high ranking police officials, suspected of failure to link investigation of the election-day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio with the "get Rep. Vito Mancantonio" movement, continued yesterday while District Attorney Frank Hogan succeeded in holding in high bail three alleged material witnesses.

Less than 24 hours after the sensational resignation of Assistant Chief Inspector John J. DeMartino and the sudden banishment of Deputy Chiefs Patrick Kenney and John Sutter from East Manhattan commands to Brooklyn, Police Commissioner Wallander ordered 11 high officers over the age of 63 to appear before the Police Surgeon's Board today for a "physical fitness" check. New York, N.Y.

This was seen as a move to oust from the Police Department with the least possible scandal additional officers who refused to conform with the theory that Scottoriggio's death was inspired and caused by supporters of Marcantonio.

It was reported at Police Headquarters that 150 detectives are slated to be replaced. But the shake-up in lower echelons is not scheduled to begin until Assistant Deputy Chief Inspector Frank Fristensky, former head of Wallander's confidential squad who replaces DeMartino, takes over as commander of East Manhattan cops. Thurs.

In Supreme Court Judge Aaron J. Levy ordered bail reduced from $250,000 each to $40,000 for Joseph (Joey) Rao and Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppola, alleged material witnesses whom the District Attorney has held in custody for 25 days. The prosecutor objected to the reduction and announced he would appeal the decision. The two were remanded back to the Tombs to await action on the appeal.

District Attorney Hogan, apparently stalling for time and hoping for some "lead" to turn up, told the court he had information on the Scottoriggio slaying which he "cannot reveal at this time." 12-12-46

At the same time, Emilio Tizol, 37, of 75 E. 103d St., was hauled into General Sessions Court before Judge James G. Wallace. Judge Wallace, who set the high bail for Rao and Coppola, held Tizol as a material witness, setting bail at $15,000.

Grand Jury to Hear Marcantonio In Election Murder Case Today

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Taking personal charge of the inquiry into the fatal Election Day beating of Joseph H. Scottoriggio, Republican district captain in the Eighteenth Congressional District, District Attorney Frank S. Hogan yesterday summoned Representative Vito Marcantonio to appear before a grand jury.

The prosecutor, who flew here from Bermuda where he had been vacationing, made it clear he expected the East Harlem Representative to sign a waiver of immunity before he would permit him to testify. He added that he confidently expected him to do so.

Representative Marcantonio accepted the subpoena, returnable at 1:30 P. M. today, at his home, 231 East 116th Street, where he has been confined for a week by a general run-down condition following his strenuous and successful campaign for re-election. Mr. Marcantonio assured two representatives of the prosecutor's office that he would appear today in answer to the subpoena despite his illness and doctor's orders.

There were reports during the day that either Mr. Marcantonio or his law partner, Michael F. Pinto, would issue a statement on the case, but none was forthcoming. Mr. Marcantonio's Congressional immunity is in effect only when Congress is in session, but in any event he could waive this if he so desired. *Tues. 11-19-46*

Mr. Hogan declined to say what phases of the case Mr. Marcantonio would be questioned about. The District Attorney, answering questions, confirmed the widely held belief that Mr. Scottoriggio, who died in New York Hospital Nov. 11, was the victim of a "political" assault directly connected with the bitter campaign in which Mr. Marcantonio, the Democratic and American Labor party candidate, defeated Frederick v. P. Bryan, the Republican nominee.

"Everything," said Mr. Hogan, "that has been obtained points exclusively to that motivation, but we are not excluding other possibilities."

The fact that election-district captains had been questioned in the investigation, he added, would indicate that his office had been working in that direction.

No Evidence Against Police

Taking cognizance of widespread whisperings, reporters asked Mr. Hogan whether the investigation had indicated that a police official had shown partiality toward one or the other of the political groups in the district.

"I want to be fair to the police," Mr. Hogan replied. "There has been no evidence to that effect."

The prosecutor added, however, that he would question anyone, police official or not, to whom testimony pointed. *The Times*

The possibility that one or more of the four men held in bail as material witnesses might eventually be held on a murder charge as actual participants in the beating was not discounted by Mr. Hogan. Asked whether any of these had been identified as Mr. Scottoriggio's assailant, the prosecutor replied: *New York, N.Y.*

"That I can't say, as it would give information which would be detrimental to the case."

4 Held in Prison Now

Now in city prison in default of bail are Joseph (Joey) Rao and Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppola held in $250,000 bond each, and Dominick Petrone and William Donaghy, under bond of $20,000 each. Rao and Coppola are pluguglies of the Prohibition era while Petrone, a former pugilist, is an ALP captain in the Sixteenth Assembly District, a Marcantonio stronghold. Only Donaghy would appear not to be have had an interest in the election as a partisan and because of this it was held likely that he may have been an actual witness to the attack.

Issuance of the subpoena for Mr. Marcantonio supplied the first intimation that a grand jury was sitting in the case. It developed that the jurors had been hearing testimony for a week and that half a dozen or more witnesses had been brought before them.

The slain man's widow appeared at the District Attorney's office yesterday. She was questioned by members of Mr. Hogan's staff for three hours. Asked what the questioning was about she said: "I couldn't say."

Mr. Scottoriggio, an accountant was 38 years old and lived at 400 East 103d Street. *Tues. 11-19-46*

THE SCOTTORIGGIO CASE:

Grand Jury Never Heard Hogan 'Witnesses'

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.
Thurs. 11-28-46

By Harry Raymond

Two alleged material witnesses in the election day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio have been held prisoner by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan for more than 11 days without being called before the grand jury.

This was brought out in Supreme Court habeas corpus proceedings yesterday, in which Judge Aaron J. Levy adjourned for two weeks decision on a plea of attorney David Goldstein to release the two or reduce their bail.

NO INFORMATION

The alleged witnesses, Joseph (Joey) Rao and Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppola, characterized by the district attorney as gangsters with long criminal records, were sent back to the Tombs in default of $250,000 bail each.

Detective James Tyndall, who signed the affidavit placing Rao and Cappola in custody as "necessary witnesses," testified he "got no information from them" concerning the slugging of Scottoriggio, East Harlem Republican election district captain.

GOP Aide 'Missing' After Talking to DA About Scottoriggio

PM New York, N.Y.
Fri. 11-22-46

Another mysterious note was injected into the Scottoriggio murder case today when it was learned that a Republican political club leader in the 18th (Marcantonio) Congressional District had "disappeared" from his home after being questioned exhaustively by the District Attorney.

A political associate of this Republican leader, when asked about his present whereabouts, said "You'll have to ask Grumet." He referred to Jacob Grumet, assistant district attorney in charge of the Homicide Bureau.

Grumet denied that the Republican leader was in custody, but would not specifically deny that he was "staked out" in a hotel room under constant watch.

The individual in question, an associate of Scottoriggio in political work, was understood to have made, or offered to make, a "deal" with Rep. Vito Marcantonio to swing support to him from Frederick van Pelt Bryan, the Republican candidate.

He was first questioned on Monday, Nov. 11, the day of Scottoriggio's death, and reportedly has not been home since. After his first questioning he talked briefly, in an anteroom to the district attorney's office, with an acquaintance from the neighborhood who had also been brought in for questioning. That acquaintance, who was not held, later quoted the Republican leader as saying:

"They think I did it. They're trying to pin it on me."

Meanwhile reports that police know the identity of a person who hired the sluggers of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican election captain fatally beaten on Election Day, were categorically denied by Police Commissioner Arthur Wallander.

Questioning of witnesses before the Grand Jury continued. The district attorney's office said that "several" persons were taken before the Grand Jury yesterday and "about 20" questioned separately by various assistant district attornies.

Wallander was asked yesterday afternoon to comment on the report that Scottoriggio was beaten by hired "goons" and that the name of the person who hired them was known to police.

"I don't know the name," Wallander said, "and if the police did know it, I am sure that by this time I would know it."

The report Wallander denied originated in yesterday morning's *Daily News*.

The story, as first outlined by the *News* and later adopted and embroidered by yesterday's *Post* and *Journal-American*, said that a person whose name had been given to police hired four thugs to beat Scottoriggio enough to keep him away from the polls that day, and also to take from him a list of voters to be challenged at the polls.

The thugs, the story went, both exceeded their instructions and failed in a major part of their purpose. They beat Scottoriggio so badly that he later died, which was not in the original plan; and they failed to take from him the list of voters to be challenged, which was still in his pocket when he was picked up after the beating.

New light was thrown yesterday on what has been one of the most confusing question marks in the case: whether Scottoriggio ever regained consciousness after he was beaten. Although reports the first day were that he had been conscious during the morning, and had talked both with police and with Bryan, recently the statement has been often made that he never regained consciousness. For example, the *Journal-American*, which on the afternoon of election day printed what purported to be a verbatim conversation between Bryan and Scottoriggio after the beating, two days ago said flatly that Scottoriggio never regained consciousness after the beating.

Yesterday James C. Sargent, a Republican poll watcher, said that Scottoriggio was definitely conscious at 8:30 a.m. Election Day, and that he talked with him at that time in the emergency room at New York Hospital.

"I am told he was conscious when he was picked up off the street," Sargent said, "but I wasn't there. However, I did talk with Scottoriggio at about 8.30 at the hospital. He only indicated to me he knew it was a political thing. He said they were trying to keep him from the polls. He didn't indicate to me any knowledge of who hit him."

Sargent, who is one of the witnesses questioned by the District Attorney, also said that Scottoriggio had told him before the election that he had been threatened with "loss of his job" for his political activity.

About two weeks before Election Day, according to Sargent, Scottoriggio told him he had been accosted as he was leaving Republican headquarters by someone who said:

"If you don't stop this canvassing, you'll lose your job."

Sargent said he then suggested providing physical protection for Scottoriggio, but that the latter "pooh poohed the suggestion" and said:

"I know all these fellows. They won't hurt me."

Asked whether he thought the reference to losing his job might have referred to Scottoriggio's possible liability under the Hatch Act, Sargent said he didn't know.

The Hatch Act forbids political activity by Federal employes. Scottoriggio, while employed as an accountant for the Federal Public Housing Authority, was serving as a Republican election captain.

Was Scottoreggio Lynched?

The News and Courier
Charleston, S.C.

The Republican election captain, Scottoreggio, was set upon, beaten in the darkness of early election morning. He died from his wounds.

Was Scottoreggio lynched? This question we ask for that had a Republican been set upon and beaten to death in Representative Rankin's Mississippi district, the legal presumption would have risen in the minds of all "Liberals" in New York and outlying districts, such as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Steubenville in Ohio where parsons pack pistols, that he was lynched.

A lynching by the anti-lynching bill which Spartanburg's Dr. Byrnes filibustered against so stubbornly, gallantly and long, is defined as a killing done by three or more persons. Two persons in V. Marcantonio's district, the 18th, New York city, have been arrested on suspicion of having beaten Scottoreggio, and two other persons have been arrested as material witnesses.

Plainly the beating of the man is thought of in New York as having been an act done by conspirators.

Notwithstanding that the cowardly and infamous crime apparently was done in the course of a political campaign, no great newspaper of New York has proposed that it be investigated by federal authority or that

the persons charged with it be tried in a federal court. The saying is that the guilty parties probably came from the "underworld at the edge of Harlem", which is an important part of New York city. We suppose that this is a deeper down underworld than any in a Southern state unless one be in the vicinity of Monroe in Georgia.

A congressional district of Harlem is represented by a preacher, and he and V. Marcantonio suck cider through the same straw if cider be to their taste and fancy. The preacher is a colored "Democrat".

Wed. 11-20-46

Civilization and culture are of many varieties, and those of Ethiopia and Senegambia are believed to be superior to those of Harlem and New York's 18th district.

Lynching—Under Another Name

The Praia and Courier

It would be unfair and libelous to say or to insinuate that Vito Marcantonio, reelected to congress in the 18th district of New York city after a turbulent contest, was in any sense responsible for the assault on Scottoreggio, Republican "election captain" that caused his death.

Charleston, S. C.

Marcantonio, candidate of the "Democrats" and American Labor party and supported by the Communists and negroes on "the edge of Harlem's underworld" knew nothing about it and disapproves it.

Thurs. 11-21-46

Nevertheless, V. Marcantonio is idolized by "Democrats", "liberals", negroes, Communists in New York, and his leadership goes far to fix the standards and practices of the underworld.

Scottoreggio was set upon, in the dark of election day morning, by thugs who, in the district of Rankin of Mississippi or in any Southern state district would be called lynchers by the publications of the upperworld as well as the underworld in New York, the nest of the New party, Rooseveltian "Democracy".

The News and Courier again denounces lynching and lynchers. Those who in cowardly and brutal way killed four negroes, two of them women, near Monroe, Georgia, will, we hope be arrested and upon conviction be punished for the murder they committed.

The circumstances point to the existence of the lynching spirit in the 18th district of New York, and if lynchers murdered Scottoreggio they are no better than lynchers in the neighborhood of Monroe.

If in a Harlem be a neighborhood in which a law-abiding citizen's life is in danger if he strolls into it, it would be no worse than what New York's "liberals" describe the South to be, a land of lynchers.

It may be that in New York lynching is done under another and politer name.

Election Captain Dies of Beating; Dewey and Police Pledge Capture

The Times New York, N.Y.

Tues. 11-12-46

Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican captain in the Eighteenth Congressional District, died at 1:40 P. M. yesterday in New York Hospital. His death was the result of a savage beating on Election Day that Governor Dewey termed "an attempt by left-wingers to intimidate others working for a free election."

As near as could be learned, it was the first murder here in forty years apparently stemming from an Election Day assault. It not only brought a pledge from Police Commissioner Arthur W. Wallander that "we will leave no stone unturned until we catch the perpetrators," but a statement from the District Attorney's office that "we won't pull any punches; if we step on anybody's toes it will be just too bad."

Mr. Scottoriggio's death also brought a sharp denial from Representative Vito Marcantonio that there was any violence "connected with my campaign at any time, nor have I at any time condoned any such actions." He said he personally had conducted an investigation and found no evidence to link the attack with the bitter fight in his district.

Frederick v. P. Bryan, defeated candidate in the district, called Mr. Scottoriggio a "courageous and sincere American who died in doing what he thought was the right thing," and added: "He was the victim of a cowardly assault, with no chance to fight back. I'm sure everything will be done to determine the persons responsible for this ghastly crime and bring them to justice."

Advised of Mr. Scottoriggio's death at Sea Island, Ga., where he is vacationing, Governor Dewey sent the following telegram to the widow:

"Mrs. Dewey and I wish to convey to you our heartfelt sympathy in the great tragedy that has come to you. The people of our State are deeply shocked and on their behalf I wish to assure you not only that every effort of the combined forces of the city, county and State of New York will relentlessly pursue those responsible for the murder of your husband, but that your own personal welfare and your daughter's will be a matter of continuing concern to all of us who are so deeply outraged."

Mr. Scottoriggio, 38 years old, was an accountant employed by a Federal housing project for veterans. He had lived for the last five years at 400 East 105th Street with his wife, Cecilia, and a daughter, Katherine, 14.

Times

Investigators for the District Attorney said he was a "crusader" with an unblemished record, although they had checked and discounted "propaganda" that he was involved in questionable activities in Harlem.

New York, N.Y.

Thirty Persons Questioned

He was slugged unconscious at 104th Street and First Avenue at 5:45 A. M. last Thursday while on his way to the polls. Two men were reported to have beaten him while two others stood by. Although thirty witnesses and election officials in the area were brought in for questioning, the results to date have been nil. As one detective said, "Trying to get anybody in that section to talk is tough."

Although Mr. Scottoriggio was operated on to relieve his head injuries, he never fully regained consciousness and was unable to give the police much help. Shortly before the operation Governor Dewey called on the injured party worker and then denounced the attack as "one of the most heartbreaking things I've seen in years."

Outraged that "this damnable crime" had spoiled a "perfect policing job on Election Day," Mr. Wallander said that any member of the department who makes an arrest or obtains information leading to an arrest and conviction will be "suitably rewarded." He said also that the case was the first thing Mayor O'Dwyer had asked about when he stepped off the train yesterday and added:

Tues. 11-12-46

"The Mayor feels pretty badly about this thing; we all do. A great many men have been assigned to this case and we are going to get action."

Assistant District Attorney Vincent J. Dermody of the homicide division, stepped up his investigation last night and questioned several persons at the East 104th Street station. He said the case was "wide-open" and while it had been necessary to move cautiously before, "now, we'll push this to the limit." He said he still hadn't estabilshed definitely if the motive was "political or personal."

Funeral arrangements for Mr. Scottoriggio have not been completed pending an autopsy today by the medical examiner.

Marcantonio to Testify In Death of Poll Worker

The Courier-Journal Louisville, Ky.

Tues. 11-19-46

New York, Nov. 18 (AP)—Representative Vito Marcantonio, handed a subpoena today in his sickbed, was called to testify tomorrow before a grand jury investigating the fatal election-day beating of a Republican poll worker in the American Labor Party-Democratic representative's East Harlem district.

Marcantonio, in bed for more than a week to build his strength after campaign fatigue, said he would answer the subpoena and would waive immunity.

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, cutting short a Bermuda vacation, arrived here by plane last night and took personal charge of the probe of the death of Joseph Scattereggio, 38, a campaign worker for Frederick Van Pelt Bryan, whom Marcantonio defeated in the 18th Congressional District.

Hogan, when asked if Scattereggio's death could be called a political slaying, said "everything that has been obtained points exclusively to that motivation, but we are not excluding other possibilities."

The district attorney declined to reveal what phase of the case Marcantonio would be questioned about.

Scattereggio was beaten as he walked from his home to his polling place and died last Monday.

Four men have been arrested as material witnesses.

Hearst Charges Not Backed by Cops

The Hearst Daily Mirror New York, N.Y.

The Hearst Journal-American, stabbing in the dark, led the pack of the commercial press yesterday spreading a big and violent lie. The two men said to have slugged and caused the death of election captain Joseph Scottoriggio, the Hearst paper says, "are believed to be

This falsehood was carried under a big headline asserting "two reds" face a quiz in the slaying.

Police of the E. 104 St. station, Communists."

Thurs. 11-14-46

however, declined to bolster the anti-red angle.

Meanwhile, residents in the U.S. Government-owned apartment

Police Commissioner Arthur Wallander said 20 picked detectives

witnesses under 24-hour guard, but

Hearst provocation. They said they

were optimistic about their investigation, stated that they had

fence committed by the Nazis, who

then blamed their crimes on their bitter foes, the Communists.

Police Shy Away from 'Political' Motives in Scottoriggio Death

Daily Worker New York, N. Y. Fri. 11-15-46

By Harry Raymond

No motives, political or otherwise, have been uncovered in the investigation of the fatal election day slugging of Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican election captain, the Manhattan district attorney's office stated yesterday.

"We are questioning a number of witnesses," a spokesman for District Attorney S. Frank Hogan said. "But there will be no statements about the motive until the case is solved. When the case is solved we will have a statement—and not until then."

Although Jacob Grumet, assistant district attorney, chief of the homocide division, stated earlier there was evidence to "indicate" the slaying might have been politically motivated, official law enforcement circles avoided further discussion of this construction of the case.

Gov. Dewey, without a single shread of evidence, was first to charge Scottoriggio was assaulted by "left wingers" supporting Rep. Vito Marcantonio against Frederick Bryan, defeated Republican candidate for Congress in the 18th District.

COVER-UP POSSIBILITY

The Governor's provocation was picked up and became the basis of a violent series of fraudulent stories in the Hearst press and other commercial newspapers charging the election worker was attacked by Communists.

Meanwhile, detectives assigned to the case announced they were working on the theory Scottoriggio's beating might have been planned by the assailants for election day to cast suspicion on his political opponents and cover up the real motive.

It was also learned loan shark activities and possible gambling debts were being investigated as motivation of the assault.

"It may be that the thugs picked election day," declared one of the 20 detectives on the case, "so that we'd figure the crime was strictly a political one. On the other hand, we're not overlooking the fact that it may well have been a political crime." 11-15-46

Early newspaper stories indicating the GOP election captain may have been struck down by men who sought to keep him from going to his polling place with a list of names of voters to challenge were revealed to be without the slightest bit of foundation.

One Emilio Tizol, convicted of disorderly conduct in connection with a pre-election fight in the 18th Congressional District, yesterday was quoted by Detective George Maurer as saying he wanted to see the D. A.

There was nothing to indicate Tizol knew anything of the Scottoriggio case.

Stories in the Hearst press picturing Scottoriggio as a law abiding citizen were also called false. Scottoriggio, it was pointed out, was operating as an election captain and GOP campaign worker in violation of the federal Hatch law forbiding federal employes from engaging in political activities. He was employed by the Federal Housing authority as an accountant.

The Hatch law, forced through by Republican and southern Democratic congressmen, was vigorously opposed by Rep. Marcan-

ALP VOTE AIDE HELD IN ELECTION DEATH

The Times New York, N. Y.

He and Another Man Seized as Material Witnesses—Widow at Funeral Asks Vengeance

Sun. 11-17-46

The first break in the inquiry into the fatal election morning beating of Joseph H. Scottoriggio, Republican district captain, came late yesterday, a few hours after the funeral of the victim, when two men were held as material witnesses.

Bail was fixed at $20,000 each and the two men were remanded to city prison by General Sessions Judge James G. Wallace pending its posting. The figure was asked in each case by Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet, head of the homicide bureau, who indicated he would continue working on the case all last night.

One of the men held is Dominick Petrone, 41 years old, professional prize fighter of fifteen years ago. He is an American Labor party district captain in the eleventh election district of the Sixteenth Assembly District, stronghold of Representative Vito Marcantonio. Petrone lives at 434 East 115th Street.

The second man is William Donaghy, 22, of 1487 First Avenue, a factory employe of the Henry Heide Candy Company. He formerly lived in Philadelphia.

Mr. Grumet would not disclose Petrone's connection with the case nor would he say where or when he had been taken into custody. He said only that Petrone was an ALP district captain and that he has been a corporation inspector in Manhattan since 1933. Corporation inspector's jobs have always been considered rewards for the faithful in city politics.

It was recalled that it was an avalanche of votes from the Sixteenth Assembly District that came in hours after the ballots from other districts that insured the election of Mr. Marcantonio, the ALP and Democratic candidate in the Eighteenth Congressional District, over Frederick v. P. Bryan, the Republican nominee. Mr. Scottoriggio, an ardent Bryan worker, was beaten by two or more thugs while on his way to a polling place on East 105th Street a few minutes before the polls opened.

Also in custody was Willie Tizol, ex-convict who is being held without bail for sentence on his conviction last Thursday on a disorderly conduct charge made by Byran supporters. They accused Tizol, a Marcantonio election district worker in a polling place near the one where Mr. Scottoriggio was attacked, of having threatened them. The Times

Earlier yesterday East Harlem paid its last respects to Mr. Scottoriggo. Residents lined the route of the funeral procession and 1,000 persons gathered outside St. Lucy's Roman Catholic Church at 344 East 104th Street, where the services were held.

As the body of her husband was borne into the church, Mrs. Cecilia Scottoriggio cried out to the throng that her husband had met death fighting Communism.

On the verge of hysteria, she turned to the crowd, saying:

"I want to tell you people he died so you could go on living in a democracy. I want you to know he fought against Communism and that is what he got. Remember, everyone of you . . ."

Here, her voice trailed off. Receiving assistance as she appeared about to collapse, she followed the pallbearers into the church. New York, N. Y.

Before that at the East End Funeral Home, 227 East 106th Street, where a crowd of 500 gathered, Mrs. Scottoriggio exhorted her kin to avenge her husband's death. Halting momentarily at the door of the first limousine following the hearse she said: "You boys are going to avenge his death." Her remarks apparently were addressed to the dead man's brothers and her own.

Riding in the funeral procession was Mr. Bryan. Patrick J. Hannigan, who was defeated by Mr. Marcantonio for the Democratic nomination in the primary but supported Mr. Bryan in the election, attended the funeral service.

The hearse was followed by two open coaches that contained floral offerings. The requiem mass was celebrated by the Rev. Louis Riccio, the pastor, assisted by the Rev. Jerome Murphy as deacon and the Rev. Vincent Lojacono as subdeacon. Sun. 11-17-46

Charles D. Breitel, counsel to Governor Dewey, denied a published report that the Governor might supersede District Attorney Frank Hogan unless Mr. Scottoriggio's assailants were turned up "in a reasonable time."

"We have complete confidence in the district attorney's office and in Mr. Jacob Grumet, head of the homicide bureau who is personally handling the Scottoriggio case," Mr. Breitel said. "The district attorney's office has been in constant touch with us."

A similar denial came from the Governor's staff at Sea Island, Ga.

MR. MARCANTONIO IS CALLED

The Times New York, N. Y.

The first action of District Attorney Frank Hogan, returning from an abbreviated vacation in Bermuda to take charge of the investigation into the fatal beating of Joseph Scottoriggio on Election Day, has been to issue a subpoena for the appearance of Representative Marcantonio before the grand jury. This should be a welcome invitation for Mr. Marcantonio. The victim of the assault was an active election worker for his unsuccessful opponent, Frederick Bryan, in the Eighteenth Congressional District. Mr. Marcantonio will thus have an opportunity to repudiate any suggestion that he was the potential beneficiary of this crime. Mr. Hogan's action will also be welcome to the public as an indication that his inquiry will be pressed to the limit, irrespective of whom it may involve.

There may have been a time in New York when political thuggery was accepted as an ineradicable element in our political contests. That day is long past. The indignation aroused by the murder of Scottoriggio is a reflection of the progress this city has made in assuring every citizen the right to vote without intimidation. For decades elections in this city have been orderly and without serious scandal. The public demands that they be kept that way.

Turbulence during the campaign pointed to the need of increased police vigilance in the Eighteenth District. It failed on Election Day. Under the terrified eyes of his wife, Scottoriggio lay dying in the street before help could reach him. The challenges he had prepared for the polls were never uttered. The inquiry into his death has already revealed shocking political conditions in the Eighteenth District.

The vigor with which Mr. Hogan is pursuing this inquiry will be applauded and supported by every honest man and woman in the city. The inquiry must be carried through to a definite conclusion. Tues. 11-19-46

As Told in New York

The News and Courier

Two of the newspapers of New York, The Herald Tribune and The Times, perhaps others that we have not seen, in unmeasured terms condemn the election day slaying of Joseph Scottoriggio, the Republican "election captain", in the Eighteenth congressional district of New York city. These newspapers can and do see the ugly crimes done at their doorsteps and in their streets. They do not attribute the slaying of the man to "klansmen" from the South. In their editorial remarks is highly creditable absence from insinuation that Southern white men had any part in this "shocking crime", the phrase with which The Times describes the homicide. Charleston, S. C.

"Shocking crimes" are committed in the South; many, too many, are reported every day. The murder of the four negroes near Monroe, Georgia, was cowardly as well as infamous. Fri. 11-15-46

Most of the crimes of violence done in the South are neither interracial nor political. Of those in South Carolina of which negroes are victims nearly all are done by negroes. As for political killing, it has not occurred in South Carolina in the last 20 years or longer.

The News and Courier reprints today from The Herald Tribune an editorial relating to the killing of the "election captain". We urge South Carolinians to read it. Nowhere in the South, certainly not in South Carolina, are "rowdyism and intimidation organized". . . In New York the "bitter campaign was largely a story of tumult and terror".

The News and Courier declares that in the South is much crime. Facts too frequently come to us that make us ashamed and sometimes despairing. We know of no congressional district in South Carolina in which conditions are dangerous to honest men. Not in our part of the country are they foul, as are those in the 18th district of New York city in which V. Marcantonio has been reelected by the American Labor party, the

One District, One State

The News and Courier

From dispatches of the press agencies received in the office of The News and Courier

"Democrats" and adoring negroes.

We wish that the white people of South Carolina could do something to clean up political conditions in New York city. It is learned with certainty that in the Eighteenth congressional district, (V. Marcantonio's district), New York city, more ruf-

Charleston, S. C. Mon. 11-18-46

fianism and thuggery were practiced election day than in the whole state of Mississippi, where Messrs. Bilbo and Rankin were elected.

Reaction Gangs Up on Marcantonio

By Max Gordon *The Worker New York, N.Y. Sun. 11-17-46*

The myth of our "classless democracy" was pretty well exploded by the violence and intensity of the unsuccessful Big Business drive to "get" Rep. Vito Marcantonio in the recent New York congressional elections. Here was a single Congressman from the entire east whom the workingclass could claim as its own. There were other members of Congress sympathetic to labor and friendly to its program. But none, at least from this part of the country, was actually labor's Congressman in the sense that Marcantonio was, and is.

But the capitalist class could not abide the fact that there was even a single Congressman whom the working class could absolutely depend upon to carry on consistently the fight for its needs and policies, who would not be budged in that fight.

And so it threw all the resources, the power and the cunning at its command into the battle to defeat him.

★

FOUR METROPOLITAN newspapers with the largest circulations in the city became daily campaign leaflets against this one congressional candidate, running in only one of the 24 districts in the city.

Though, as gutter newspapers, they were past masters at news manufacture and doctoring, it is doubtful whether even they had ever lied with such ferocity and imagination as they did in this campaign.

Marcantonio was specially marked for defeat by American Action, Inc., nationwide center for various profascist outfits initiated and backed by leaders of the National Association of Manufacturers; by national Republican headquarters, and by state Republican headquarters.

Wall Street firms sent dunning letters to financiers and other associates asking for financial contributions to this one campaign. The amounts spent to end Marcantonio's career are fabulous, though the actual figure will never be known.

Within the district, reactionary sections of the Democratic Party allied themselves with the Republicans early in the fight. They called upon Christian Front hoodlums from all over the city and socialite ladies from Park Ave. to invade the area.

Reactionary elements in the Catholic Church hierarchy were enlisted for Marcantonio's opponent, Frederick Van Pelt Bryan.

They brought in some Puerto Rican stooges of American imperialism in an effort to do a job in the Puerto Rican neighborhoods.

And they leaned heavily upon their fifth column inside the labor movement, the Social Democrats.

★

DAVID DUBINSKY, chief of the Social Democrats appeared in the campaign in three guises; as head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, which has many members living in the district; as the power behind the Liberal Party, whose following is virtually non-existent there; and as one of the powers in the AFL Central Trades and Labor Council which also lent its support to the anti-Marcantonio campaign largely because of Dubinsky's influence.

While the AFL's opposition hurt, Dubinsky's other efforts were a distinct flop.

Marcantonio's foes used only one issue and one technique; violent, unrestrained, hysterical red-baiting. They tossed aside every other issue and problem. They could not meet the congressman on any other ground and they knew it.

Unable to discuss his record, they tried to stampede the electorate by developing a hysteria against him as a "Soviet" agent who always followed the "Communist Party line."

In the final days of the campaign, the atmosphere in the district resembled that of Berlin of 1932 or Vienna of 1934. All that was lacking was a "Reichstag Fire" incident, and those close to Marcantonio's campaign expected that to develop momentarily.

Some 13 sound trucks toured the district every evening, hitting virtually every corner, screaming their "hate-Russia" and their hysterical anti-Communist slogans. Leaflets whose only message was Marcantonio's alleged "Communist" associations flooded the streets. Manning the trucks were well-known Christian Front elements, reactionary Democrats and Republican leaders.

★

BUT IF THERE WAS no "Reichstag Fire" before Election Day, the reactionaries are trying to manufacture one out of an incident that happened on the morning of that day.

A Republican election district captain in the area, one Joseph Scottoriggio, was attacked in the street and later died of his wounds. No one knows who did it. But already the anti-Marcantonio press is screaming for the congressman's scalp and talking about "Communist liquidators."

A "Citizens Committee," consisting of the leader of the anti-Marcantonio Democrats, the man Marcantonio ousted from Congress in 1944, is shouting for blood and is getting front page plays in the press.

The demand is being raised that Congress refuse to seat Marcantonio. If that fails, the death will doubtless be exploited in the drive to defeat him in 1948.

Whether it did it or not, the hoodlum press in this campaign, backed by major Big Business groups nationally, has shown it is no less capable of instigating such murderous crimes than were the storm troopers of Berlin.

THUG QUESTIONED IN POLLS SLAYING

The Times

Ex-Convict Becomes Central Figure in Investigation of Scottoriggio Murder

Willie (Emilio) Tizol, 37 years old, an ex-convict with a police record running back eighteen years, became the central figure last evening in the investigation of the murder of Joseph R. Scottoriggio, Harlem Republican election district captain, on Election Day. *New York, N.Y.*

Tizol had been under questioning for four hours at the District Attorney's office at 7:30 o'clock last night without any indication from Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet, head of the Homicide Bureau, that he had furnished any clue to the identity of the two thugs who fatally beat Mr. Scottoriggio at First Avenue and 104th Street. *Fri. 11-15-46*

The questioning, it was learned at the District Attorney's office, would continue late into the night and probably would be resumed today. High police officials who have been leading the hunt for the slayers were present but it was obvious that both they and Mr. Grumet were intent on maintaining secrecy on developments, at least for the night.

Tizol, whose police record shows a Sing Sing sentence of two to four years in 1937 for false registration in Harlem, earlier in the day had been held without bail by Magistrate Ploscowe in the Washington Heights Court for sentence Nov. 20. This was after a hearing on the charges of a man and two women supporters of Frederick v. P. Bryan, the unsuccessful Republican candidate against Vito Marcantonio in the Eighteenth Congressional district in East Harlem.

They charged that Tizol created a disturbance as a supporter near a polling place on East 105th Street, near Park Avenue, about eight hours after Mr. Scottoriggio was beaten by the two thugs. Four other men who had been arrested with Tizol at the time, were discharged in court the next day. But the hearing on the charge against Tizol was adjourned at the request of Tizol's lawyer, Benjamin F. Karpay, who is connected with the law firm of Pinto & Marcantonio, of which Representative Marcantonio is a member.

As Tizol was being led out of court to the Bronx County jail, to await his sentence, he turned to Detective George Maurer, who arrested him in the disturbance, and said, "Now that I've been convicted, I'll tell all I know at the District Attorney's office."

The Big Smear

Daily Worker New York, N.Y.

JUST as the election campaign against Rep. Vito Marcantonio had the well-known Nazi touch, so the follow up is in the approved storm troop style.

A Republican election worker in Rep. Marcantonio's district was hurt on Election Day. No one has the slightest idea who did it or why, including the Police Department and the District Attorney's office. *Fri. 11-15-46*

But that does not prevent the **World-Telegram** from writing editorials about "Communist liquidation."

The **World-Telegram** is here consciously and deliberately adopting the Hitler "Big Lie" technique, as befits a newspaper which is vying for the dishonor of becoming the New York edieion of the **Deutsche Beobachter.**

And it is doing it for the same reason that Hitler developed this technique, to do a job for Big Business on a political representative of the workingclass.

It is exploiting this unfortunate death in this cynical and brutal fashion both to cover up its own journalistic thuggery on behalf of Big Business and to prepare the groundwork for the next struggle to eliminate labor's foremost champion in Congress.

But by the very violence of its red-baiting against this one authentic spokesman for labor in Congress, the kept press is giving the people a bit of a lesson on the class character of America's newspapers.

Hogan Gets Jury to Delay Quiz of Marcantonio

P.M. New York, N.Y. Tues. 11-26-46

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan, who is probing the fatal beating of Joseph Scottoriggio, GOP district captain for Frederick Bryan in the 18th Congressional District, continued to obscure his avenues of investigation yesterday.

¶ Hogan announced the scheduled appearance before the Grand Jury of Rep. Vito Marcantonio, victor over Bryan, had been postponed one week. Marcantonio was to appear today. Emphasizing that the postponement had not been asked by Marcantonio, Hogan said: "This office requested another week to consider what questions to ask him."

¶ Hogan disclosed that he would appear personally in Supreme Court tomorrow to attempt to block habeas corpus proceedings in behalf of Joey Rao and "Trigger Mike" Coppola, now held as material witnesses in $250,000 bail each.

¶ Hogan refused to comment on a story that a Republican District leader was being "detained" by his office in connection with the case. He categorically denied a *Journal-American* report that quoted him as saying the man in question was being held in protective custody. "He is not a material witness," said Hogan.

Meanwhile, the fund which has been started for Scottoriggio's widow and surviving daughter reached $3800, including one $1000 contribution from a "high GOP official."

In another case involving a street brawl during the Marcantonio-Bryan campaign, Archangelo Covello, 30, a longshoreman was held for the Grand Jury yesterday by Magistrate Robert F. Mahoney, who simultaneously reduced bail from $10,000 to $5000. Covello is charged with having struck and kicked another longshoreman, Dominick Carica, 47, during a Bryan rally on Oct. 26.

Hearst Fakes Murder Charges--CP

Daily Worker. New York, N. Y.

The following statement was issued yesterday on the death of Joseph Scottoriggio by the State Secretariat of the Communist Party.

The reactionary forces in the country suffered a most serious defeat Nov. 5 when Vito Marcantonio was re-elected to Congress from the 18th Congressional district.

These reactionary forces failed at the polls. Now these same forces are attempting to cancel out the people's victory by a manufactured campaign of reckless lies and slanders in connection with the Election Day murder of Joseph Scottoriggio. Thurs. 11-14-46

This new campaign of super-lies is aimed at discrediting the labor and progressive movement, to incite to violence, and to create an atmosphere for further and widespread attacks upon the entire labor movement, including the ALP, the PAC, and progressives generally.

The Communist Party denounces the wholesale slanders now being made against the labor movement in the corrupt Hearst press and elsewhere in connection with Scottoriggio's murder.

In addition the Hearst papers are attempting to whip up a most slanderous campaign designed to connect "communists" with the responsibility for this deplorable crime.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey himself earlier led the reactionary pack of slanderers by recklessly connecting "left-wingers" with the murder.

The labor movement is warned that these tactics of Hearst and Dewey are very similar to the "Reichstag Fire" frameup by the late Hermann Goering. In seeking to connect the Communists with this crime, it is in order to lay the base for anti-labor legislation and other reactionary measures against the whole progressive movement.

The Communist Party opposes and never practices violence in labor or political struggles. This is well known.

It is the Bilbos and American Action and other pro-fascists who call for, advise, and instigate violence against labor and progressives. These were the forces that injected a note of violence into the Marcantonio campaign. This is also well known.

When the Hearst press raises the issue of challenging the seating of Marcantonio, it can be for no other purpose than to create a diversion from he democratic movement to unseat Sen. Bilbo, who openly preaches violence and race hatred.

The labor movement and the people of the 18th Congressional district must be on guard—against "Reichstag fires" in America!

STATE SECRETARIAT:
BOB THOMPSON,
I. AMTER,
BILL NORMAN.

Plenty of PM Theories, No Clue in Poll Death

New York, N.Y. Thurs. 11-14-46

By Tom O'Connor and Jack O'Keeffe

Police were working their heads off while waiting for a miracle in the Scottoriggio murder mystery today. Apparently every lead has soured and the cops are reduced to ringing doorbells all over the district, asking householders if they happen to have any clues handy.

This made an awkward situation for the afternoon newspapers and the tabs, most of which are committed to keeping the case on the front page until the last drop of juice has been wrung out of it. Rewrite men were obviously beating their brains trying to think up new leads edition by edition. Among yesterday's phonies was the wholly unfounded story that three eyewitnesses to the fatal beating of Joseph Scottoriggio at 5:45 a.m. Election Day were being kept under 24-hour police guard, with nine detectives detailed to the assignment.

A total of 78 detectives and investigators for the district attorney were working full time on the case. None of them has been able to find out yet whether the probable motive for the beating which turned into a murder was personal or political.

Scottoriggio, a 38-year-old accountant for a federal housing agency who had been active (in violation of the Hatch Act) as a Republican district captain in the 18th (Marcantonio) Congressional District, was set upon by either two or four men in the pre-dawn gloom of Election Day and mercilessly beaten. He died from his injuries last Monday.

The attack took place on the northwest corner of 104th St. and First Ave. in Lower Harlem. From the window of her 10th floor apartment at 400 East 105th St., the victim's wife, Mrs. Cecilia Scottoriggio, allegedly witnessed the beating. There have been varying reports, depending on what paper you read, that anywhere from zero to five other persons saw the whole thing. Neither the police nor the district attorney's office has officially said that any of these supposed eyewitnesses has been found or even exists.

The only part of the case which has cleared up in the nine days since the beating is the spelling of the victim's name. Half a dozen approximations have been tried. Many of the papers, including PM, switched to "Scattereggio" yesterday when that spelling was used on the death certificate. Presumably everybody will now switch to "Scottoriggio," the spelling which appears on a card above the victim's doorbell; the *Journal-American* yesterday published a facsimile of Mrs. S's signature using that spelling.

Almost all the newspapers continued to play the story in a way that left no room for doubt of Marcantonio's criminal culpability. The *Journal-American* led the pack with the statement that key witnesses were being guarded "to protect them from Red Fascist terrorists." The more respectable *Herald-Tribune* yesterday damned Marcantonio up and down for the fact that there was "suspicion" that his followers were responsible, even while admitting flatly: "There are no clews linking the homicidal assault with the Marcantonio organization."

In the saloons and salons the argument raged hot and heavy. The anti-Marcantonians and the pro-Marcantonians each had their theories of the crime, and on each side there were shadings of opinion.

Among the anti-Marcantonians, one group held that Scottoriggio's beating had been ordered by the fiery leftwing Congressman himself, if not by the Kremlin, as part of a planned campaign to terrorize Republican voters and keep them away from the polls. A second group held that Marcantonio had ordered the beating as a matter of personal revenge against a man who had been an active Marcantonio worker in 1938 and had left the fold.

Still another group supposed that Marcantonio had not actually ordered the beating, but that some of his more obstreperous followers had thought they would be doing their idol a favor by beating up one of his enemies. An even milder theory was that the episode was just the physical climax to a barroom argument between people of opposing political beliefs.

On the other side of the fence were the pro-Marcantonians, with just as many shadings of opinion. The most rabid were convinced that the whole thing was a Republican plot, with Scottoriggio the sacrificial lamb offered up in the greater crusade to "get Marcantonio." Others, not willing to ascribe such devious and heinous motives to the opposition, were of the opinion that it was sheer coincidence that Scottoriggio was a Republican worker and was beaten on election day. 11-14-46

This latter group argued that the men who gave Scottoriggio his lumps must have had personal, not political, motives; and they were willing to offer all sorts of theories as to what those motives might have been. But the basis of their argument was not any tangible evidence that Scottoriggio had done anything to provide such personal motives. Rather they reasoned that (a) Marcantonio, whatever else you may say about him, is a smart politician, and (b) having Scottoriggio or anybody else beaten up on the morning of election day just wouldn't have been smart politics, given the fact that a number of newspapers were obviously waiting hungrily for just such an incident with the campaign in his district. But this does not solve the crime. Mayor O'Dwyer and Commissioner Wallander may be sure the people of this city will not be satisfied until the police have run to earth the brutal killers of Mr. Scottoriggio and brought them into court for punishment.

A CRIME THAT MUST BE SOLVED

The Times New York, N.Y.

This city does not know, on the basis of any firm evidence yet adduced, that the killing of Joseph Scottoriggio in the Eighteenth Election District was a political murder. It does know that Mr. Scottoriggio was a Republican captain in this district; that he was assaulted, beaten and fatally injured on his way to the polls on election morning, and that this shocking crime came at the end of a campaign in which speakers in behalf of Frederick Bryan, the Republican candidate for Congress in the Eighteenth district, had been repeatedly subjected to abuse by hoodlums proclaiming their support of Vito Marcantonio. Wed. 11-13-46

Mr. Marcantonio says that he has made an investigation of his own and found no evidence to link this attack

The "Worlds" of Harlem

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

Two men of "the Harlem underworld" have been arrested on suspicion that they beat and killed Scottoriggio, Republican election worker, in New York city, Eighteenth congressional district, election day morning. In South Carolina it is a capital crime to beat and kill a Republican and so it is in Mississippi. Is any gentleman elected to congress from the Eighteenth district, New York city, a representative of the underworld of Harlem? Who is a representative of Harlem's upperworld or overworld? Fri. 11-22-46

The Sidewalks of New York

The News and Courier

In a Northern city, New York, on election day, in the congressional district that re-elected V. Marcantonio, "Democrat" and "American Labor" party man, beloved of New York's negroes and New York's "Reds", one Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican, was set upon, beaten by thugs. At last account he was in hospital and was suffering from concussion of the brain. The man when assaulted was not engaged in disorderly or noisy behavior. Had an incident of the kind occurred in Mississippi and the victim of it been a negro, would it or would it not have been "Bilboism"? Would or would not the holier-than-the-South statesmen and newspapers of New York and Detroit have contended that it proved that assailants on election day should be tried in federal courts? The question will not be answered by the New York Times, which has no editorial space for the discussion of election ruffianism on the sidewalks of New York. Sun. 11-17-46

In a "Democratic" District

The News and Courier

Joseph Scottoriggio, citizen of New York, United States of America, Republican "election captain," who was set upon by thugs in Marcantonio's congressional district November 5, as he was on his way to the polls, and was knocked on the head, died at 1:40 P.M. last Monday. The editorial columns of The New York Herald Tribune and of The New York Times last Tuesday contained no condemnation of the crime. There is no Southern state in which a Republican election captain, or election general, cannot go to the polls without being set upon by thugs. From New York's uplifting journals may come deprecating remarks about the killing of Mr. Scottoriggio, but space will still be found for picturing the South as the land of horrors. Charleston, S.C.

Comparative Safeties

The News and Courier

Mr. Scottoriggio, the Republican leader in the Eighteenth congressional district of New York city, who, on election day, was set upon and beaten by thugs, has died from his injuries, but this does not contain sug-sissippi that same day, will be contested. In New York city from attack by white men. Charleston, S.C. Wed. 11-13-46

s that the life of the average negro is safer from attack by white men in Mississippi than is the life of the average white man in

gestion that the title to the seat in the na-Mississippi that day no man was set upon. tional house of V. Marcantonio will be con-by thugs, beaten or killed. The evidence

DA's Scottoriggio Dragnet Set for Political Victims

Daily Worker
New York, N.Y.

By Arnold Sroog

District Attorney Frank S. Hogan is conducting a campaign of political intimidation in his questioning of more than 1,500 residents of East Harlem on the Scottoriggio murder, the Daily Worker learned yesterday. Mon. 12-2-46

Hogan's dragnet, which has pulled obviously innocent people out of bed in the early hours of the morning without explanation, has been concerned solely with ascertaining the political affiliations of those questioned and has not been directed at finding evidence leading to the murderer of the Republican election worker. In addition, Hogan has filled the district with a network of spies whose job it is to intimidate all supporters of Rep. Vito Marcantonio and to harass the activities of progressive organizations.

People having no connection with the Scottoriggio case except that they were known supporters of Rep. Marcantonio have been hauled down to Hogan's headquarters in the Criminal Courts building and kept cooling their heels for an entire day before being subjected to a few minutes' questioning on their political and labor affiliations. Detectives taking the citizens down to Hogan's headquarters have told them they were being "pulled in because they are Communists."

UNIONISTS PULLED IN

Because of the atmosphere of intimidation surrounding Hogan's actions the Daily Worker is not making public the names of the people so harassed by the district attorney.

Special target of Hogan's Gestapo-like dragnet has been trade unionists who have police records because of arrests while picketing. This is in line with the campaign of the Hearst press to picture all supporters of Rep. Marcantonio as "criminal elements."

One worker, a registered Democrat, who was hauled in by the district attorney's detectives was asked why he was not registered in the American Labor Party since he was a member of a trade union.

VOTING PRIED

Another, an enrolled member of the ALP, was asked how he had voted in the election campaign.

"I told them it was none of their damned business," he said.

Other typical questions asked most frequently by Hogan and his aides are as follows:

- Do you belong to a union?
- Who is president of the union?
- Did you canvass for Marcantonio?
- What other organizations do you belong to?

Most of the people are questioned for about 10 minutes and few, if any, questions are asked which have any relation to the murder. None of those questioned witnessed the attack, as all the eyewitnesses are being held in custody by the police, and most of them were in bed at the time.

SPYING ACTIVITIES

Mon.

Hogan's spying activities against the people of East Harlem, who voted overwhelmingly for Marcantonio, are strikingly illustrated by what he has done at 400 E. 103 St., the project house where Scottoriggio lived. 12-2-46

In this house Hogan has stationed detectives 24 hours daily in two ground floor apartments, 1E and 1F, ostensibly because the occupants need police protection. What these people need protection from is not exactly clear inasmuch neither of them witnessed the attack on Scottoriggio or were even more than casual acquaintances of the family.

Residents of the project charge that they are there to spy on the tenants' political activities and to intimidate people who might support actions started by progressive organizations. They declare that the police already know that the murderer of Scottoriggio is no one who lives in the house and that there is no reason connected with the case for keeping the detectives there.

The detectives could be put to better use, they say, looking for the murderer.

MARCANTONIO GIVES TESTIMONY TO JURY

The Times
New York, N.Y.

Representative Is to Appear Again Next Week—Fifth Slugging Witness Held in High Bail

Representative Vito Marcantonio pale from illness during his successful campaign for re-election testified for an hour and forty-five minutes yesterday afternoon before the New York County grand jury. It is investigating the fatal slugging of Joseph R. Scottoriggio, Republican election district captain, on election day. Wed. 11-20-46

Mr. Marcantonio was interrogated by District Attorney Frank S. Hogan after signing a waiver of immunity. The witness will return next Tuesday afternoon for further questioning. He was the Democratic-American Labor party candidate in the election.

The Representative had appeared before the grand jurors on a subpoena served the day before at his home, 231 East 116th Street. He was accompanied by his attorney, Peter L. F. Sabbatino, a former Assistant District Attorney.

Three hundred persons had gathered outside the Franklin Street entrance of the District Attorney's office in the Criminal Courts Building when Mr. Marcantonio emerged with his lawyer at 4:30 P. M.

"The first thing I am going to do is to return to my bed," he announced. "I'm sick. I need a rest."

Asked to comment on his testimony before the grand jurors, he replied:

"I've made a promise to the foreman of the grand jury that I shall not reveal anything on my testimony. As a member of Congress and a lawyer I shall respect that promise, although I might later have something to say in that respect." The Times

When reminded that there was no legal barrier to disclosure of testimony before a grand jury, the witness said: New York, N.Y.

"Regardless of that, I'm going to abide by my promise to the grand jurors." Wed. 11-20-46

This was followed by refusal to answer several other questions, including whether he was acquainted with Mr. Scottoriggio.

Mr. Hogan had suggested to the grand jurors that Mr. Marcantonio be requested to return for further testimony next Monday. The date was shifted to the following day when he announced his intention to leave the city over the week-end to rest.

The District Attorney reported later that a fifth man had been taken into custody and held in high bail as a material witness in the murder. He was Joseph Ferraiolo, a cleaner in the Harlem branch of the Welfare Department. The witness was with Mr. Scottoriggio when two of four thugs that suddenly confronted them attacked the district captain at First Avenue and 104th Street fifteen minutes before the polls opened.

Last Sunday Judge James G. Wallace of General Sessions held Joseph (Joey) Rao and Michael (Trigger Mike) Coppolo, two Harlem ex-convicts, in $250,000 bail each. The day before Dominick Petrone and William Donaghy had been held by Judge Wallace in $20,000 bail each. None of the four attempted to provide the bail.

Bail Is Fixed at $25,000

Ferraiolo's bail was fixed at $25,000 by Judge Wallace. A detective signed an affidavit that he had "reason to believe" that Ferraiolo had "information of value" that he had not revealed.

This sudden move came as a surprise. Ferraiolo had been questioned almost continuously since shortly after the attack, from which he had fled.

Another surprise during the day was the appearance of David Goldstein, a brother of General Sessions Judge Jonah Goldstein, before Judge Wallace. Mr. Goldstein demanded that he be permitted to see Coppolo as his lawyer and give him legal advice.

Judge Wallace declined to grant permission because of lack of written authorization from Coppolo or any of his relatives. Later in the afternoon, however, the lawyer produced authorization from Coppolo's brother, Ralph.

The court then sanctioned the visit over the opposition of Assistant District Attorney Jacob Grumet. When Mr. Goldstein arrived at the Tombs to see Coppolo visiting hours had passed.

Mr. Goldstein said he would be on hand early this forenoon to advise Coppolo. The lawyer expected also to become adviser to Rao.

Marcantonio May Be Ousted By Resolution

The Constitution
Atlanta, Ga.
Thurs. 11-28-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 27—(AP)—His re-election already under investigation, Rep. Marcantonio, of New York, Wednesday also was the target of a move to bar him by vote of the House.

A longtime foeman, Rep. Rankin, Democrat, Mississippi, told reporters it is probable that a resolution will be offered when the new Congress convenes Jan. 3 to deny the American Labor Party member his seat. Rankin indicated it would cite Marcantonio's affiliations and activities as grounds.

Marcantonio won both the Democratic and American Labor Party nominations and subsequently was re-elected. Patrick J. Hannigan, defeated in the Democratic primary by Marcantonio, continued to oppose the congressman in the Nov. 5 election. Hannigan declared his aim was to defeat "the mouthpiece in Congress for the Communist forces in this country."

Chairman Priest, Democrat, Tennessee, of the House Campaign Investigating Committee, said it is looking into Marcantonio's election. It seeks to learn, he said, whether the fatal beating of a poll worker for Marcantonio's Republican opponent in the last election was part of a plan to intimidate voters.

There is no appeal if the House should vote to bar Marcantonio. A majority can deny a member-elect his seat for any reason. The Constitution gives each branch of Congress full right to determine qualification of its members.

Probe Bares Scottoriggio's Fist Fights

New York, N.Y.
Mon. 11-25-46

Police investigation of the Scottoriggio murder mystery has turned up information that Joseph Scottoriggio, Republican election captain who died from a beating inflicted early election day, had in the last year been involved in numerous bitter arguments with his neighbors and at least two fist fights.

Neither of the fist fights nor any of the arguments has, so far as can be learned, given a useful clue to the identity of Scottoriggio's election day assailants. However, investigations are continuing into every detail of Scottoriggio's personal life.

One of the fist fights occurred in September and was "political" in origin. The other participant, also a resident of East River Houses, the low-cost Federal housing project in which Scottoriggio had lived for five years, was an ardent partisan of Rep. Vito Marcantonio and in general a "left winger." The argument which led to the fist fight, however, stemmed from a disagreement over Franco, the Spanish dictator, whom Scottoriggio defended.

Many of the bitter name-calling arguments between Scottoriggio and his neighbors in the project were also political in origin. He was an anti-Marcantonio worker in an overwhelmingly pro-Marcantonio housing project, many of whose residents credited Marcantonio with having been responsible for the project on that site.

East River Houses comprises two election districts, the 52d and 53d, of the 10th Assembly District. The vote in the 52d was 515 for Marc-

Scottoriggio also was involved in
veteran apparently be-
origgio had reported dissension in the project over com-
ct authorities, and he petition for the use of recreation
used Scottoriggio of rooms. He headed a Fathers Club
s own correct income which wanted to use the recreation
$4149.60 a year from rooms on certain nights for card-
Public Housing Au- rooms; the regular tenants' organi-
order to continue pay- zation wanted them reserved on
nt (Scottoriggio paid those nights for the children in the
k for a four - room project. Wed. 11-25-46
The result was a fist
was seriously hurt.

antonio to 238 for Bryan, and in family income are supposed to be
the 53d, 464 to 187. For the proj- reported immediately to the project
ect as a whole, the vote was 979 authorities, since they were de-
to 474, better than 2 to 1, for signed for low-income families, and
Marcantonio over Bryan. rents are adjusted according to
The other fist fight involved a income. It was fairly common prac-
veteran who accused Scottoriggio tice, however, for families with
of having "stooled" by reporting to sons returning from the service to
project authorities the veteran's re- delay reporting their return, in or-
turn from Army duty to live with der not to be required to pay
his family in the project. higher rent or face possible evic-
All changes in family size and tion.

They Are Cleveland Councilmen

Afro American

Augustus G. Parker (left) and Harold T. Cassaway (right) are shown welcoming Charles V. Carr, first Democrat to be elected to Cleveland's city council, just before he took his seat as representative of Ward 17 last Monday at City Hall. Carr, a prominent attorney, scored the major upset in the recent municipal elections when he defeated the veteran William O. Walker, Call-Post editor, running for his fourth term. Councilmen Parker and Cassaway represent Wards 11 and 18 in the council. Both are lawyers.

Ohio Gets First State Senator in 55 Years

The Call Kansas City, Mo.

Fri. 11-15-46

CLEVELAND. — (ANP) —The Republican tide which swept Thomas H. Hebert into the governorship of Ohio put into office the first Negro in the state senate in 55 years, the tidal wave also sweeping into office three Negroes to the assembly. Wholesale exodus to the Republican party, which included all of the city's predominantly Negro wards, also gave renewed hope that Ohio would be the seventh state to pass an FEPC law, if Republicans keep the glib promises made in their state convention.

Ohio's first state senator since John P. Green, "Father of Labor day," will be Atty. Harry E. Davis, who came in fourth with six senators to be chosen, with 173,477 votes. Davis has served three terms in the house and was once assistant city law director. He is an authority on the Negro in Ohio, and has collected enough material for a book on the subject. He is regarded as one of the state's most brilliant lawyers.

Negroes elected to the lower house are: Atty. William B. Saunders and Francis E. Young, who came in seventh and eleventh, respectively, with 18 candidates to be chosen.

Cincinnati, in Hamilton county, will send back to the house of representatives for the fourth consecutive time the Rev. David D. Turpeau who polled 132,855 votes to defeat his Negro running-mate, Democrat Ernest Waites, who pulled in 75,425 votes.

Cleveland's Atty. Frank C. Lyons, who was conceded a good chance to win, was unsuccessful, though he was 17th in the field of Republicans running for the lower house. Also successful was Atty. Chester K. Gillespie, of Cleveland, to whom odds had been given for a seat in the senate.

Atty. Frank Shearer of Columbus, the only Negro candidate ever nominated for office in Hamilton county on the Democratic ticket, lost his bid for a seat in the house. Shearer, president of the Vanguard league and chairman of the Congress of Racial equality, graduate from Ohio university 15 years ago, is regarded as one of Columbus' most progressive citizens. He was responsible for the elimination of the Republican incumbent, the Rev. Jacob Ashburn, in the spring primaries.

Most of the Negroes in Cleveland who had been hanging to the donkey's tail for the past several years returned this year to the Republican fold, including the 17th ward which last year elected its first Negro Democratic councilman, Atty. Charles V. Carr. Carr won by a scant margin of 40-odd votes over W. O. Walker, editor of the Cleveland Call Post, who had served three consecutive terms.

One of the reasons for Negroes in Cleveland joining in the Republican landslide which gave that party most of the major offices in the state is the fact that not one Negro was nominated for office on the Democratic slate.

Ohio Gets First State Senator In 55 Years

Daily World Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 11-10-46

CLEVELAND—(ANP)—The Republican tide which swept Thomas H. Herbert into the governorship of Ohio put into office the first Negro in the state senate in 55 years, the tidal wave also sweeping into office three Negroes to the assembly. Wholesale exodus to the Republican party, which included all of the city's predominantly Negro wards, also gave renewed hope that Ohio would be the seventh state to pass an FEPC law, if Republicans keep the glib promises made in their state convention.

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TURPEAU BACK

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Daily Worker Atlanta, Ga.

Sun. 11-10-46

Did Republicans Win or Lose?

The Black Dispatch Oklahoma City, Okla.

The election is over, and unlike a lot of others who run to cover because they seek to curry favor with transient power, we announce we voted for Olney Flynn, Republican candidate for governor, and Mike Monroney for congress. We voted for Flynn for the simple reason we felt a good house cleaning would help the state political structure, and we wanted some method by which we could protest against the broken promises of Democratic candidates for governor and Democratic platforms that make solemn pledges during the campaign and forget those promises immediately following inauguration of the successful candidates. Sat 11-16-46

On the other hand, we voted for Mike Monroney because we believe in the New Deal of the late President Roosevelt, and we knew Carmon Harris and all of the rest of the Republicans who offered themselves for the national legislature had pledged themselves to get rid of the New Deal. They focused their vow in the slogan, "Haven't You Had Enough?" Mike Monroney was elected, but we seriously doubt that a Republican congress, which we now have, will pay much attention to his plea for continuation of New Deal policies and program.

Immediately the president is going to be stripped of his war-time powers. Some of them should go, but with the passing of some of the war-time restrictions there will also be rooted up some of the substantial features of Roosevelt's governmental theories which have meant so much to the American people.

People are sick and tired of war-time restrictions and controls, and the election last Tuesday proves nothing more than what we have already known. After every war the voters turn the war-government out of office and return those who promise more freedom and less restraint. It will be extremely difficult for the Republican party to deliver to the American people the type of existence pictured in the past six months by Republican candidates from thousands of political platforms.

The truth is, the defeat of the Democrats in this election may be fortune in disguise. It should be kept in mind that nothing has been done in the past fifteen years to correct economic evils that brought about the depression of 1929. Roosevelt's "alphabetical" palliatives offered temporary relief to the masses, but in the main, aside from insurance on bank deposits, the passage of the National Relations Act, which has given labor its first substantial prop in the economic structure and the reorganization of the supreme court personnel, there has been nothing done to correct the basic evils that brought about the economic depression of 1929.

This means that so soon as the synthetic prosperity that came to the nation during war time has been dissipated. American citizens will find themselves back at the industrial stalemate and economic paralysis of the late '20s. Such industrial difficulty should be developing within the next forty-eight months, which means that a Republican president in 1948 will find himself surrounded by national disaster, identical to the terrible situation President Hoover inherited, and now called the Hoover depression. All who are honest and sincere, who look back to the administration period following the refusal of President Coolidge to attempt re-election, know that Hoover was not responsible for the depression. He just happened to be standing by when the storm broke that no American statesman could have halted.

The Republican party, in order to win this time, promised much the party will be unable to deliver. When controls are completely yanked off and living costs spiral to unforgivable heights, they will not be able to answer questions regarding the high cost of living, and if they do not release controls they will be charged with faithlessness with the people. It is going to be "hell if you do and hell if you don't" in dealing with a nation bordering on the verge of hysteria and neurosis.

You see, there's radical difference between being an opposition political party and the party responsible for the functioning of government. The fellow standing on the sidelines always shows up well as he tells the fellow doing something how he should do it, but the shoe is on the other foot now. The Democrats will spend the next two years making suggestions to Republicans and the American people as to how things should be done. It could be that in action, and in order to keep the wheels of government rolling, the Republicans may be required to do some things that will classify them as radicals, and turn-about, as you know, is fair play.

If permanent prosperity comes to this nation it will come through a program that more evenly distributes the wealth of the county; it will mean that Republicans must become more interested in the welfare of the masses and steer away from the reactionary program of Senator Taft and others. Roosevelt, with NRA sought to peg wage scales in America. His program of housing, health and education was geared to the federal structure. When the Republicans cast the New Deal into the discard, do they mean they are going to get rid of the Roosevelt program of housing, health and education? What do they have to substitute for that program?

Will it be possible for the Negro to retain his industrial position with the elimination of FEPC? What will the Republicans be able to say to the black vote when, in the absence of this federal function, Negroes are forced back into the ranks of menials and lose their rating as skilled artisans? Will they be able justifiably to explain to Negro business men, in such an hour, why the spending power of the blacks has been almost completely wiped out?

The returns from Chicago and New York show that in the last election the Negro remained with the Democratic party. The record in this state exposes the same view. It means that the Republicans have not yet successfully wooed the Negro away from the Democratic party; it means that unless the party of Lincoln, under its 1946 leadership awakens to the true sense of responsibility to the masses, it will find in 1948 a Frankenstein facing them, and that the Negro vote will be an integral part of that political terror.

The Cavalier

Times - Dispatch

By Thomas Lomax Hunter

A FRIEND points out to me that in a column called *On Broadway*, written by a man called Walter Winchell there recently appeared this statement. "There was a free election in Berlin this week, but we'll save our whoops until the same free elections are held in Dixie."

We are not interested in Mr. Winchell's whoops, and if he ever gives any for Dixie we shall feel none the worse for that. We cannot help wondering what this Mr. Winchell knows about Dixie's elections. The test of a country's elections is the quality of men it elects. Virginia is ready to measure itself with New York City by this test. Virginia is just a part of Dixie but so is New York City just a part of the land which lies north of Dixie. Richmond, Va.

All Mr. Winchell knows about Dixie is what he reads in the papers. The complaints which are made by the people who live in Dixie against the election laws of this solid Democratic part of the land are made by those whose complaints are based on the fact that they cannot induce enough people to vote for them to get elected. Down with us the people suffering this form of discontent call themselves "liberals." Fri. 11-1-46

THE chief reason for the continuation in office of our Bilbos and our Talmadges is the opposition to them which has for its inspiration the sort of "liberalism" which comes from New York City and which is inspired not by the desire to help Dixie, but by the desire to cause trouble for Dixie and to stir up animosity and factional fury in the land where old times are not forgotten. Dixie, if it must choose, had rather have its Bilbo than the applauding whoops of Mr. Winchell. That puts the matter in the well-known nutshell.

Way down South in Dixie, those who are loyal to that land and love its traditions think of a free election as one free of the meddling of Northern Carpetbaggers and Reconstructionists, and we are determined to have that sort of elections and Mr. Winchell may save his approving whoops for whatsoever it may be that he approves. Maybe Mr. Winchell is saving his whoops for Mr. Dewey, about to be elected by a landslide of New York voters.

Since its right of elective franchise was restored to it at the end of Reconstruction, the South has been voting the Democratic ticket through thick and thin, for better or for worse, thinking that in doing so it was voting against the party of Reconstruction and the Carpetbagger. Lately it has found the so-called Democrats intent on shattering it to bits and then remoulding it nearer to their heart's desire, and lately, to defend itself from these new Reconstructionists it has entered into alliance, through its representatives in the Congress, with the Republicans to ward itself against the new invaders.

DIXIE has represented Democracy within the New Deal. Its heart has never been with many of the modernistic trends within the new Democratic party. It has never been for the CIO-PAC Democracy. The brand of Democracy represented by the *New Republic* and *PM* has never had any vogue in Dixie. When you cross the Potomac River going South you enter into a region of Democracy very different from that which prevails on Broadway.

Our election laws were made by us to meet our own needs and not to elicit approving whoops from Mr. Winchell and his school of thought. The men of Dixie fought the Japs and the Germans until they surrendered unconditionally. Mr. Winchell wants to still fight these beaten people, in his own way of fighting, even when they are no longer resisting.

Dixie is busy protecting itself against those who would remake her on the pattern of New York City. Our political and social structure suits us and when it needs changing we shall change it ourselves, and we shall do this wholly indifferent of the whoops of Mr. Winchell and any other anti-Southerner whoopers who don't like Dixie and its ways.

SOUTH VIEWS VOTE WITH EQUANIMITY

The Times

Conservative Democrats Voice Relief at Rout of 'Crackpots Riding Party's Coattails'

New York, N.Y.

By HAROLD B. HINTON

Special to The New York Times.

NASHVILLE, Tenn., Nov. 6 — The recapture of Congress by the Republicans was viewed today with an equanimity bordering on mild satisfaction by the rank-and-file conservatives who run the Democratic party in the South. Like the Coolidge voters of 1924, they seemed to be relieved at a return to normalcy.

Old-line Southern Democrats simply do not feel at home when they are in the national majority. Their common platform of States' rights, low tariff and white supremacy is broad enough to cover the political field in their own constituencies and they are ill at ease when their party has to graze in more controversial pastures in charge of the Federal Government.

Leaders of well established political organizations, such as that headed by Edward Crump in Tennessee, probably regard a little anxiously the loss of Federal patronage which would be involved in a change in Administration in 1948. In most of the South, however, the political machines are local and personal in nature and Federal patronage is not essential to their continued well-being.

A Memphis conservative Democrat and close friend of Mr. Crump summed up the viewpoint of the controlling school of thought as follows, early in the campaign when it was less apparent that the country was going to swing to the Republicans: Thurs. 11-7-46

"The hope of the country lies in keeping the Democratic party just as conservative as the Republican party. In that way, when we have occasional upsets, no great danger is involved.

"When the Democratic party swings to the left, it is time for the Republicans to take over the national government. We can keep alive an intelligent opposition in the solid South, and we will not have to go along with those crackpots who have been riding on the party's coat-tails."

As things work now, in the one-party states of the Southeast, alignments of various factions are fluid and shifting. Elections are fought over men, not issues. Allegiances between leaders change with almost every election.

While national issues cannot be said to have played any important part in the southern Democratic primaries during the summer, it is true that the successful candidates, such as Senator Theodore G. Bilbo and Representative John Rankin in Mississippi, made more capital out of denouncing the Wallaces, Peppers and Ickeses of their own party than they did by viewing the Republicans with alarm.

Another profitable target of opportunity for nearly all hard-pressed candidates in the Southern primaries was the Political Action Committee. It combined opportunities to exploit the overwhelming anti-union sentiments of the rulers of the Southern Democratic party with openings for denunciations of communism with which these speakers sought to link the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Most Southern members of the eightieth Congress will probably feel more at home in a national legislature where the majority can be expected to share their views on such matters as price controls and restrictive labor legislation. As for the Fair Employment Practice Commission bill, the leading legislative bogey that was dangled before Southern voters, they can rely on the time-honored weapon of filibuster in the Senate to quell any dangerous enthusiasm the Republicans might show for the project.

Revolution and Confusion

The News and Courier

However a small minority of the white people of South Carolina went to the polls last Tuesday and elected the nominees of the white primary to the offices, in the state was a notable change if not a revolution, in public opinion. It was not vocal. It was not translated into action. But it was real.

Fourteen years ago the South Carolinians would have heard reports of Republican victories with a feeling of disappointment slightly removed from despair. They would have thought of the commonwealth as doomed to oppression. They would have recalled the years of "Reconstruction". They would have interpreted Republican victory as the sentence of their commonwealth to humiliation. At that time they thought of the friendship of Northern Democrats as their one hope of escape from punishment as "war criminals" still under condemnation for the defense of state rights by their grandfathers.

The white people of South Carolina who did not rejoice that New "Democrats" were defeated last Tuesday at least have looked upon their reverses with indifference. It has dawned upon them that the national "Democratic" party is not the party that so long stood between them and the vengeance of conquerors. They had hated the name "Republican", believing it a synonym for bitter detestation of the South and of all things treasured by the South's white inhabitants.

They have discovered that the national "Democratic" party, appealing to the segregated and large negro vote in great Northern cities, has turned its back on them, betrayed them. Not yet do they know that another party, the Republican party, will befriend them, will endeavor to understand them, will try to see their grave problems as they themselves see them, but they are driven to recognition that the old party of faithful Democrats of Hendricks, of Hancock, of Voorhees, of "Sun Set" Cox, of Cleveland, of Bryan too, that stood between them and utter degradation and calamity no longer exists. Charleston, S.C.

They do not know that the Republicans will protect them. They are confused. Not yet can they see a party to which with confidence they can look for help. They are only aware, sadly aware, that the party loyal to the late President Roosevelt's domestic policies, of which Henry Wallace is the inheritor and champion, is hostile to what they hold most dear. They are not blind to the plain truth that disappointment caused by last Tuesday's results is keenest to the "Progressive Democrats", the negro "Democrats", in South Carolina, is confined to them and to office-holders who remain national Democrats for the money that is in it. Thurs. 11-7-46

The Southern white people are not ready to "turn Republican". That step they may never take. They know not where to turn. One cannot predict, but the revolution in feeling of Southern white people is greater, more profound and intense even than the turning from the Roosevelt party by Northern white people to the party called Republican. Nothing do they now clearly perceive beyond that they have been deserted by the national party to which so fervently and affectionately they have adhered. For that they have received the news of "Democratic" defeats last Tuesday wtih indifference if not with gladness.

Prediction that the directors of the national Republican party will be able to sympathize with them would be useless. One could have no firm ground upon which to base it. We are not predicting it.

Most that Southern white people can hope for is that in the Northern and Western states the substantial and real Americans will think of them as friends worth having. The South had the friendship of many of them in the years following 1865 and without their help the Southern land would not be this day habitable by a white race.

Dixie in the Political Doghouse

Times-Dispatch

THE South will now take up its residence in the political doghouse for an indefinite period. Repeated warnings that the Republicans would come back to power some day, and that Dixie would be utterly ignored by the GOP when that happened, failed over the years to dent this region's firmly held Democratic allegiance. The result is that we are now without appreciable influence in national affairs, and are likely to remain so for quite a while.

From 1933 to 1946 the South has been represented at Washington by a series of influential political leaders, including Cabinet members, as well as Senators and Congressmen of long standing who reached the heights by virtue of committee seniority. But now that the Republicans will take over all committee chairmanships in both branches of the national legislature, the North and West will dominate Congress completely. Those regions also will contribute the Speaker of the House and the president pro tem of the Senate—positions now held by Southern Democrats.

What of the legislation which is to be pressed by the dominant party in Congress? It is likely to be in some ways distasteful to the South. The Republicans are certain to plan their strategy with the presidential contest of 1948 in mind. This means that they will make every possible appeal to the Negro vote, which now is said to control the balance of power in 17 non-Southern States, and which formerly went for ROOSEVELT. That appeal can best be made by vigorous support of such measures as the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission, and passage of a Federal antilynching bill and a bill calling for Federal repeal of the poll tax.

Fri. 11-8-46

The North and West know that the South does not relish these bills, but those sections don't care particularly how we feel about the matter. Both Republicans and Democrats in those regions are for the legislation in question as politically advisable. While the Democrats were dominant on the congressional committees, these measures could usually be killed by influential Southern members of the party who held many committee chairmanships, but all that has changed. Since Tuesday's landslide the South is sure to experience much greater difficulty than before in stopping this legislation. Indeed, it seems probable that the South now has nothing left in its arsenal except prolonged filibusters. It is a question whether such obstructionist methods can be resorted to by this region indefinitely.

Except in the border State of Kentucky, the recent election showed no appreciable Republican trend below the Potomac and the Ohio. The South dumbly and docilely voted the straight Democratic ticket, as it has been doing for two generations. While MR. ROOSEVELT was in the White House, and the South had many of its sons in high place at the national capital, it was difficult to make the average Southerner see the bleakness of the political prospect which would inevitably open before this section, once the GOP came back to power. That has now happened. Furthermore, the situation is likely to be intensified two years hence, with the re-election of a Republican President.

So the indications are that Dixie is about to resume the unenviable status it occupied under PRESIDENTS HARDING, COOLIDGE and HOOVER, who scarcely knew the region was on the map. For its impending banishment to the outer darkness of a political Gehenna, the South has only its own lack of independence and its slavish following of a single party to blame.

Arnall Mantle To Folsom As Reaction Sweeps South

Defender Chicago, Ill.

Sat. 11-16-46

By JOHN L. Le FLORE
(Defender Staff Correspondent)

ATLANTA — The election of James E. "Big Jim" Folsom as governor of Alabama was the only thing that saved progressive forces in the South from being wiped completely off the map by the rising tide of reaction in the recent election.

Two notable anti-Negro victories led the parade of the reactionary forces here. They were passage of the vicious Boswell Amendment, that, ironically, occurred in Alabama, and to which Folsom was bitterly opposed; and the defeat of Mrs. Helen Douglas Mankin by a Talmadge henchman in this city.

Proponents of the Boswell Amendment openly admitted that their intention in urging adoption of the measure was to strip the Negro of his recently won vote.

Folsom For Arnall

On the brighter side, with the election of Folsom, the mantle of progressive leadership that has been worn by retiring Gov. Ellis Arnall of Georgia goes to a neighboring state.

But even Folsom's popularity was unable to stem the tide of reaction as recorded in the vote for the Boswell Amendment.

Folsom stands for interracial goodwill, increased old age pensions, a minimum school teachers' salary of $1,800 annually, and the night before elections, he went on the radio to condemn with fervor the Boswell Amendment.

On the other hand vicious anti-Negro attacks were made by radio by Boswell Amendment supporters such as Former Gov. Frank Dixon, ex-Ku Klux Klan Atty. Horace Wilkinson, and State Democratic Executive Chairman Gessner T. McCorvey. Gov. Chauncey Sparks also supported the amendment.

Another court battle in prospect is that of Mrs. Mankin, who is expected to challenge the omission of her name from the ballot in the general election. By standards used in most states, she was nominated in the primaries, but the Talmadge gang ruled her out and in the Nov. 5 election only the name of James C. Davis appeared.

Negro Lawyer Voted Into Office In Tenn.

Defender Chicago, Ill

KNOXVILLE, Tenn.—Atty. Carl A. Cowan, aggressive young Negro citizen of this city, was elected to the office of Justice of the Peace in the first civil district of Knox County last week. Sat. 8-24-46

Negro Elected To Town Council

The Informer Houston, Texas

OAK RIDGE, Tenn.—(ANP) — A Negro was elected here on October 5 to the town council to represent the Negro section known as Acarborough district. Payment of the poll tax for voting was not required, but only 2,175 turned out to the polls. Three of the members of the council were up for re-election Sat. 10-19-46

Robert H. Wadkin, the newly elected Negro member, will serve with 11 whites who were elected on the same day. They will take office on Oct. 14 and thereafter elect one from their number to serve as chairman of mayor.

Oak Ridge came into prominence as the site of large scale atomic energy survey. Because of the large scale operations there within recent years on atomic research the town has grown immensely and is taking on added sigificance.

DISTRICT COUNCILMAN NAMED IN 'BOMB' TOWN 10-19-46

The Afro-American Sat.

OAK RIDGE, Tenn.—Robert H. Wadkins was elected to the city council here on Oct. 5 to represent the all-colored Scarbrough district. The poll tax payment was waived, and Wadkins received 393 complimentary votes.

Baltimore, Md.

GALVESTON CANDIDATE LOSES IN ELECTION

Afro-American Sat.

GALVESTON, Tex.—Thomas D. Armstrong, businessman of this city, was defeated in the school board election held recently receiving 1900 votes out of a possible 5,562, with the voting strength of the colored people 4,400. 4-27-46

Negro Gets 7198 Votes in Houston Election

The Worker

By Bill Crawford and Jack Green New York, N.Y.

HOUSTON, Texas.—For the first time in 73 years—ever since the Reconstruction period—a Negro candidate ran for city office in this big industrial city, and came within 5,000 votes of being elected. Sun. 11-17-46

Backed by both Negro and white voters, Rev. L. H. Simpson of the Baptist church, received 7,198 votes in the Democratic primary in his race for city councilman. The top vote for councilman was registered by CIO oil worker Clyde F. Fitzgerald, who received 29,254. The lowest winning vote was 13,224.

Preliminary analysis indicates that 50 percent of the Negro candidate's votes, roughly, came from white voters; and Rev. Simpson received a significant number of votes in every precinct in the city. It is also significant that the strongest vote for Simpson in the white precincts was in the solid workingclass areas, where the outstanding labor man, Fitzgerald also scored most heavily.

★

REV. SIMPSON aptly summed up the campaign in a statement after the close of the primary:

"Our goal was not reached, but the forces for progress have been advanced past the 50 yard marker, into a scoring position."

This campaign indeed reflected the profound stirring of the masses of the workers and people generally in Texas; it reflected the effect of the Southern organizing drives of labor, especially the CIO; it reflected the unshakable courage and militancy of the Negro people; it reflected the all-decisive alliance growing between the Negro people and the labor movement. And one must add, it reflected the effects of a great war against fascism.

Projected by the powerful Baptist Ministerial Alliance of 220 Negro churches, the candidacy of Rev. Simpson received from the very beginning the support of the Communist Party whose state chairman, Ruth Koenig, spoke at the first Simpson rally.

The National Maritime Union, at a regular membership meeting, unanimously adopted a statement in favor of a Negro running for public office as a step towards more representative government in the South.

WESTBROOK PEGLER

The Constitution

Says It's All Over Now

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 11-7-46

NEW YORK—The Roosevelt era is over and the problem of the Republicans now is not the winning of the presidency in 1948, but the selection of their man for President, Dewey, Taft, Bricker or Warren.

Even those who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt and those who quit him after the first term will concede that he was one of the giants of his time, great in the sense that he was a man of power. His peers were Stalin and Hitler.

His power was "personal" and his wife did not err when once she referred to him as the "elected ruler" of the United States. That she should so regard him was natural, for actually he did "rule" not only his country but many mutually bitter and irreconcilable elements which composed his New Deal party. No other personality could have held together in one political household the standard, old-style Democrats of the deep South and the Communists of New York and Hollywood who constantly snarled horrendous insults but yielded, in all showdowns, to their chief. That contrast within Roosevelt's New Deal was only one of many.

CATHOLIC AND STALINIST united in support of him. The survivors of the Ku Klux Klan in Georgia, Texas and other southern States must have been Roosevelt voters, for they were Democrats. He put Theodore Bilbo into the Senate by hand and sent Hugo Black to the Supreme Court and these two Klansmen found themselves party comrades of the Negro Democrats of the northern industrial centers and of Sidney Hillman, Bernard Baruch and Felix Frankfurter, Ed Kelly, Frank Hague and Jim Farley.

William Green, President of the AFL, and Philip Murray, President of the CIO, rivals in a union war, were Roosevelt men and, in his name, Harold Ickes, who had attacked Kelly and Hague as corruptioneers and Fascists, could sit down with them to nominate the boss for his third term.

THERE IS A TEMPTATION to wonder whether, had Roosevelt lived, he could have prevented the disintegration of this Balkan empire of natural enemies and rivals. Surely, the collapse would have been less abrupt, for he was a great improviser, but he was growing old and repetition of his tricks had made them familiar in type; people could anticipate his delivery. He had never had to "explain" but always changed the subject instead, so inconsistency and hypocrisy went unchallenged except by the opposition.

The fact that Roosevelt himself held the New Deal together by the force of his personality is shown in the first national election since his death. When he was gone, the enemies within the group fell to fighting. Northern carpetbaggers, who had sent Marcantonio, LaGuardia, Coffee and cantonio, La Guardia, Coffee and Guffey to Congress, attacked Bilbo in Mississippi, egged on by Marshall Field, who, in 1944, had not employed a single Negro in his editorial department in Chicago and few even in menial jobs. If there had been any doubt, they re-elected Bilbo. Henry Wallace, from within the cabinet, repudiated the Truman foreign policy. Ickes got out of the cabinet and campaigned, in his peculiar way, against the man Roosevelt had selected to succeed him as head of the party. Henry Morgenthau repudiated Truman with low moans. Whitney, of the railroad workers, in a rage against Truman, vowed to spend for his defeat a fund so large that even he was frightened by his own effrontery and revised the figure lest the people belatedly realize how great a power to buy elections had been created in the name of "labor."

I HAVE FELT CHEATED that Roosevelt did not live to be confronted with his own part in engineering the confidence game by which he got back his son Elliott's radio stock, whereby John Hartford ultimately paid Elliott's alimony to his divorced wife. Possibly his living presence would have deterred Hartford from admitting the facts even when it was possible to walk in and put them before him, and Jesse Jones from confirming them. Surely, Roosevelt would have used his power to prevent the Treasury from disclosing a portion of the corrupt record. But I should like to know how Roosevelt would have handled that one in a press conference and in this campaign when it surely would have been thrown straight in his face. He might have faced it through somehow, though, for he was good. Elliott showed the old man's true effrontery when, having been the cause of the most disgraceful act of venality by any American President, he exploited his own notoriety to authorize a book, at great further profit to himself, and to campaign as the spokesman of his father's spirit.

SOMETHING NEW IS coming The Democratic party is no longer a single party. Tom Dewey had a happy phrase for it, "The Splinter Party." Many of its elements which, under Roosevelt's control, stuck together, as the empire of Franz Josef stuck together in the First World War, now hate one another more savagely than they hate even Dewey.

Given a Republican Congress, with Republicans in control of the committees, the Pentagon building may yet be put to good use as a prison to house the grafters and other miscreants of the long debauch. It would be a tight fit, at that.

TOM STOKES

The Constitution

We May Be Prosperous

Atlanta, Ga. Thurs. 11-7-46

WASHINGTON, Nov. 6—How we accept and act upon this election is most important. It can well determine our course and the shape of our destiny.

In the campaign there were, unfortunately, some disturbing similarities to the reaction in this country after World War I. Among them, evidences of the same crass materialism, such as the furore over meat when there is prosperity here and so much misery in other parts of the world.

WE HAVE COME to expect certain exaggerations and falsifications in our political campaigns. Fortunately, we usually are able to value them properly and afterward to dismiss them.

There have been exemptions, however, to the forgetting mood, notably after such upheavals as a terrible war which leave people distraught and make them easy prey to delusions.

That is the danger in the aftermath to this election.

The election of 1920 was followed by all sorts of excesses. There were the infamous so-called "Red raids" which were used by some as a cover to suppress labor and labor unions. It was then, too, that the Ku Klux Klan spread far afield.

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE again unless we watch carefully.

The election of 1920 was won on two issues—anti-League of Nations and "getting back to normalcy."

There was much of "getting back to normalcy" in this year's campaign.

The basic question of international co-operation was not an issue this time. In its broad principles that has been accepted by the Republican leadership as it was not before. It was too bad, in a way, that it was lifted out of the campaign. For it should have been an issue in many districts where men who in Congress a few months ago had bitterly fought measures necessary to make international co-operation work were up for re-election. The people were not made sufficiently aware of that.

HOWEVER, IT BECOMES a matter of Republican responsibility to see that international co-operation is continued and is not impeded by our failure to do everything necessary to implement it. Congress will have much to do with that. The people expect it. They accepted in good faith the pledges of Republican leaders. If Republicans reneged it would be tragic, for the people are powerless after the election decision.

IF WE JUST let off all the brakes now and go in for a spree, as we did in the '20s, and do not continually adjust our economy to provide for the welfare of all, then we may head right into another "boom and bust." Those who have talked so fearfully about Communism in the midst of prosperity in this campaign would then have something real to worry about. Perhaps it would be wise for responsible leaders to remember what Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, President of the Federal Council of Churches, said the other day: "The man does not turn Communist who is treated justly."

How Solid Is The Sout

Canadian Herald Birmingham Ala

NEW ORLEANS—Coming East by the Southern route, you pass through the Solid South. It is solid enough for this election, at any rate. But what will happen in 1948, and after, is causing some speculation even in the Deep South where the Republican Party is a tame ghost mortgaged to Robert A. Taft.

You get a question here that is the same question Democrats in the North are asking. They want to know whether President Truman will be the candidate of his party for reelection in 1948.

Certainly, the president will be challenged within his own party. That is not hard to foresee. Moreover, the challenger is likely to be Henry A. Wallace, with the political power of the PAC, whatever that may be two years hence, behind him. This is the prospect which makes old-line Democrats in the South a little uneasy as they contemplate the future. It is why they can discuss seriously whether or not the South will continue to vote Democratic as regularly as election time rolls around. Sun.

The question, it seems to me, more or less answers itself. The Democrats of the South exercise a great deal of control over the party machinery. By virtue of the seniority system they run the House and Senate. They are going to have a lot to say about the Democratic nominee in 1948. 10-27-46

* * *

BOTH LOYALTY AND TRADITION dictate renomination for President Truman. Conceivably, he might find a way to step out. But no matter what the reason, it would be taken as a confession of failure. Then, too, by stepping out he would precipitate the feud within the party which is only held in abeyance because he represents a compromise between the two wings of the party.

With one shattering exception, the Democratic Party in Louisiana has been in the conservative, traditional pattern. Huey Long took this state on the wildest spree that had ever been seen, either in Louisiana or anywhere else. In the decade since Long's assassination, Dmocratic leaders have been trying to recover from the hangover. Both in the state administration and in New Orleans, reform governments have fought the crookedness that was the base on which the Kingfish built his success. It has not been easy.

You can close down the obvious vice and the gambling. You can fire the crooks out of office. But the habit of corruption induced by dictatorship goes very deep. That is the deadly thing about a dictatorship, whether on the Louisiana scale or the German scale. It strikes at the fiber of political decency.

What made the Long experience so full of meaning for the South was the background against which it occurred. Louisiana had lived in contented indifference to the kind of changes that had transformed North Carolina. For example, in schools, roads, hospitals and so on, the state was near the bottom of the list. The Kingfish built the schools and the roads and the hospitals. They cost 10 times as much as they should have cost and the difference went to enrich the members of the Long gang. But the buildings were there for the people to see and that is what they remember today.

The visitor is told that back in the canebrakes, in the rural counties, the name of Huey Long still invokes veneration. That is why some people think that Long's son, Russell, a young man with a good war record, may one day be a political power in the state. The potency of the name might be enough to put him on top here.

* * *

THE STATE, HOWEVER, is recovering from the Long debauch. Native pride has done a lot to kindle the recovery program. The people of this city, for instance, are proud that this is a port of entry for trade by air and sea with Latin America. They are doing everything they can to attract Latin American visitors. A handsome new clubhouse, recently completed, offers facilities for business men from south of the border.

It is the kind of courtesy other cities could well afford to copy, but for the South the lesson of Louisiana is the golden opportunity that lay ready and waiting for a man of Huey Long's ruthless ambition and brilliance. The cure lies in progress. That is the only effective vaccination against the disease of dictatorship.

The Kingfish's rise and fall has meaning not for the South alone but for the whole country. We seem now to be entering a period of reaction. If the pendulum is pushed back too far and all change is stifled, then the way will be open for a violent counter-reaction. We will have created a golden opportunity for a Huey Long not on a state but on a national scale.—C.

The Necessary Separation

The News and Courier Charleston, S.C.

In the event that a party called Democratic in South Carolina and participating in the affairs of the national party operating under that name shall hold county conventions and elect delegates to a state convention that will send delegates to a national convention, it will probably give to the colored Democrats a pretext upon which they will bring an action in the courts that may open the white people's primary to them.

If delegates of Barnwell county to the state convention shall in 1948 be apportioned to population, white and colored, upon which legislative representation is in part based, as it is now, and 1,000 or 2,000 colored "Democrats" shall be barred from voting for delegates to the county and state conventions, they can and will set up that Barnwell's white citizens were given extraordinary weight in nominating "Democratic" candidates for president and vice president on account of negro population. Fri. 10-18-46

Negroes are two or three times as numerous in Barnwell as are white people. The people who are white, or who are colored, or who are members of another race, or of a sect, have a right to gather and nominate candidates, and that is the right upon which the white party that has nominated J. Strom Thurmond, Esq., and others for offices has acted.

No party, group or sect can sustain a contention that persons without white skins cannot be Democrats in South Carolina.

The repeal of laws relating to primaries in South Carolina was a prudent and effective procedure. If the white party organization that has resulted shall hang on to the name "Democratic" and attempt to gain exclusive representation in the national Democratic convention of 1948, it will undermine and explode the prudent work that has been done.

Separation of South Carolina's white party from the national "Democratic" party would be damaging to the interest of South Carolina's congressmen and other persons whose political influence is tied in with federal patronage, gifts and bureaucratic agencies.

Unless the separation shall be effected the permission of negroes to vote with the "white folks" for state, county and municipal officers will, in time, be compelled by law, and the raw scalawag material in the state will live in clover.

These Facts Con

The News and Co

To be sure it is possible, not entirely improbable, that the national "Democratic" convention will, in 1948, refuse to admit solid white delegations from any state. In that event, the white and colored "Democrats" of South Carolina would have delegates helping to nominate candidates for president and vice president—and the signs are that the colored delegates would support the Wallaces and Peppers and that the white delegates would support a Byrnes man if not Byrnes, a gentleman hated by the "Liberals" and Harlemites of the Northern cities, who would be president of the United States this day if he could have been "cleared through Sidney" Charleston, S.C.

The decree of the late President Roosevelt in 1944 was that a vice president to be nominated by his party must be "cleared through Sidney". Sat. 10-5-46

True it is that the South Carolinians will not be able to seat a white delegation of men and women in the convention, "Democratic" and national, in 1948, if the "Democratic" is to be democratic (small "d"). We are unable to set up a logical argument against acceptance of South Carolina's colored citizens into the fellowship of a democratic party.

However, if the white people of South Carolina are unwilling to fraternize politically with the colored democrats and "Democrats", if they prefer white man's government and will not consent to a contribution of votes in a national convention to the Pepper, Wallace, Kelly, Hague, Dawson, Guffey, Hannegan, Flynn, Curley and Abyssinian preacher combination, they can nominate and elect eight white members of the Electoral College which consists of 531 voters.

To be elected president, one must have more than half the votes in the Electoral College, and if no one have a majority, the three leaders will be voted for in the national house of representatives.

The white people of South Carolina, if they will stick together, can get good terms from any party in the Electoral College, unless a candidate for president shall be elected by a landslide.

However, we must not forget that in South Carolina scalawag material is abundant—and the negro "Democrats" know it.

G. O. P. SECRET WEAPON

The Advertiser Montgomery, Ala.

By far the most cold-blooded, analytical treatment of the current domestic situation that has come to our notice is by the Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in the October issue of The Atlantic Monthly. Mon. 10-14-46

According to Schlesinger's analysis, the real surprise in this off year election will not be a significant sweep of victorious Republicanism in protest of alleged Democratic failures and family quarrels, nor will it be the demonstrated power of any particular bloc of votes, either Negro, Jewish, hyphenated Americans, or PAC.

In historian Schlesinger's opinion, the November election will not be important for any long-range implication on the future political trend of the country. The November election will constitute a test of the relative efficiency of party machines and nothing more. Far more significant than the November contest, at least to Mr. Schlesinger, were the Spring and Summer primaries: it was here that the real implications for the future political trends in the United States were revealed.

"For in spite of the lack of sharp differentiation between the parties in Congress or the campaigns," says Schlesinger, "the patterns emerging from the primaries foreshadow a sharper differentiation in the next Congress. The primaries, in general, show that the Republican Party, after its Willkie-of-the-wisp period, is becoming more conservative, and the Democratic Party, for all its Bourbon wing, is becoming more liberal."

While the Republicans rejected virtually every liberal in the primaries, Schlesinger points to the astonishing fact that Luther Patrick, of Alabama, is the only liberal casualty in the Democratic primaries. At the same time a host of conservative and reactionary Democrats were retired by a militant Southern liberalism. The rise of the Arnalls and the Sparkmans of the South, backed by a growing number of "unusually able and articulate newspaper editors scattered throughout the South," seems likely to release new and important political energies, with possible impetus coming from an alliance between aggressive Southern and Western regional leaders. and Western regional leaders.

Such an alliance will be greatly encouraged by the atrophy of the Republican and conservative Democrats who persist in the belief that we can return to 1922, an atrophy well summed up by Mr. Schlesinger in these words:

> The Republican Party is dealing largely in fears and fantasies which have practically nothing to do with urgent world issues. That party is not lacking in constructive ability . . . but they represent the more enlightened members of a party whom the more conservative citizens tend to write off as dangerous radicals. Mr. Brownell, as chairman of the Republican National Committee, once proposed running the campaign on the theory that this was the feeblest Administration since that of Franklin Pierce. His successor, Mr. Reece, reached his philosophical heights by charging the Administration with supporting "red fascism."

Far from attempting to raise the standards of discussion, the Republican leadership is seeking to lower it. The reason is that the Republicans do not want an

interesting campaign; for if the contest becomes too lively, too many people will vote and that will help the Democrats . . . apathy is the Republican secret weapon."

For stripping the glamor and sheen from G. O. P. pretensions, Arthur Schlesinger has outdone himself. It would be difficult indeed to sum up the case against the men who run the Republican Party in more telling terms than these.

Negro Party Leader Says Steps Are Taken By National Democratic Heads to Disbar White SC Delegation From '48 Convention

In a statement to officers of the South Carolina Progressive (Negro) Democratic party, Chairman John H. McCray said yesterday that steps had been taken by national democratic party officials to disbar from the 1948 national convention delegations from states that declined to include Negroes in their state parties, as is the case in South Carolina.

He said he understood the republican party was contemplating the same step.

McCray said he was under obligation to withhold the source of his information, but that he hoped to have a "full report" within 10 days. His statement:

"This is to report to you that I am informed, as of this date, that success of an issue raised by the Progressive Democratic party in 1944, pressed during conferences with members of the national democratic committee during conferences in Washington and other democratic leaders during the national convention in Chicago, seemed assured.

"I have been informed that necessary steps will be taken at the next national convention to disbar from membership in the convention, presumably through refusal to admit as delegates, delegations from those states and territorial possessions who purport to represent states and territorial possessions who deny and limit membership in the party within their sections on a basis of race and color.

"While it is not expedient at this time to make public the authority of this information, it can be said that the advice is reported to me after extensive efforts on a nation wide basis which leave little doubt as to its possible occurrence. I am made to understand further that few delegations will be affected.

"I understand, also, that a similar action will be undertaken the next national republican convention.

"The full significance of this unprecedented move will be covered in a full report to all executive and unit officers we hope to submit within the next 10 days. But it writes 'finis' to the several decades of unfortunate political operations which, principally among Southern states, have made a great mockery of the very word 'democracy'.

"At the moment, it technically affects only South Carolina, however, it may well affect pending or expected actions in several other Southern states."

Seats in Congress—1948

The News and Courier

Lionel K. Legge, citizen of Charleston, member of the legislature lately elected November 5, said last Tuesday to the Civitan club: "In the next eight years we are going to be faced with the fact that the general election has become important and that the party primary nomination is not enough to win office".

In that saying was a clearer outlook on the future than any other office-holder in the state has had or has had the boldness to express in words—if he has had it. It is habitual for the "leaders" in South Carolina to wait for the cat to jump and then to jump with it. Mr. Legge is not watching the cat. He has observed the symptoms of profound change in public opinion. It does not escape his notice that The Greenville News is now committed to approval of independent voting in national elections.

Charleston, S. C.

"Eight years" is a long time. The News and Courier believes it likely that in 1948 the chief issue in congressional elections will be whether or not white people in South Carolina should stay hog-tied to the so-called "Democratic" party, the New party, the Rooseveltian party or other party advocating federal FEPC and "force bill" control of elections in states under the guise of federal repeal of the right of states to define and regulate voting by poll taxes and in other ways.

Thurs. 12-5-46

Southern members of congress have allied themselves with Republicans to defeat anti-Southern measures. They have been and now are denounced by Northern New Dealers or "Liberals" as "traitors" to the national Democratic party. James F. Byrnes is the object of their maledictions even at the moment that he is engrossed as secretary of state in the mighty task of trying to insure peace for mankind.

Candidates for congress in 1948 can seek election in the white man's primary on the candid platform that Southern members of congress must and shall be free. We believe they will. They will say that they should not be called upon to degrade themselves as creepers into congress masked as national Democrats when in truth their constituents expect them, demand of them, that they "betray" the national "Democrats" that strive to crush the life out of statehood for the sake of a ring-streaked-and-striped democracy.

When we shall have voting in general elections it may be expedient to return to the convention method of nominating candidates or to reduce the primaries to a way of ratifying nominations by caucus, which is the way now in practice in many states.

The press of the Upcountry in which half the white population of the state dwells and votes would not print savage attacks on Rooseveltism and approve independent voting were the people's thoughts not stirring. Mr. Legge, Charleston county representative, sees beyond county lines. When he mentions eight years, he is seeing over and beyond and too far.

There will be real fighting for seats in congress in 1948. Plain men who speak plainly will be in the field.